We want to be less praised
And more diligently read!

PRACHARA SABHA
MOHALLA, AMBALA CANTT.
1955
HINDUS AND THE PUNJABI STATE

Wir wollen weniger erholen
Und fleissiger gelesen sein!
"We want to be less praised
And more diligently read!"

HINDU PRACHĀRA SABHA
PUNJABI MOHALLA, AMBALA CANTT.
1955
“This book should not only be read, but owned for frequent use, by every educated Punjabi, who wants to gain a clear mental picture of the problems confronting him. The Sikh will obtain, after its perusal, a lot of emotional redress, being convinced that there is no dearth of Hindus, who are immune to voluminous, but senseless, propaganda, and who have enough ideational consciousness to appreciate Sikhs’ viewpoint.

And the Hindu will learn, after going through it, how to counteract the machinations of the aliens to atomize Hindudom and how to arrest the growing centrifugal tendencies among the Hindus.”

—Author’s Foreword
HINDUS
AND
THE PUNJABI STATE

A PSYCHO-POLITICAL DISCUSSION ON
THE CONCEPTION & RATIONALE OF PUNJABI STATE

BY

PROFESSOR OM PRAKASHA KAHOL, M. Sc., B. T.,
Ex-Member
Working Committee, and Central Parliamentary Board,
All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

THE HINDU PRACHARA SABHA
AMBALA CANTT.
The contents of this book were partly written out some four years back, and were intended to serve some purpose at the time of the last General Elections. They were subsequently printed—piecemeal—in various periodicals and saw the light of day in the book form this year, when the best time of their utility has really come. The question of re-adjustment of States’ boundaries is under active consideration of the people and official machinery has already moved in the matter. But the theory of certain basic principles discussed herein is of more than mere passing interest, and will ever remain useful to students of Hindu Sanghatanist ideology. The volume has been brought out more for the benefit of serious students of Hindu polity, than for purposes of cheap political propaganda.

It was at first felt that the book should include an 'Introduction' by some eminent person, but later on a suggestion was received from an elderly person that "a book should depend on the strength of its own logic and facts than on any patronage." It has, therefore, been decided to let the book go without an 'Introduction'. Ours is a labour of love, and not a business proposition. For making money, one does not have to choose a controversial issue, such as Punjabi State, to write on; 'Hindu-Muslim Unity,' 'Bapu’s Ethics' or any aspect of ‘Economic Planning’ could be written on, and the volume could have enjoyed ‘royal’ patronage. But popularity-hunting has not been any of our objectives in presenting it to the public. We have dared to bring to lips, what lies in the hearts of a good many. For the ideas developed in this book, the author alone is not responsible, but is indebted to other friends and comrades, who are not a few. They, however, prefer to keep their lips sealed on inconvenient issues, remaining mum when such ones are being discussed. The art of sitting on the fence, which ensures least resistance along the path of life, has been perfected by the majority of Hindu leaders and not many of them have the guts to speak out, what lies in the depths of their heart.

This book should be read and owned by every Punjabi, who knows English and who wants to gain a correct mental picture of the problems awaiting solutions. It should be possessed by every Sikh—its perusal will bring him a lot of emotional redress, by convincing him that there is no dearth of Hindus, who are immune to voluminous, but senseless, propaganda and have enough ideational consciousness to appreciate Sikh view-point. And it should be in the hands of every Hindu, who aspires to rende
ineffective aliens' designs to atomize Hindudom; he will learn, after going through it, that centrifugal tendencies have been engendered, by our enemies, among the Sikhs no less than among other components of Hindudom—Jains, Buddhists, Adivasis etc. How is a Sanghathanist to counteract them? The defeatist attitude characterises those, who take for granted that the component parts of Hindudom are united, which, in fact, is not the case. If Hindus had been united, no special effort would have been necessary in this direction; all Sanghathanist programme would have been useless. The fact of the matter is that solidarity of Hindudom is not at present an accomplished fact; it is an ideal, which has yet to be achieved through systematic pursuance of certain basic policies. Whether the Pan-Hindu ideology will succeed, or meet with a doom, in the long run, will be unmistakably indicated by the turn, the Hindu-Sikh relations take in the Punjab, which in turn depend upon the Hindus' attitude towards Gurumukhi-Punjabi. It is thus an acid test for the future success or failure of Pan-Hindu ideology. Can any Sanghathanist afford to sleep over it, unless he happens to be a mere opportunist? This book is an attempt to arouse intelligent interest of the Hindus in the vital issue of Punjabi State.

Our approach to the problem is psycho-political and not politico-economic. Hence very few figures have been adduced. What was the Indians' argument unto the British? "We want to be free; no facts and figures and considerations of security and economic stability can stand in our way to achieve independence." What was the Muslims' argument unto the Hindus? "We want to get rid of you; no facts and figures and considerations of security and economic stability can stand in our way to achieve Pakistan." What we want to emphasise is that psychological predispositions cannot be altered by facts and figures. Hence we have avoided them. Citation of facts and figures can prove an effective rebuttal, only where the arguments are based on facts and figures. We have approached the problem from the psycho-political angle, because the basis of it is such.

We are beholden to Bhai Harbans Lal, without whose help, the book might not have come into existence. Our thanks are also due to S. Ghanisham Singh Pasricha for the personal interest evinced by him in the preparation of the book.

Hariana,
Hoshiarpur Dist., (Pb).

May 10, 1955.

Om Prakasha Kahol
Epigram

Wer wird nicht einen Klopstock loben?
Doch wird ihn jeder lesen? Nein.
Wir wollen weniger erhoben
Und fleißiger gelesen sein

— Karlsky.

"Who would not praise a Klopstock?"

But will everybody read him? No.

We would like to be exalted less,

But read more diligently."

 Lenin: Selected Works.
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DEDICATION

This small booklet is humbly dedicated to the memory of the Hindu youths, who laid down their lives in the cause of the bleeding Punjab unsung and unwept over!

The burning candle delights every one.

But at what cost to itself? By burning inch by inch.

The fuming incence gives out sweet smell.

But after enduring what torture? By consuming itself bit by bit.

The glory of men spreads in the world. But when?

Only after they have laid down their lives in the service of humanity.

Their memory ever remains fresh!
THE AUTHOR
CHAPTER I

Hindu & Muslim Languages

Apologia Pro Libro Meo

Conception of Punjabi State is different with different persons. Its advocacy is a creed with some people and its opposition is an article of faith with others. And arguments, for and against this proposition, are usually advanced, not so much to present the case objectively, as to pursue a pre-conceived line of thought obstinately. No human being can claim absolute freedom from subjectivity, but an honest attempt to overcome this defect is essential on the part of a critic, who undertakes to review a controvertible proposition. Accordingly what we have ventured to write in support of Punjabi State is what we honestly believe to be correct and rational. We have frankly pointed out, in the course of our discussion, where Hindus have bungled and where Sikhs have erred, in approaching the ticklish issue of Punjabi State.

The Genealogy of Punjabi

Punjabi is one of the many Aryan languages of Bharata. It is connected with Sanskrit through Apabhramshas and Prakritas. Its collaterals among the modern Indian languages are Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Oriya, Assamese, Kashmiri and Sindhi. Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tulu, and Gondi are some of the non-Aryan languages of the same status as Punjabi. Sanskrit is the classical language which feeds modern Indian languages—Aryan as well as non-Aryan—and supplies them with technical and literary terms. Although ancient, and a few modern, writers of Punjabi have fashioned their literary works after Persian and Arabic, the natural source of inspiration of Punjabi is, and should be, Sanskrit lore.

Punjabi—Not a Dialect, But a Language

Punjabi is not a dialect, but a full-fledged language, with its own dialects and a literary style. If Punjabi is described as a dialect of Hindi then Gujarati, Nepalese and Sindhi will have more justification to be described as such. Irish will have to forfeit its claims to be an independent language. And Dutch and Danish will have to be called dialects of German. The difference between a dialect and a language is rather technical and subtle and cannot be brought out clearly, except by trained philologists. The wily politicians can...
only misuse technical terms to serve their own selfish ends. Punjabi is not a dialect any more than Bengali. Gujarati, Marathi and Oriya are dialects of Hindi, or Telugu and Malayalam, of Tamil.

Gurmukhi—Proper Name for Punjabi Script

The natural script of Punjabi is called Gurmukhi, just as the natural script of Kashmiri is called Sharada. In the recent past, there was a general fashion to give a script a definite name and often-times, the same script was employed for writing more languages than one. The Devanagari script is issued for writing Sanskrit, Hindi, Marathi and Nepalese. The Grantham script is used for writing old languages in South India. The Pehlavi characters were used for writing Persian in the pre-Islamic times. The script called Modi was generally used for writing Marathi during the Moghal periods. The name of the script, employed by Ashoka for his inscriptions, was Brahmi. The official native script of the Indo-Greeks, which was in general vogue in Afghanistan and North-West of India during the centuries just before and after Christ, was called Kharoshti. The words ‘Devanagari’ ‘Brahmi’ ‘Kharoshti’ or ‘Grantham’ do not refer to any geographical region; they signify some higher idea. In the same way, the script of Kashmir was named ‘Sharada’ and that of the Punjab, ‘Gurmukhi’ which with slight variation, continued to be applied to Sindhi language too, along side with Arabic, till about the close of the last century.

Importance of Language -- A Lesson from Islam.

Language is the index of a nation’s mind. Decay of a language suggests, beyond the slightest doubt, the beginning of decay of a nation’s existence. And the script of a language is verily its physical body. The sounds of a language can have no more physical and permanent existence without the script, than a human soul can have without the body. That was why, when the Arabian prophet, Mohammed, thought of destroying national distinctions among Muslims, he, first of all, emphasised the need for liquidating linguistic distinctions among them. Arabic was declared by him to be the Divine Language and its acquisition was made obligatory upon all Faithfuls. But forgetting the native speech habits and learning Arabic overnight was not possible even for the hottest of Muslims. If Arabic could be learnt by swallowing a pill, or by the injection of an Arabic-serum, all Muslims would have, long long back, discarded their ‘Kafir’ languages like Punjabi, Bengali and Tamil, by taking in a “dose of Arabic.” The new converts to Islam could adopt an Arabic name in a moment. The Islamic dress could be put on in no time. And full faith in Mohammed’s teachings could be confessed without a second’s delay. But learning of Arabic tongue proved a hard nut to crack for the generality of converts to Islam. Linguistic distinctions, and consequently geographical nationalities, have persisted among the Muslims to this day, not because of Islamic teachings, but inspite of Islam. By the way, the Muslims, who
believe in caste, national or linguistic distinctions are, in fact, acting against the spirit of Islam and cannot command the respect of genuine Muslims. That should explain why the so-called "Nationalist Muslims"—if they exist anywhere—command little popularity among real Muslims.

Spread of Arabic

Since learning of Arabic was not possible for all the converts to Islam, the spread of Arabic language and script could not keep pace with the spread of Islam. But the promoters of Islamic culture were realists and were not daunted by their apparent failure. They did never give up hopes of ultimately making Arabic the language of the world, but this they aimed at achieving by degrees. The 'Arabicisation' of the world was to be effected by planned stages. Those, who could not learn Arabic tongue, were advised just to learn the Arabic script—a very much easier task. Those who had accomplished that much, were encouraged to write their native languages in that script. Those who passed this stage too, were prompted to introduce more and more words of Arabic in their speech. Common religious terms of Arabic were first introduced. Then followed technical terms pertaining to administration. Gradually, all the Islamic languages came to be written in Arabic script and were so supersaturated with Arabic vocabulary that progressively their entire structure and fund of words became Arabic. Thus came into being a group of languages which are now properly called "Islamic languages." Philologically, they belong to different stocks or families; Persian is an Aryan language; Arabic is Semitic; Malay is Polynesian; Turkish is Turanian and Swahili is Negroid. But they are all Islamic languages, because:

(i) they are written in variants of Arabic script; (Swahili and Turkish have now rejected it in favour of Roman); and (ii) their vocabularies—technical terms, literary expressions etc,—as also sources of literature, are essentially Arabic.

All these languages are gradually converging to the same focus—Arabic. Their mutual diversities are diminishing day by day and the Arabic element in them is rapidly increasing. The languages which have now been thoroughly Islamised, are Persian, Turkish, Pashto, Sindhi, Baluchi, Malay and Swahili.

Origin of Hindu Scripts: Brahmi

Now when Islam entered the land of the Hindus, it applied its patent process of Arabicisation to "Hindu languages." This last word, too, does not represent any family, or stock, of languages in the philological sense. By "Hindu languages" we mean those languages which are written in derivatives of the Brahmi script and which derive their vocabulary and literary inspiration
from Sanskritic sources. They belong to different stocks, genealogically. Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayalam, Tulu and Gondi are Dravidian Hindu languages. Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, Sinhalese are Aryan Hindu languages. Burmese, Siamese, Tibetan and Indo-Chinese are Mongolian Hindu languages. At one time they were all written in slightly varying shades of the Brahmi script, but in course of time, the shapes of original letters underwent changes and at different places their appearance became different. Thus came into existence the various Hindu scripts, we find prevalent in Tibet, Siam, Burma, Java, Ceylon, besides India, to-day. Their common source is Brahmi.

Devanagari not More akin to Brahmi Than Other Derivatives

It should be noted that all the Hindu scripts—Bengali, Devanagari, Gurumukhi, Sharada, Grantham, Malayalam, Siamese or Sinhalese—we see today, are very different from the original Brahmi. They have all equally degenerated or developed from the parent script and it is wrong to suggest that Devanagari is a more faithful representative of Brahmi than Gurumukhi or Sharada is. If anything, scripts other than the Devanagari have preserved their similarity with the original Brahmi letters more faithfully than the Devanagari has.

Devanagari Vis-a-Vis Other Derivatives of Brahmi

When the Muslims came to India, the various provincial speeches and scripts of this land had assumed definite shapes and set forms. Bengali, Hindi, Punjabi and other languages had already developed their outstanding distinctive features. The forms of characters used for writing regional languages in various parts of the country had become markedly different from Brahmi, though they could be easily deciphered by the learned people. And for various reasons, Devanagari characters had been recognised more or less universally as the most suitable for writing Sanskrit. This practice gave Devanagari a distinct superiority over provincial scripts and gave it the inter-national importance among the Hindu nations, that it enjoys to this day. The etymological meaning of 'Devanagari' is "that pertaining to the City of Gods," that City presumably being Kashi, whence the radiations of Hindutva emanated for countries. By virtue of the central place Kashi occupied in the Hindudom, the forms of writing recognised by its scholars must have been accepted as authentic by the rest of the world. The provincial variants of the original script were also frequently employed for writing Sanskrit. There are standard Sanskrit works, old as well as medieval, written in Bengali, Telugu, Sinhalese and Tibetan scripts. Devanagari script is not more akin to the original Brahmi than any other provincial script is, and the practice of writing Sanskrit in it became a recognised convention, not for any scientific reasons—all scripts derived from Brahmi are almost equally
phonetic—but just for the sake of uniformity, for the sake of standardisation. From nationalistic point of view, all scripts derived from Brahmi—Tamil, Burmese, and Gurumukhi not excluded—are equally Hinduistic and deserve equal consideration. The pious wish to have a common script for all the Hindu languages, as Arabic is for Islamic and Roman for Christian languages, is laudable, indeed, but while translating it into practice, we must not display blind zeal for preserving a few and rooting out others. As long as Bengali, Tamil or Burmese forms of the Brahmi script are allowed to exist and flourish within their own provinces, any attempt to stamp out Gurumukhi or Sharada is bound to provoke a storm of righteous indignation. Such an attempt is bound to prove abortive; it will never succeed, because it would be unjust and unfair,
CHAPTER II

Conflict between Hindu and Muslim Languages

Muslims’ Bid to Oust Hindu Scripts

When the Muslims set foot on the soil of India and came into direct conflict with the Hindus, they applied the process of “Arabicisation” to native languages, too—a process, which they had already tried in Persia, Afghanistan, Assyria and Africa, with tremendous success. Having ousted Pehlavi script from Persia, Kharoshti from Afghanistan, Cuneiforms from Assyria and Hieroglyphs from Egypt the Arabic script made a bid to unseat Devanagari, Gurumukhi, Sharada and other Hindu scripts from the lands of their birth. The Muslim free-booters, with the active help of native collaborators, who had embraced Islam to escape the wrath of the Ghazis, tried the experiment of clothing various Hindu language—Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Kashmiri and even Bengali and Marathi in Arabic garments. The neo-Muslims, made of Indian elements, were encouraged to use more and more Arabic phrases in their native languages. While the Muslim foreigners actuated by missionary zeal and the native Muslims eager to please their masters, worked for popularising Arabic characters and vocabulary among the native tongues, with the help of sword and the Quran, the Hindus resisted the combined onslaughts of the aliens and their native stooges with a superior religious fervour. The use of an Arabic word in speech was almost regarded as a sacrilege and the application of Arabic characters to Hindu languages was almost banned. Such strong injunctions as “Na pathet Yavanim bhasham” (Let no Hindu read a Muslim language), so often found in our medieval literature, indicate clearly how strong was the Hindu sentiment against the planned ruination of their languages and scripts.

Conflict Between Hindu & Muslim Scripts

The result of this linguistic and cultural antagonism between the natives and the aliens was that every Indian language developed two divergent literary trends; the Hindus tenaciously stuck to the Hindu script, indigenous vocabulary and local literary traditions, the Muslims preferred the Arabic to the native system of writing, used abundance of Arabic words (often with a conscious effort) and drew all cultural matter and inspiration from Islamic (i.e. mainly Arabic)
sources. In course of time, the two styles lost this pristine purity and each was slightly influenced by the other. The Hindus unwittingly learnt a few Arabic words and the Muslims likewise absorbed a few un-Islamic traits through inadvertence. But the two trends progressed along distinctly divergent lines. The Islamic missionaries wanted to repeat their old exploits on the Indian soil, the Hindus were determined to prove that Devanagari, Gurumukhi and Sharada were more fit than Pehlavi, Kharoshti and Hieroglyphs, to outlive the struggle for existence.

Hindus' Successful Resistance to Arabic

The experiments of Arabicising Hindu languages yielded different measures of success in different provinces. The Muslim style of Hindi—Hindi written in a derivative of Arabic script and saturated with Arabic words, which often goes by the name of Urdu—did attain the status of a standard language, though the Hindu style of Hindi also continued to develop side by side. Bengali written in Arabic script could never get recognition as a language, though the protagonists of Arabic script have continued their efforts to this day. The creation of an independent Muslim State of East Bengal has given the frustrated Arabic zealots a new impetus and they may now succeed in effecting the conversion of Bengali, proving thereby that a cultural struggle sometimes yields the desired results after centuries, provided the sponsors have the necessary endurance. Gujarati and Marathi too have Hindu and Muslim styles but Arabic script is now rarely used for them. Muslims of Mysore and Malabar frequently employ Arabic characters for Kanarese and Malayalam languages, respectively, though their accepted scripts are derived from Brahmi. Sindhi language has gone the way of Persian and has lost its original Hindu script. It is now invariably written in Arabic characters. The same is more or less true of Kashmiri, whose original script, Sharada is learnt only by a few Pandits as a religious duty. After a thousand years’ strenuous efforts, the Muslims have succeeded in Arabicising only three languages of this land to any considerable extent, viz., Sindhi, which has lost the native style and characters completely; Kashmiri, which too has almost succumbed to Arabic onslaughts; and Hindi, whose Muslim style, Urdu, became at one time a serious rival of the Hindu style but could never wipe out the native script and vocabulary.

No other Hindu language submitted to the demands of Islamic fanaticism.

Resistance to Arabic in the Punjab

When Punjabi language received the impact of Islam, it had just started its existence as an independent language. Its grammatical structure had then been more or less set, the shapes of its characters had been fixed and literary compositions had just begun to be written in it. In keeping with their tradition, the Muslim writers, who chose Punjabi language as their vehicle of expression, employed Arabic characters for the purpose of writing and loaded...
it with Arabic words. It was at this time that Sikhism appeared as a force on the Indian political arena. The arrogant Muslims never cared to draw subtle distinctions among the "Kafirs" and whether the Sikhs liked it or not, the Muslims never distinguished between the Sikhs and other Hindus and beat them both with the same cudgel. The Sikh Gurus felt most strongly for the lamentable plight of the native language and the script of the Punjab under the hostile Muslims and took up the work of their preservation with a religious zeal. Sanskrit was, at that time, written by the Punjabis in medieval Devanagari script (often called "Shastriya" or simply "Shatri", that is, the language of the Shastras or scriptures), while the local tongue was committed to writing in a rather simplified form thereof. This latter script, which was facing extinction owing to the menace of Arabic, was the real Punjabi script. The Sikh Gurus chose this neglected and forlorn script for writing their religious precepts. It appears highly improbable that the Gurus had invented a new script, similar to the cognate Sindhi and Kashmiri, for writing their "Words" (Shabdas) meant for the masses. Since the Muslims had claimed divine origin for Arabic and made its study a religious duty of their followers, the shrewd Gurus attached the same sanctity to Punjabi language and script and declared their learning and preservation a religious duty of their "disciples" (Sikhs). There was no other way of combating the jeopardy to the indigenous speech and writing and all progressive Punjabis rallied round the Gurus in the defence of their cultural heritage from the Semitic fury. It was under these circumstances that the Punjabi script came to be called 'Gurumukhi'—that pertaining to the mouth of the Master. The Muslims continued to develop Punjabi along Islamic lines, and the Sikhs along native lines, all these centuries. No one was in a mood to yield. Arabic script could never enjoy the unquestioned supremacy in the Punjab, as it had enjoyed beyond the Indus. Gurumukhi successfullywarded off its attacks, thanks to the penetrating intelligence of the Gurus and the indefatigable zeal of their Sikhs.
CHAPTER III

A Sad Commentary on Punjabi Hindus

Valiant Role of Sikhs in Defending Punjabi Script

The defence of Punjabi language and script, from the menace of Arabic, was a duty of every Punjabi, but the Sikhs of the Gurus displayed exceptional enthusiasm in this direction. Very naturally they took up the cause of native language with missionary zeal, as their religious Gurus had enjoined, and became the main champions of anti-Arabic agitation. Other Hindus were more or less indifferent in the matter; most of them kept witnessing this life-and-death struggle between Arabic and Punjabi—between the alien and the native culture—with criminal apathy. Majority of the Punjab Hindus began learning Arabic and Persian and became abject slaves of Islamic languages. Hindi they knew not, Sanskrit they could not learn, and Punjabi they would not. It is through the indefatiguable efforts of the Sikhs that Panjab has been able to preserve its language and script to this day and we are in a position proudly to say that we had a system of writing before the Muslims came and taught us this art. If the Sikhs, under the guidance of the Gurus, had not resisted the Muslims' cultural invasion on Punjab, we would have none but the Arabic characters now. The contribution of the Sikhs to the cultural uplift of the Punjab can never be exaggerated. The other Punjabi Hindus, who have made no sacrifice in the defence of their language, can little imagine what Punjabi means to a Sikh. Punjabi script verily symbolises the Sikh victory in an open competition with the Muslims. The Hindu, priding in his command over the alien rulers' languages,—Arabic, Persian or Urdu, has been a disinterested spectator of Sikhs' cultural struggle. No sane man can congratulate the Hindu upon his indifference in matters of language.

A Grievious Mistake of Sikh Rulers.

It is often argued that the court language during the Sikh rule was Persian and that even the Sikh rulers did not deem it feasible, or possible, to carry on administration of the State through the imperfect Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script. In the first place, the alleged poverty of Punjabi language is a very sad com-
mentary on Punjab Hindus’ intellect; and by advertising this fact we can only make ourselves laughing stock of the world. Secondly, if Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not replace Persian by an Indian language, we cannot justify him. The actions of autocratic rulers are motivated by personal whims and considerations of political expediency. However may some people lionise Maharaja Ranjit Singh and glorify his rule, we cannot call it an ideal Sikh regime and the fallacious reasoning, which led him to abandon the idea of making Punjabi the court language in his State, cannot convince any modern man. It was a pity that up-lift of Panjab did not interest the Sikh rulers as much as expansion of their territories did. If Punjabi had been given its rightful place in Statecraft by them, most of our present day problems would not have at all cropped up. In common with other Hindu princes, the Sikhs cared more for personal aggrandisement than for the propagation of their culture and languages.

Hindu Languages under the British

Under the British crown, the court language of the Punjab was Urdu, along with English. The British encouraged Punjabi as well as Hindi, but neither the Sikhs nor other Hindus evinced much anxiety to get rid of Urdu, by taking advantage of the facilities afforded by the English. The language question, to be very rank, never genuinely interested our people. Whenever we raised it in public, it appeared too academic to the money-minded Hindus including Sikhs. And not more than one or two Khalsa, Arya or Sanatana Schools, considered it feasible to abolish Urdu as medium of instruction. Broadly speaking, the spoken language of all Punjabis then was Punjabi, script known to the majority of literates was Urdu (Arabic) and language of the rulers, as also their henchmen, was English. Prevalence of Urdu (Arabicised Hindi) in the Punjab was a clear proof of Muslims’ cultural domination over us and a disgrace to our national pride. But leaving aside a few incorruptible idealists, the generality of non-Muslims had reconciled themselves to the rule of Urdu and opposition to it, if any, was negligible. Even such eminent Hindus as Raja Narendra Nath and Lala Lajpat Rai, who pretended to be uncompromising champions of Hindu cause, saw no anomaly in their openly patronising Urdu and Persian and promoting their studies among the Hindus. Confused thinking and inconsistent behaviour have always been thebane of Hindu leaders. And the Sikhs have inherited this vice from the parent stock—the Hindus. During the whole century of British rule in the Punjab, no Sikh leaders ever raised any movement worth the name, against the rule of Urdu and Persian. In the thirties of the twentieth century, when Gandhi openly lent his support to Urdu, it appeared that Arabic script had come to stay in the Punjab; Devanagari and Gurumukhi scripts were rarely seen even in temples and gurudwaras.
Language Question in the Punjab After the Departure of Urdu

Then came the holocaust of 1947, after which the East Punjabis found the Muslim, the main supporter of Urdu, suddenly absent from their midst. In the heat of the moment, somebody suddenly banished Urdu from the East Punjab and people came to know of it only when it had disappeared from the scene. Tears were shed over its departure but it was too late. Every secularist—Socialist, Communist and above all, Gandhists—mourned the death of Urdu in touching words, but what could not be cured, had to be endured. What should now be the language of the Punjab? Children had to be taught something in the first primary class; Government notifications had to be issued in some language: rural programmes had to be broadcast in some speech. The problem was: which language should step into the shoes of Urdu and which script should be employed for writing it?

Irrational Attitude of Punjabi Hindus

If the minds of the masses had not been vitiated by crafty political demagogues, the people, who had all along been speaking Punjabi in their homes, should have unanimously demanded that their spoken tongue, written in Gurumukhi script, should replace Urdu. The plea, that Gurumukhi was not known to majority of them, should not have stood in the way of their granting recognition to it as the provincial script, because its rightful place had been usurped by Arabic. With the sudden disappearance of Urdu, the Punjabis should have seized the earliest opportunity to undo the wrong done to Punjabi language and script and to draw out a comprehensive plan to acquaint the children, as well as the adults, with it in the shortest possible time. When Ireland became free, the Irish script was known to hardly five persons out of a hundred, the remaining ninety-five being conversant with English only. But they exhibited not a moment's indecision to make Irish the court language in Ireland. The Punjab Hindu, misguided and misled by selfish politicians, however, adopted a course, which was not only irrational, unfair, ignoble and anti-national, but also injurious to his immediate political interests. Strangely enough, he opposed Punjabi in Gurumukhi characters being made the court language in the Punjab! He overnight fell in love with Hindi in Devanagari script—of which he was as ignorant as for Gurumukhi—and just to oppose the Sikh; he began to clamour of Hindi to be made the only court language in East Punjab!! The money-minded Hindu, the secularist Hindu, the Muslimised Hindu, who never seriously revolted against Urdu and Persian in the Punjab, who has not even now learnt one word of his classical language, Sanksrit, and pronounces Hindi in the Arabic accent, has pitted his full force against his own mother-tongue, Punjabi. How true is the saying that the Hindu fights with full vigour only when he has to fight a Hindu! And what are Sikhs if not Hindus in the truest sense of the word? The whole world, and
our own country men in other Indian States, are laughing in their sleeves. They hear us speak Punjabi; they enjoy the sight of Punjabis making futile attempts to speak Hindi, and they deride at us when we disown Punjabi! A few mischievous journalists, who have spent a life time in serving Urdu journalism and are shamelessly propagating the same language in the country to this day, have launched a wicked campaign against Punjabi in Gurumukhi script. The persons, whose Aryatva or Hindutva was not despoilt by Urdu, are refusing to study Punjabi, lest they are rendered impure! They daily swallow camels and begin to sneer at a gnat!
CHAPTER IV

A Review of Hindu-Sikh Relations

Opposition to Punjabi—Due to Anti-Sikh Feeling

What is the cause of Hindus' anomalous behaviour? Why do they disown Punjabi language, without which they cannot do for a day? The cause is psychological. Since the Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script have been preserved by the Sikhs on peril of life, the other Hindus have begun to regard the Hindu style of Punjabi, (as distinct from the Muslim style) as a part of Sikh religion. It is true that the Gurus gave a religious tinge to Punjabi, but the Hindus betray a diseased metality, if they begin to disown it, simply because Sikhs have succeeded in preserving it from the ravages of time. The gulf between the Sikhs and other Hindus has been increasing for some time past and since the Sikhs have completely identified themselves with Punjabi culture, the other Hindus are receding from it. This ever-widening gulf could be bridged, if all Punjabis had united on the common issue of Punjabi language and culture. Espousing the cause of Punjabi on the part of Hindus, would have been in no way a departure from the true Hindu Sanghatanist cause and yet it would have created a lot of goodwill among the Sikhs.

Cause of Anti-Sikh Feeling

The root cause of the present estrangement between Sikhs and other Hindus may also be briefly explored in this connection. There are certain historical events, which, if stretched beyond a certain limit, can effectively explode Hindu-Sikh relations. We do not believe in suppressing or distorting inconvenient historical facts, as historians of the Gandhian school do. Such references in history as tend to embitter communal relations, must be carefully studied by all, and not suppressed. And we do admit that germs of discord are present in the historical books. We must also recognise that the historical causes of conflict between the Sikhs and Hindus are fewer than causes of conflict between Muslims and Sikhs. It is our conviction that inspite of minor Hindu-Sikh differences, the two have acted as one against the Muslims, all these ages. Those, who assert that Sikhs are as distinct from Hindus as they are from Muslims, or who, out of spite, retort that Sikhs are worse than Muslims, are in our
opinion, devoid of sense of proportion. Such are the miscreants, among Hindus as well as Sikhs, who magnify Hindu-Sikh differences to the dimensions of Hindu-Muslim differences and explode the communal harmony of the Punjab. Sense of proportion is the key-note of scientific political practice and the cleverest trick of political villains is to make a dis-proportionate presentation of otherwise true facts. Sikhs may differ from other Hindus, but not as radically as they both differ from Muslims.

Hindu-Sikh Relations on the Eve of Partition

During the first four decades of this century, the gulf between the Sikhs and other Hindus was gradually, but systematically, widened by the Anglo-Muslim conspirators. And a time had come, near about the late thirties, when Sikhs were actually at pains to show that they had nothing in common with other Hindus. Very strange views about cow, slaughter, the Vikrami Calendar and festivals like Deepawali and Holi, were being expressed as authentic Sikh views, so as to show that in all respects, the Sikhs were the nearest cousins of Muslims. And the other Hindu sects, like Arya Samajists or Jains, were in their turn, in no anxiety to show that Sikhs were any way nearer to them than the Muslims were. Such were the moods of the Punjab Hindus including Sikhs, when "partition" of India came as a bolt from blue.

Position of Sikhs in the Commonwealth of Hindu Nations

India was divided between Hindus and Muslims; riots broke out between them. Why were the Sikhs beaten? If the Sikhs were not kith and kin of the Hindus, if they were really nearer to Muslims, why were they murdered along with Hindus at Gujranwala, Rawalpindi and Sheikhpura? Why did the Sikhs run to the Hindu majority area and did not stay in the areas got by the Muslims? If Muslims were really greater friends of the Sikhs, why did the Sikhs not avail themselves of the hospitality of the Muslims? The answer is plain: Sikhs are Hindus in the eyes of a Muslim. A Sikh deceives none except himself if he regards Muslims as his better friends than Hindus. What applies to a Sikh, also applies to a Jain, Buddhist or Adi-Dharmi. For a Muslim, they are all 'Kafirs' or Hindus. The Sanghatanists, whose greatest leader is Veer Savarkar, use the word Hindu in this political sense, and not in the religious sense. Hinduism is not a set and codified religion like Islam. It includes all possible religious shades, including atheism. Those who equate Hinduism to a positive religious creed, having one prophet and one sacred book, commit the greatest possible blunder, knowingly or otherwise. "Hindu" is the name of a group of human beings, who enter world politics as one unit, distinct from all others. Whenever communal riots break out, the Muslims do not waste a minute to decide who are 'Hindus' and who are not. It is a common experience. During the Hindu-Muslim riots, no Buddhist, Jain or Sikh can escape the fury of the Ghazis of Islam by arguing that he is not a
Hindu. The academic discussion, whether Sikhs or Buddhists are Hindus or not, is a peace-time luxury. At the time of war, everybody at once comes to know without sermons, which camp he belongs to. Let us clearly understand that in a conflict with Muslims, the fates of Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Arya Samajists and Sanatanists are always sealed together; they sink or swim together. Why not then describe them by a common word—Hindu? If that word is not a happy one, sit together and coin a new one. The British used to call us non-Muslims. Will that word be happier than "Hindu"? If so, adopt it. But let us not deceive ourselves into the belief that we are more at war with one another, than we are collectively with Muslims. Words do not matter much, it is the idea behind them that matters. If Hindus are a nation, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Sanatanists are its constituent communities; if Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Sanatanists are nations, the Hindus will have to be looked upon, and described as, a League of Nations. Our economic, political and cultural interests on the international plane are common; our friends are common and our foes are common. An enemy, who can accomplish the task of wiping out thirty crores of Hindus, will not spare the few lakhs of Sikhs. This conception of Hindu nationalism, or this interpretation of the term 'Hindu,' is the corner-stone of Savarkarism, which forms the bed-rock of Hindu Sanghathanist ideology. Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Sanatanists—all enter the world picture as one group, call it by whatever name you like. But the fact must be frankly recognised. It is possible that by laying undue emphasis on the points of difference, the Sikhs may succeed, in the near future, in convincing everybody that they are further removed from the Hindus than they are from Muslims. But in this race for separatism, the Jains and Buddhists will not lag behind them. Already, the Jain community has begun to show preference for certain types of distinctive names and forms of dress, so that a Jain may be easily distinguished from other Hindus. Buddhists too have strongly resented being called Hindus and in order to escape the pernicious implications of the Hindu code Bill, almost all Hindu sects, including Sanatanists, have taken pains to prove that they have nothing to do with the Hindus. Who are Hindus then? Nobody is very keen on being described by this term. And once we accept that Sikhs and Buddhists and Jains are not members of the Hindu Commonwealth, the entire Hindu nation vanishes into the thin air. You efface the word "Hindu" and the entire picture of India changes. We have then a conglomeration of minorities—Sikhs Jains, Buddhists, Samajists and Sanatanists, numbering a few lakhs each and always at loggerheads with one another—living under the ominous shadow of a powerful despotic majority—the Muslims—forty million strong! The non-Muslim minorities must closely unite themselves into a well organised Union of Minorities, forged for the specific purpose of guarding every component against the onslaughts of alien parastic groups, hostile to our common genius. We are a majority against the Muslims, if we are Hindus. And we become a minority, the moment we discard that unifying word and start our life as Jains,
Sikhs or Sanatanists. It is in our common interest, that we encourage such Hindu consciousness among all people, whom nature has destined to sink and swim together. A Sikh obliges me not a jot, if he agrees to call himself a Hindu! and I oblige none except myself if I humour and respect Sikh sentiments for retaining him in the Hindu Commonwealth.

The Bon-Fire of 1947

This being our conception of Hindu nation, we can easily explain why the Sikhs marched to East Punjab—the Hindu part of the Punjab—when their false friends, the Muslims, had made their lives miserable in the Muslim part of the country. The hypnotic trance of Gandhi vanished before grim realities and the myth of Sikh-Muslim unity, an unholy and unnatural alliance of two essentially hostile groups, against Hindudom exploded in every city and village of the Punjab. The selfish leaders of Sikhs as well as of Hindus, who had illuded their guileless followers into the belief that Sikhs had nothing in common with the Hindus, learnt to their permanent shame that Hindus and Sikhs were one, in spite of their enemies’ clever machinations, and had everything common including the place of shelter, after the Muslims had ousted both from their “Pure Land.”

Gandhian Myth of Hindu-Muslim Unity Exploded.

The sufferings of Hindus and Sikhs in Pakistan at the hands of Muslims, washed off ago-old prejudices and bickerings from their minds and brought the two closer again. History repeated itself, as it were, to teach them the lesson they had willfully forgotten or perhaps, refused to learn in the past. They learnt to their cost, that the Muslim was the same in the twentieth century, as he was at the time of Guru Arjun Dev, Guru Tegh Bahadur or Guru Gobind Singh, and that all Kafirs must unite for their very existence. The events of 1947 unified all Hindus including Sikhs, into a monolith. Hindu consciousness was once again at the highest pitch, Hindu Sanghatan was seen in its ideal form. Gandhian sermons on Hindu-Muslim unity fell flat on people’s ears and the myth of his mahamatics burst before his own eyes. Mussalmans departed from East Punjab, leaving the Gandhists sad and grief-stricken. Punjab became a purely Hindu State, and hence a problem state for the Congreese, who thrives upon Hindu-Muslim bickerings alone. A Gandhian Yajna (religious ceremony) cannot be complete without the participation in it of a Muslim. Since Punjab had revolted against Gandhism, the Congress Government could never excuse it for this insolence.
The 'Master' with the brilliance of a 'Star' and the Courage of a 'Lion'.

October, 1954
CHAPTER V

Congress Tactics Succeed at Last

Master Tara Singh—Punjab’s Only Leader

The valiant role, Master Tara Singh had played just before and after the creation of Pakistan, had endeared him among all Hindu Sanghatanists and created a fund of goodwill for him. His was, in fact, the only personality which stood head and shoulders above the pigmy Congress leadership of the Punjab and which had earned the support of all Sanghatanist forces. Master Tara Singh is not an intellectual giant but essentially a practical man. His main weakness is that he very often puts reliance on persons of doubtful integrity and is, therefore, often betrayed by careerists. His own creatures—the persons, who get the highest Ministerial and Gubernatorial jobs through his good offices—later on begin to disclaim him and pour sermons of secularism into his head. If Master Tara Singh had a band of incorruptible idealists with him, collected from amongst Sikhs as well as other Hindus, and had risen slightly above the provincial level, he would have today been the uncrowned king of this non-Muslim state, commanding allegiance of Sikhs and non-Sikhs alike. Like Jinnah, he should have himself assumed the duty of representing the Punjab at the Centre and of controlling its internal legislative machinery.

Congress Strategy in the Punjab

Such a potent rival could not but haunt the pigmy Congress leaders, called upon to scale the Himalayas. Nehru wanted a weak and submissive leadership in the Punjab so that the Centre could conveniently enforce its pro-Muslim policies in this anti-Muslim state without much difficulty. A towering personality of Master Tara Singh’s stature and independence, gaining popularity among Sikhs as well as other Hindus of the Punjab, could not be a persona grata with Congress High Command. The Congress strategy demanded that Hindu-Sikh differences should increase, that Sikhs should join issue with Muslims as a minority, and that Hindus’ pent-up communal passion, which they could not give vent to against Muslims for fear of Nehru’s iron-rod, should find a vicarious outlet and burst forth against the Sikhs. The Congress also wanted to malign Master Tara Singh and his party, thus to drive a wedge between Sikhs and non-Sikhs and to damage the growing
The popularity of this powerful magnetic leader of the people. This is the psychological back-ground against which we should interpret the doings of the Congress leaders in the Punjab. Dividing Hindus and Sikhs is the fundamental principle, from which all the policies and plans of the Congress in this State start.

**Sikhs Disown the Neo-Mughals of Delhi**

The Punjab Hindus turned out Muslims and during the 1947 riots they acted in a manner diametrically opposed to Gandhian ethics. But their regard for Gandhi, Nehru or even Congress party did not abate. Most of the villagers, who waged organised attacks on Muslims, did so under the widespread misconception that it was a tacit policy of the Congress Government to free East Punjab of the Muslims. Congressites, Socialists and Communists alike took part in ousting Muslims and looting them, with the firm conviction that Nehru would congratulate them and Gandhi would bless them for their heroic deeds. It was only after the feverish heat had cooled down that people realized how foolishly they had been flouting Gandhian principles while shouting his 'Jai' at the pitch of their voice. They learnt it to their dismay that Nehru was not only verbally advising them—just to fool the world—not to expel the Muslims, but he sincerely meant it. An act had been committed—Muslims had been ousted—there were only two possible courses for the Punjabis to adopt now: either to justify it and disown Gandhi, Nehru and their secular ideals; or to atone for their sinful act and worship Gandhi and Nehru with redoubled zeal. The Congress press and platform propagandists succeeded in attracting majority of the Hindus to the latter, safer course. The majority of the Sikhs, however, refused to turn their backs so shamelessly. They kept their conscience clear and refused to be misled by Congress-Socialist-Communist combine. The Hindu mind was filled with a sense of guilt and was, therefore, weakened. It completely surrendered itself to the Mahatmas, Pandits and Maulanas of Delhi. The Sikhs’ mind was free from any such feeling and they were in no mood to repent for what they had done to clear East Punjab of Muslims. They took all the wrath of the Neo-Mughals of Delhi on themselves.

**Inglorious Role of the Congressites**

This was the genesis of fresh Hindu-Sikh differences, after the old malices had been burnt in the bon-fire of 1947. The Hindu again identified himself with Gandhian Congress, the Sikh refused to do so. The situation was very favourable for starting an endless vicious circle of misgivings and Gandhists took the fullest advantage of it. To the Sikhs they would say that the Hindus were going to establish Hindu Rashtra in which there would be no place for the Sikhs. And to the Hindus they would tell that the Sikhs were planning to create an independent Sikh State and if they were not shown their proper place, the beardless Hindus would have to
migrate beyond the Yamuna river. The rational meaning of Hindu Rashtra and Punjabi State were carefully screened from the masses, just to make existing confusion worst confounded.

A Word about the Conception of Hindu-Rashtra

The protagonists of Hindu Rashtra never even remotely meant that Sikhs would not enjoy equal rights in it; Hindu Rashtra does not mean a religious State. According to Hindu Sanghatanists, Sikhs without the least change in their ideology, are as good Hindus as Arya Samajists or Sanatanists and the fundamental idea behind the ideal of Hindu Rashtra is that the Government of India must assume direct responsibility of safe-guarding the cultural, economic and political interests of all Hindus—including Sikhs—in Pakistan and other countries hostile to Hindus and Sikhs. According to the present Constitution of India, Indian Government cannot directly interfere in the dealings of Pakistan people with their Hindu or Sikh nationals, except on humanitarian grounds; Indian Government is under no legal binding to accommodate Hindu and Sikh refugees, ousted from Pakistan; it is again not legally bound to demand an explanation from Pakistan, if she demolishes the shrines at Panja Sahib and Nankana Sahib. For, India is not yet a Hindu-Rashtra.

If Indian Government takes upon itself the direct responsibility of protecting the interests of Hindus and Sikhs living beyond its territorial jurisdiction, especially in Pakistan, it will become a Hindu Rashtra. In practice, the Indian Government does, at times, act as a *de facto* Hindu Rashtra; Hindu Sanghatanists want it to be a *de jure* Hindu Rashtra. We have yet to come across a real Sikh, who is not amenable to such Constitutional changes.

A Word Regarding Punjabi State

Similarly the idea of a Punjabi State has been distorted into that of a Sikh State from which Hindus will have to migrate. Such distortions are not accidental but purposeful. We have tried to explain the exact implications of the ideal of Hindu Rashtra times without number but no Punjab paper worth the name has ever shown preparedness to allow our clear views to reach the masses. The rationale of Punjabi State has, likewise, been kept from Hindu masses. The purpose of this organised conspiracy is to accentuate Hindu-Sikh tension up to a degree, after which their mutual conflicts may continue without external help and the Congress may sit in judgment upon both. The delicate and complicated concepts of Hindu Rashtra and Punjabi State have been fully exploited by the Congress to play upon the baser sentiments of ignorant masses, Sikh as well as Hindu. In fact, the ideal of a Punjabi State is quite consistent with the ideal of Hindu Rashtra.
Hindus and Sikhs Again in Opposite Camps

Coming back to the genesis of Hindu-Sikh differences in the post-partition Punjab, we have shown how the generality of the Hindus went into the lap of the Congress and the generality of Sikhs kept away from it. Among Hindus, there were the Rashtriya Sanghites too, but in glorifying the “Father of their Nation,” especially after his murder in 1948, they were second to none. The Hindu Mahasabha had already converted itself into Hindu Mahashasabha, under the reactionary leadership of a few parasitic capitalists and financial wizards and was vying with Congress in pledging support to Nehru and in denouncing the rebellious Sikhs. The things thus began to move exactly as Congress wanted. The slogan of Hindu Sanghatan, which, when applied to Punjab, could mean nothing but Hindu-Sikh unity, was misinterpreted by the Hindu Mahashasabha and profitably utilized by the Congress to separate Hindus from Sikhs. Those, who tried to bring about Hindu-Sikh rapprochement, and thus carried out the real programme of Pan-Hindu-Sanghatan, came to be looked upon as traitors, Sikhs’ stooges and ‘Gandhis’ in relation to Sikhs. In a well known case*, between some Hindu Congressites and a Sikh I.C.S. Officer, we had to pay a severe penalty for we had refused to act communally and had openly denounced the misdemeanour of the Congressites.

Charges Against Sikh Leaders

Such had grown the moods of Hindus and Sikhs when the language controversy raised its head in the Punjab. It may be argued that the ugly situation was created by the irresponsible speeches, Sikh leaders had been making in Gurudwaras. In fact, very often the Sanghites and Mahashasabhaites of Punjab justify their otherwise unjustifiable opposition to the Sikh demands by asserting that Master Tara Singh’s unbalanced utterances against the Hindus set the ball rolling. The correct answer to this charge demands a dispassionate and unattached study of facts. It is true that at various places Master Tara Singh’s speeches could cause offence to Hindus. We have had occasion to know, from persons engaged in Master Tara Singh’s defence during his detention, that there were many objectionable passages in his speeches. But it is equally true that he indulged in that sort of talk only when the Hindus had so completely and slavishly identified themselves with Gandhian Congress that an uncharitable word against a Congress leader had almost the same effect on them as an insulting reference to Shri Rama or Krishna. In majority of his speeches, Master Tara Singh took good care not to say anything against the Hindus in general, but only against the Congress. But when the act of denouncing, criticising or even mildly reviewing Congress leadership began to produce the same effect on Hindu masses as ridiculing Hindu religious figures, he naturally became rather slack in drawing subtle distinction between the Hindus and the Congress and no wonder if, in the heat of the moment, he did say things, which he could better avoid.
among some enthusiastic young men of Ambala.

Master Tara Singh (Eighth from right standing) and the author (seventh from right)

IN THE COMPANY OF YOUNG FOLK
Injustice to Master Tara Singh

Moreover, Hindu Congressites go to hear him, not with the object of assessing how much sense he talks, but to pick out his lapses into cheapness. The reports, which later appear in papers, suppress with a scrupulous care, what he says for promoting Hindu-Sikh unity and one or two improper words, which this sincere and artless well-wisher of humanity, may unwittingly utter, are widely publicised, so that he may not win, in the minds of people, that place of regard and respect, which he so amply deserves. The vicious circle has been started, and is kept going, by the Congress. Tara Singh's fault is that he does not know the art of breaking it. If the Hindus disown Gandhi, Nehru and their Congress lock, stock and barrel, and cease to feel for them, Tara Singh will cease to offend them. At present Congress is synonymous with Hindus. If criticism of Congress leadership is to be taken as an affront on Hinduism, Hindu-Sikh relations will never improve. The Sikhs are frankly anti-Congress and if the Hindus take this as an anti-Hindu activity, the fault is entirely theirs. In this controversy, all right-thinking persons will be with the Sikhs. Our Hindu Sanghatanist zeal will be but skin-deep if we allow ourselves to be confused by Congress tactics and join Gandhist group against the Sikhs.
CHAPTER VI

Hindus' Arguments Against Gurumukhi - Punjabi

Punjabi—The Real Victim of Communal Bias

The language issue in the Punjab proved an acid test for the local Sanghatanists. The Sikhs unanimously supported Punjabi in Gurumukhi script while the Hindus, barring a very few academicians, opposed it almost blindly. The real opposition was based on the fact that the average Hindu associated Punjabi and Gurumukhi with the cursed Sikhs, whom he had been systematically trained to look upon as worse than the worst Muslim Leaguer. How could he like his language? The Hinduistic character of Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script was never brought under consideration when opposition to it was organised and the so-called Hindu Sanghatanists of Punjab went to the length of asserting that they would rather tolerate Urdu being taught to their children at school, as heretofore, than permit the poison of the Sikh language to be administered to them. The entire attitude of the Hindus towards Punjabi was, and still is, being determined by certain mental predilections traceable to political antagonism between the two sections of population.

Education Department Resurrects Urdu

At this stage another mischief was perpetrated on our unfortunate State by the Education Department, presumably at the instance of the Central Congress Ministry. The College students were allowed to take up two languages at the Intermediate stage; one called Elective (language) to be studied intensively, the other called Optional (language) to be studied cursorily. The three languages out of which the students were required to choose two, were Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu, the last having been purposely dug out of the grave. The miracle wrought by this magic is that the Hindu students, who would not touch Punjabi with a pair of tongs take up Hindi and Urdu, while the Sikhs return the compliment by taking up Punjabi and Urdu, respectively, as Elective and Optional languages. The common medium between the Hindus and Sikhs is thus Urdu, which is the language of no party in the Punjab, but which is all the same, studied by the majority. Urdu has been granted a further lease of life, thanks to the antagonism between Sikhs and other Hindus! Sensible people have already raised a voice against
this pernicious system, fraught with mischievous potentialities. Can we imagine that if Lahore University were to give the students the option to choose two languages from among Pashto, Urdu and Hindi, then the Pathans would offer Pashto and Hindi, and the Punjabi Muslim Urdu and Hindi, just to give expression to their mutual hostility? Such wonders are possible only among the Hindus.

Hindus Rationalising the Irrational: Objections to Punjabi

The Hindus' opposition to Punjabi in Gurumukhi script is wholly untenable and anomalous, but several face-saving devices have been discovered by them in their vain attempts to rationalise, what is prima facie irrational. We must lay thread-bare some of the absurdities they commit while arguing on this issue.

Punjabi is not a Dialect of Hindi

A Hindu starts the discussion by saying that his language is not Punjabi. When his attention is drawn to the fact, that the language, he is talking in, is Punjabi, he audaciously makes another false statement that what he is speaking is not Punjabi but Hindi. If a Hindi-speaking person happens to be nearby and declares that the language under review is not Hindi, the obstinate fellow, "though vanquished, would argue still," and would persist in maintaining that his language is the "Punjabi dialect of Hindi." In the Oriental Titles Examinations of the Punjab University, and in the Advanced Hindi Examinations of all other Universities, specimens of all the recognised dialects of Hindi are included in the courses of study. There are Braj Bhasha and the Maithili; then there are Rajasthani and Avadhi. But nobody has ever seen specimens of the "Punjabi dialect of Hindi" in any standard text-book of Hindi. This off-hand statement the Panjabi Hindu makes only to make his position still more embarrassing. "No", he would say, "Punjabi is a rustic dialect and is never considered fit for writing." When a few Gurumukhi magazines and books are shown and read out to him, and his reply is elicited, he asserts with regained confidence, "But this is Gurumukhi and not Punjabi. Gurumukhi is the religious language of the Sikhs, what have I to do with it?"

Punjabi in Arabic Script—A Disgrace to Hindudom

Then there is the second type of Hindu objectors to Punjabi, and they are those who have some how reconciled themselves to the hard truth that Punjabi Hindus do speak a language distinctly different from Hindi, that this language is not easily understood by Hindi-speaking people and that this language is popularly called Punjabi. They try to be cleverer than others and contend that they have nothing to say against Punjabi language, but that they cannot accept the suggestion that Gurumukhi is the only natural script of Punjabi. This attitude is reprehensible in as much as it permits the inherently crooked mentality of the person to be guised under very
fashionable phraseology and high sounding principles. Such people, who may be called supporters of Devanagari-Punjabi, argue that well-known works of Punjabi, like *Heer* of Warris Shah have been written in Persian characters and that it is as logical to call Persian or Arabic script, the natural script of Punjabi, as to apply Gurumukhi to it. This strange argument, which was so patent with the Muslims during the pre-Partition days, can lie in the mouth of only those Hindus, who have taken leave of all sense of national pride. Persian script, or which is more or less the same thing as Arabic script, was employed for the Hindu languages under an organised international scheme chalked out by Muslims, the ruinous effects of which we have already enumerated. The unscrupulous Hindus, who publicise the fact of Punjabi having, at one time, been written in Arabic characters, cannot thereby prove the appropriateness of Devanagari being applied for the purpose—the objective that lies in their mind—though they may thus strengthen the claims of Arabic script, and indirectly play the Muslims’ game. Let us tell our unscrupulous Hindi zealots that such standard works of Hindi as *Padmavat* of Jaisi were originally written in Persian script. Can any lover of Hindi admit, on that account, that Persian is the natural script of Hindi? Warris Shah wrote *Heer* in Persian script, because he was a Musiim. The natural script of Punjabi is Gurumukhi—howsoever imperfect it may be—and Punjabi in Arabic characters should ever remind us of our intellectual slavery to Arabia, which no self-respecting Hindu should tolerate, even as he should not tolerate Hindi being written in that script.

**Punjabi in Devanagari Characters**

The question of employing Devanagari script to Punjabi is an independent issue and its discussion does not necessitate the citation of Arabic having once been applied to Punjabi, as a precedent. An honest Hindu, who wants to replace Gurumukhi by Devanagari, should frankly acknowledge thus: “Punjabi has its natural script Gurumukhi; Arabic was once imposed upon it by force; I have been sitting as an unattached observer all this time. Now that after centuries of struggle, Gurumukhi has, got rid of its mortal rival, Arabic, I feel ashamed of my apathy towards it. I have also been criminally indifferent towards Hindi, which has been groaning all along, under the oppression of Urdu in the All-India sphere. Now I can rationalise my mortification and sense of guilt only by raising the bogey of Punjabi in Devanagari script.”

**Gandhi’s Appearance on Political Horizon**

A word regarding Hindus’ love for Devanagari. The linguistic, or rather cultural, fight between Hindus and Muslims, extending practically over a millennium, did cause fatigue to the Hindus, and though they did not completely surrender, as the Persians had done, the zeal for preserving the purity of their languages did abate with
the passage of time and they began to indicate, in a variety of ways, their willingness to absorb Arabic influences. When Gandhi, with all his zealots for a composite culture, appeared on the Indian political scene, Hindus had, no doubt, accepted the fusion of Islamic culture with their own, as an inevitable consequence of their closer contacts (by no means friendly) but they had not yet learnt to justify such admixture; and the ambition ultimately to effect a purge of Hindu culture had not been finally discarded. Writings of the nineteenth century revivallist leaders bear ample testimony to this contention. Gandhi's achievement consists in transforming that anti-Arabic feelings of Hindus into anti-English rage. He gave a rational interpretation to the lethargic inactivity of the fatigued Hindus and systematically, eliminated whatever little resistance, they were offering to Islamic cultural inroads, by successfully convincing his Hindu followers that Islamic influences on Hindu culture were not only to be tolerated, but actually encouraged! Cry for a composite Hindustani or Indian culture became the order of the day. The hybrids like Talimi Sangha, Sadaquat Ashram, Begam Sita, Maulana Vashishta and Maulvi Valmiki are some of the sweetest creations of that Gandhian School. And, no doubt, world literature would have been visibly poorer without such comic coinages of the great Mahatma!

Hindus' Skin-Deep Loyalty to Devanagari-Hindi

The non-serious and care-free among the Hindus got a plea—a high sounding argument—to justify their indifference in respect of linguistic and cultural purity. Hindustani, a condemnable mongrel, threatened to become the Lingua Franca of India, with Arabic as its official script. To plead the cause of Devanagari became a communal slogan. Hindus began to patronise Arabic script and Arabiscised speech with nationalistic fervour. The chances of Hindi in Devanagari coming to its own appeared to be far and few between. We had the privilege of writing a series of articles supporting Devanagari-Hindi during the mid-thirties, which provoked such a storm of adverse criticism that our articles ceased to appear in popular papers. The maximum opposition to Devanagari-Hindi being made the medium of inter-provincial communication was offered by the very people who now swear by Devanagari-Hindi. The pro-Hindi zeal of such opportunists will evaporate as miraculously as it has come upon them, the moment an anti-Hindi wind blows from some powerful quarter. Bhai Paramanada, the well-known Hindu leader of the Punjab, once moved in the Central Assembly that the value of the coins should appear thereon in Devanagari. This move fell through owing to opposition from Hindus themselves. The greedy Hindu capitalist was more interested in the jingling sound and value of the rupee than in the script thereon! The Hindu motor-drivers would sometimes become religious enough to write 'OM', or some such word, on their vehicle, but would choose Arabic script for it. And they would argue, if their mistake was pointed out to them! Ladies had Arabic characters
tattooed on their body. The stone slabs or tiles bearing the names of donors and fixed to temple walls or gates of other semi-religious places, had and still have, Arabic inscriptions on them. The lust for publicity was greater in a Hindu, than the love for Devanagari and Sanskrit and Hindu languages and scripts were often thrown to winds when decorative slabs were prepared. We do not know how many pounds of our blood have boiled off at the sight of Arabic characters in Hindu temples! In the far-flung temple of "Rameshwaram" in Madras Presidency, where Arabic characters are more alien than Latin or Greek, we saw to our permanent shame, name plates and signboards bearing this strange right-handed script! Where Muslims could not carry Islamic culture, Hindus themselves carried it under the inspiring lead of Gandhi!

A Pertinent Poser

To such depths had degenerated the mentality of majority of the Hindus when circumstances, beyond the control of Gandhi, Nehru and company, (unlimited?) forced Arabic script out of the Punjab. How can we explain the anti-Gurumukhi zeal of the people, who could swallow the pill of Arabic without a murmur? How did this love for Devanagari suddenly dawn upon them?

Punjabi Hindus Have Lost National Character

The Hindu discovered all the beauties of Devanagari, and his love for it returned to him, only on the day when it became the official script by an Act of the Parliament, through the relentless efforts of those very detestable "reactionaries and rank communists" who had refused to submit to Gandhi's non-sensical talk of "Hindustani in Arabic script." Under the continued stress of the greatest tyrants the world has ever known, for about a thousand years, the majority of the Hindus have been strained beyond the elastic limit. They have been pressed beyond the yield point and have now learnt to submit to the dictates of the ruler, howsoever despotic, almost without visible protest. They have lost national character and, like an excessively molested girl, have ceased to offer resistance to those who violate their national chastity. They have ceased to have any idea of objective value of things and everything associated with the rulers appears attractive to them. During the British rule, English manners, dress and language used to fascinate them. Since 1947, Gandhi cap has taken the place of the hat. The pictures of Queen Victoria and King George have been replaced by those of Gandhi, Nehru and Rajendra Prasad, not that the Hindus have intelligently appreciated their ideals, but because they now occupy the Imperial Throne at Delhi. Only when Gandhi became the King-Maker, did his qualities of love, truth, non-violence and what not, became known to the I.C.S., P.C.S., and other Government officials, who till recently used to shun the sight of a white cap. How cleverly have the official class adapted themselves to the new order, should equally well indicate what moral conscientiousness
they have. If perchance Russian Imperialism were established in India—which God forbid—all the virtues of the world will appear to the Hindu to have concentrated in Russian language and culture. The sudden love that the modern Punjabi Hindu has developed for Devanagari-Hindi is due to the imperialistic status to which it has been raised, and not due to a genuine appreciation for its pure Hindu character. If that position of vantage had been given to Chinese or even Arabic, the Hindu would not have minded much. The Punjab Hindus’ excessive infatuation for Devanagari characters, in utter disregard of the claims of Gurumukhi, should be viewed against this psychological background.
CHAPTER VII

A Common Script for All Hindu Languages

A Lofty Ideal

At this stage we must seriously examine a very sound argument behind which many spurious admirers of Devanagari script seek refuge, but which has, nonetheless, a good deal of rational force. Can’t we justify application of Devanagari script on the ground that this will augment the unity of Hindudom? We are unequivocally in favour of employing one script for writing all the Hindu languages—and, in fact, all languages of the world. We have often successfully written English and German languages in Devanagari characters. All Hindu Sanghatanists will welcome such a move. We have already stated how Muslims brought about the unity of Islamic peoples through the Arabic script. The cultural solidarity of the Christian powers is kept intact, despite frequent internecine wars, through the community of Roman script. Even the Germans and Russians, whose scripts are slightly different from Roman, have shown willingness to shed off their difference and fall in line with the other cognate nations. The idea of accepting a common script for all Hindu languages is lofty, indeed; no Hindu Sanghatanist can lightly dispose of it.

Method of Procedure

But the question must be considered on the all-nation basis, and not on the provincial basis. Sikhs, and other protagonists of Gurumukhi, will have every reason to feel offended if their favourite script is chosen for purposes of a peculiar experiment, the ultimate success of which appears to be very very doubtful, especially in view of the present mental attitude, and the theoretical knowledge of the problem on the part of the unmethodical experimenters. The proposition of abolishing local systems of writing and introducing Devanagari or some other agreed script instead, affects Bengalis, Gujaratis, Oriyas, Tamilians, Kanadas, Malayalees, Andhras, Sinhalese, Burmese, Siamese and Tibetans alike. Their willing co-operation through proper education on the point, must be enlisted before any practical steps in this direction are taken. Here are a few of the other considerations which should guide us in the choice of the Pan-Hindu Script:

(i) We must first be clear in our mind that the Pan-Hindu script shall be one of the many derivatives of Brahmi (with slight
Prof. Kahol (sitting left) with Veer V. D. Savarkar (sitting right) at Bombay in May, 1947.
modifications, if necessary) and of no Semitic origin.

(ii) Among the derivatives of Brahmi, the one chosen shall approximate as closely to an ideal scientific script as possible. Continuity of the movement of the pen in the process of writing, brevity of effort, economy of space and correctness and rapidity in writing, are some of the requisites of a scientific script.

(iii) Then we have to judge what are the chances of the selected script being accepted by all the Hindu peoples as their common script.

**First Consideration**

Judged on the basis of the first criterion, Bengali, Gurumukhi, Tamil and others Hindu scripts, have exactly equal claims to be raised to the apprised position of Pan-Hindu script. None can call the others inferior. Devanagari is, by no means, more Hindu than Bengali, Tamil or Gurumukhi. They are all equidistant from the central script, Brahmi, from which they have originated.

**Second Consideration**

Judged from the point of view of scientific qualities, Devanagari is easily excelled by Bengali and Malayalam scripts. It is more scientific than Gurumukhi in the present shape, and certainly far more so than Tamil. Tibetan is also much less perfect than Devanagari. Gujarati, Telugu, Kanarese, Burmese and Sinhalese are at par with Devanagari.

**Last Consideration**

In the last respect, no Hindu script can excel Devanagari despite its imperfection in other respects. It is learnt by all educated Hindus in India, Burma, Ceylon, Siam, Bali, Tibet and even China and Japan, for reading Sanskrit, the sacred language of Hindudom. It is highly improbable that Malayalam or Bengali characters will ever receive universal recognition, despite their superiority in certain respects. Devanagari alone holds out a promise to become the common script of Hindudom.

**Indecent Haste Sure to provoke Opposition**

But whether Tibetan, Tamil and Japanese scripts are perfect or imperfect, are their adherents in a mood to discard them in favour of Devanagari? They are not, at least, at the present stage, and any hasty action on the part of hot zealots of Devanagari now will provoke such a violent reaction, that the chances of the change over to the Pan-Hindu script will be eclipsed for ever. The unscrupulous fire-brands can thus easily do the greatest harm to the cause of Devanagari, which they pretend to uphold. The replacement of local script by a common script—let us say by Devanagari—
cannot be achieved through compulsion, but by arousing Pan-Hindu consciousness among the various component parts of the Hindu Commonwealth. This implies systematic education of Hindu public opinion all the world-over, on this specific issue. Legislative measures for enforcing Devanagari should be resorted to last of all, if ever.

Love for Native Script is a Natural Instinct

Now when we have no programme as yet before us for replacing Bengali, Tamil and Gujarati scripts, is it not preposterous that we should single out Punjabi and try to impose Devanagari script on it at the point of rod? Punjabi has its limitations, but so have others. In Tamil, Gandhi, Kanti, Khandi, Ghandi, Kandhi and Kandi are written in the same way. We had once our name plate written in Tamil. The word ‘Prakasha’, occurring in it, was variously read as Prakasa, Prahasa, Pragasa, Bragacha, and in a number of other ways, by the visitors, and the sub-caste ‘Kahol’ gave another series of interesting words—Kagol, Kakol, Gagol and so on. By the mathematical process of permutations and combinations, we calculated one day that our name written in Tamil could be pronounced in some hundreds of ways! But can any one easily convince a Tamilian that his system of writing is defective and that he should accept Devanagari? We once casually remarked that Tamil writing needed improvement and had to hear the retort, “You North Indians better leave us alone.” The opposition to Devanagari letters by the Dravida Kazhagam is now an open secret.

Arouse Pan-Hindu Consciousness through Love

Language and script are the two most sensitive points of a people and unless they happen to be Hindus of the Gandhian brand, they are always very touchy about them. Instincts, and not reason, mostly guide their behaviour in relation thereto and a change in these vital national features can only be introduced either through excessive violence committed for a considerable length of time, as did the Arabs in Persia and Egypt, or through constant persuasion successfully practised in recent times by the Communist missionaries. The Hindus, in their present circumstances and on ethical grounds, can take recourse to the latter methods only. The efficacy of persuasion in converting peoples’ hearts needs no proof. The Hindus of yore had brought the East Indies, China and Japan within the Hindu Commonwealth, not by war as Islam brought other countries of the world within its orbit, but by persuasion, goodwill and love. We had introduced our Hindu system of writing—our Scientific script—in far off lands like Siam, Bali, Tibet and Mongolia, not at the point of bayonet, but by convincing the people of its superior qualities. We have to learn the same noble art anew—the art of winning friends, we have since forgotten. Devanagari has to be universalised, but through tact and caution. Our technique had yielded remarkable results in the Asian countries,
where Islamic violence met with its well deserved doom.

**Beware of Spurious Lovers of Devanagari**

So to press the demand for applying Devanagari to Punjabi at this juncture is impolitic. It can result only in misgivings on both sides and defeat its very purpose. By pointing out the shortcomings of Gurumukhi script we shall be only adding fuel to fire. When we can put up with the defects of Tamil, Tibetan and other Hindu scripts, why should we display indecent eagerness to root out Gurumukhi? The question of replacing Gurumukhi by Devanagari should come when replacement of all provincial scripts is under contemplation, and that bold step will be warranted only when Pan-Hindu consciousness of the right type is at such a high pitch that all Hindus are willing to shed off localism and parochialism of their own accord—without much of compulsion—for the sake of national unity. That feeling is, for the time being, at the lowest ebb. Sikhs will be justified in suspecting ulterior motives behind the activities of the seasonal devotees of Devanagari, whose own love for it, as we have already pointed out, is spurious and dubious. The numerous cheap advocates of Devanagari, who have suddenly sprung up like mushrooms in recent years, who have never given a moment’s thought to the wider and deeper implications of the problem and have not seen what lies beyond their nose, are dragging in the Gurumukhi-Devanagari controversy at this moment just to grind their own axe. They are concealing their innate malice towards the Sikhs behind a very rational slogan. The demand for universalising Devanagari with the object of augmenting Pan-Hindu unity, should come only from those, who believe in the ideal of Pan-Hindu unity and who are prepared to pay the price of this conviction of theirs. When such a demand comes from Gandhists, who only deride, day in and day out, the idea of a Pan-Hindu bloc, it can mean nothing but a stunt and a fraud. Such a demand, put forth by the secularists of the Gandhian school, is bound to infuriate the Sikhs and very rightly so.
A Compromise Formula

There is yet another aspect of the proposal, put forth by some Punjabi Hindus, to introduce Devanagari to Punjabi language. At present Sikhs are, as a rule, in favour of Gurumukhi-Punjabi, and Hindus of Devanagari-Hindi. This linguistic difference, if perpetuated, will divide the people of the Punjab state into two sections, their respective members being scattered at random throughout the state. This linguistic division will not be on regional basis but communal basis. The Punjab will thus become a bilingual state and a net-work of complications will crop up in the matter of education and administration. If, at least, on the question of script, a compromise could be arrived at, a lot of unnecessary botheration could be saved. If Punjabi in Devanagari script—Devanagari-Panjabi—could be mutually accepted as the state language, a real hurdle should have been removed from the way. This is another argument, which is considered to be the strongest and most cogent for applying Devanagari script to Punjabi language.

Who are the Votaries of Punjabi in Devanagari?

Here again we find, the Hindus do not mean business. The basic aim of this compromise formula is that Punjab should cease to be a bilingual state and there should be only one state language—Punjabi in Devanagari characters. Its status here should be the same as that of Bengali in Bengal and Hindi shall be taught, not as mother-tongue, but as Union language, as in other non-Hindi-speaking states. But the Hindus again come forth with the fantastic plea that even this state language—Punjabi in Devanagari—should not be made compulsory. It should be left to be studied optionally by those who want it i.e., by those who profess Punjabi as their mother-tongue. The underlying idea is that the Hindus will still be free to acknowledge Hindi in Devanagari as their mother-tongue and study it alone, while the Sikhs may study Punjabi in Devanagari script. Sikhs are being duped by thousand attractive arguments that by discarding Gurumukhi, they will become closer to the rest of India, they will thus be helping themselves by the acquisition of Hindi, which will facilitate their entry in services, and so forth.
A New Trap for Lovers of Gurumukhi

The Sikhs, on the other hand, argue that if after their discarding Gurumukhi, the Punjab will still continue as a bilingual province, what is the use of their sacrificing their favourite script, which has a long historical association with them? After all they agree to part with it, not for facilitating their entry into services, but to bring about linguistic homogeneity in the state. Why should the Hindus worry about the Sikhs’ employment? Out of disgust, the Sikhs also rescind the compromise. The Hindus’ unjust attitude makes the situation worse; from bilingual, the Punjab becomes a trilingual state, having Hindus professing allegiance to Devanagari-Hindi, Sikhs favouring Gurumukhi-Punjabi, and a few “floating corks” learning Devanagri-Punjabi! The Sikhs would be fools if they permit themselves to be taken in by this jugglery of words, in which the Congressite Hindus have specialised. Even if Devanagri-Punjabi is recognised as a language, its votaries will have to be searched under a travelling microscope! This apparently well-meaning proposal is, in fact, a big fraud on Sikhs, coming as it does, from persons who do not believe in fair-play. No charming phrases or golden principles can bring about harmony and happiness, unless the hearts of their protagonists are free from malice. Hindus’ minds have been vitiated against the Sikhs as well as against Punjabi and Congress alone is responsible for this impasse. Unified Punjabis would have freed India of the last traces of Gandhian irrationalism and wiped Congress with all its satellites out of existence. Alas the Sanghatanists could see through their dirty game!

A More Out-Spoken Opposition to Punjabi

The third category of Hindus, who oppose Punjabi and Gurumukhi, is more out-spoken and clear-headed. They frankly admit that they speak Punjabi and that the natural script of Punjabi is neither Arabic nor Devanagri, but Gurumukhi. Their desire, however, is to become Hindi-speaking people in course of time. They make no secret of their dislike for the tongue, God had put in their mouth by mistake at the time of their birth and they are out to undo that wrong. The attitude of such people, howsoever anomalous it may be, is understandable. And we would have liked all Punjabi Hindus, who oppose Punjabi language, to be frank and outspoken like this, so that unnecessary play on words and the consequent confusion could be avoided. We need not go into the cause which impel certain Hindus to disown Punjabi. In the ultimate analysis this attitude is found to rest on anti-Sikh feeling, though they try to rationalize it in a variety of ways. The majority of non-Sikh Hindus, especially the Arya-Samajists, labour under the misconception that propagation of Hindi is their religious duty. It is a fact that Maharshi Swami Dayananda Saraswati was an uncompromising champion of Hindi, but if we understand that great leader aright, he emphasised the preservation and propagation of Hindi as against its deadly foreign rivals, Urdu and English. According
to him, the jurisdiction of Hindi was India-wide where no provincial language, much less Punjabi, could challenge its suzerainty. He never advocated that speakers of other languages should give up their respective speeches in favour of Hindi, and even in the national sphere, Hindi was tolerated by him only as a poor substitute for Sanskrit, which he aspired eventually to make the common language of Hindudom. The mistake, or shall we call it mischief, which Swamiji’s unwise followers committed was that having criminally neglected the study of Sanskrit, they gave its venerable place to one of its derivatives, Hindi, and what was more deplorable, began a ruthless crusade against other off-shoots of the same Sacred Language. Thus, speaking Hindi became, in their view, an Aryan practice, speaking Punjabi, un-Aryan. Ignorance of Sanskrit and utter lack of knowledge of comparative philology on the part of Hindi zealots is responsible for anti-Punjabi zeal in the Punjab. Alas, a thousandth part of it could be diverted into a diligent study of Sanskrit, and all their irrational, blind fanaticism would have been radically cured the next day. We cannot help quoting Dr. Sir Mohammed Iqbal, who on one occasion said of the Muslims:

Masjid to bana di shab bhar men,  
Iman ki hararat walon ne;  
Par man jo purana tha papi,  
Barson men namazi ban na saka.

(The hot zealots of religion have erected the Mosque overnight, but the old sinful mind could not take to regular praying even in years’ time).

If our Hindu friends had devoted some of their valuable time and attention to the higher linguistic, specially Sanskritic, pursuits, their pent-up energy would have found a vicarious channel, and they would have discovered that Punjabi is no less Aryan than Hindi.

**Hindus’ Interest in Hindi Not Genuine but Mercenary**

The Hindus’ opposition to Punjabi is thus traceable to communal factors, though they may not admit it. Some of them argue that they want to “sacrifice” their mother-tongue for the sake of national unity, as if they would have shown the same spirit of “sacrifice” if Sanskrit, the real symbol of Hindus’ unity, had been made the National Language. Others, with a more guileless nature, confess that they wish to discard Punjabi, because by adopting Hindi, they will become members of the ‘Royal’ group and their entry into the ‘Imperial’ service will be facilitated. In other words it does not matter to them what the ‘Imperial, language is: they will gladly accept it, be it Russian, Chinese, Arabic or English. To them Hindi is dear, not because it is a Hindu language, but because just for the time being, it enjoys ‘royal’ patronage.

**Cases of Change of Mother Tongue**

Change of mother-tongue with change of circumstances, is not a rare phenomenon. The census report for the year 1931 records
that whenever an aristocrat Bengali family embraced Islam, they also simultaneously disowned Bengali language and took to Urdu. We have known many Indian Christian families, who now speak English only, though some three generations back, when their conversion to Christianity took place, they used to speak Indian languages. We need not, therefore, be surprised if a large section of the Hindus in the Punjab aspire, for various reasons, to change their mother-tongue. Whether it is possible, proper or necessary, is a different matter. Our reply is decisively in the negative. It may be possible for a single man or a family to change the spoken-tongue, but masses cannot move against the current. The Punjabi Hindus shall continue to speak Punjabi despite the hot gospellers of Hindi, though they may not admit it in words and though for writing, and other literary purposes, they may use Hindi only.

What is a Punjabi Hindu’s Mother Tongue

After all this discussion, what should the mother-tongue of a Punjabi-Hindu be called? He speaks what is properly called Punjabi and when questioned, he insists on and persists in saying that his mother-tongue is Hindi. No amount of argumentation can make him see the truth, for he does not want it. His apathy, anti-pathy and hatred for Punjabi is clearly an unmistakable index of his anti-Sikh mind which fact again, the confounded Hindu is not bold enough to confess frankly, wedded as he is to the Gandhian creed of non-violence! A Gandhian Hindu’s mind is verily a store-house of conflicts.

Let Punjabi Hindus be regarded as Hindi-Speakers

Let us then accept the principle that mother-tongue of a person is the language which he acknowledges as such, and not that which he frequently employs. We fully recognise that this method of determining the mother-tongue is defective and in the vitiated atmosphere of our State, surcharged with falsehood, it will inflict grave injustice on Punjabi. But if a person is so morally depraved as not to speak out the truth, or if he is so mortally inimical towards Punjabi that he detests to have any association with it, we for one, would never like to impose it upon him. And misguided that they are, the majority of Punjabi Hindus do have such feelings for the language, they daily employ. Following the principle enunciated above, viz., mother-tongue is the language, which a speaker acknowledges as such, we may regard all Hindus (in the Punjab) as Hindi-speakers and all Sikhs as Punjabi-speakers, and then try to solve the language question in this State. After all, no one can force Hindus to stick on to Punjabi, if they are really serious to adopt Hindi, with reason or without. If they are really serious to change their tongue (which we seriously doubt) and are prepared to pay the price of this metamorphosis, they may succeed in shedding off their original speech-habits in a generation or two. Let us grant them the certificate of being Hindi-speakers right now. In the
present discourse we shall, henceforth, take all Punjabi Hindus as Hindi-speakers and they will be governed by the same rules, to which other Hindi-speaking people will be subject. Those Indians, whose mother-tongue is Hindi and among whom we may now include the Punjabi Hindus, form a class by themselves and while framing our scheme of linguistic studies in schools, we shall have to consider their case as a special one, so as to avoid the emergence in our country, of a privileged, ruling class, which the Hindi-speaking people threaten to become.
CHAPTER IX

Menace of Hindi Imperialism

Hindi-Speakers—A Privileged Class

The argument of Punjabi Hindus, that by discarding Punjabi language, and by adopting Hindi as their mother tongue, they will become members of the “privileged class” and their entry into the “Imperial” service will be facilitated, clearly shows that certain advantages do accrue to the speakers of Hindi by the installation of that language as the Union Language. The tendency to discard mother-tongue in favour of the Lingua Franca is not peculiar to Punjabis, but may be present and is discernible, to a more or lesser degree, among speakers of other languages too. Very naturally it has given rise to grave misgivings in the minds of those lovers of mother-tongue, who, at the present, moment, are not, at any cost, prepared to see their respective languages being sacrificed at the altar of Hindi. The duty of the real protagonists of Hindi should, at the present juncture, have been to explain in clear terms, and prove in action, that Hindi was not meant to replace the mother-tongue, but to serve as a second language. All apprehensions regarding rivalry between mother-tongue and Hindi should have been radically dispelled and those foolish gospellers of Hindi, who showed undue disrespect to their mother-tongue, just to aggrandize Hindi, should have been bridled by saner, but less boisterous well-wishers of Hindi. This, however, did not happen. The deserters of mother-tongue, were on the other hand, lionised. This confirmed the apprehensions of non-Hindi people and spurred them into a violent anti-Hindi activity. The cause of Hindi—which we all love dearly—suffered a serious setback.

Opposition to Hindi: From Muslims

Opposition to Hindi in different quarters is actuated by different motives. Lovers of Urdu, who are Muslims or Muslimised Hindus, oppose Hindi because a Hindu language has dethroned Urdu, the best representative of Islamic culture in India. They would have been equally dissatisfied if Sanskrit, Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil or any other Hindu language had been raised to the exalted position of India’s National Language. Let no Punjabi, Bengali or Tamilian be taken in by the lip-sympathy of Urdu-lovers with their cause.

From Dravidians

Tamilians’ opposition to Hindi is based on an anti-Aryan feeling. As long as the Pan-Hindu consciousness was strong, the
racial feeling among the Hindus was weak. Since the common ideological tie of Hindutva has been weakened now by the injections of Gandhian secularism, the South Indian Dravidians have become acutely conscious of their racial distinction from the North Indians—Hindus, Sikhs, Gujaratis, Marathas and all—whom they regard as Aryans. They oppose Hindi, not because they are in love with Punjabi or Sanskrit or Urdu but because it is a North Indian language. The situation would have been no better if that place of distinction had been given to any other North Indian language. We cannot too deeply deplore the racial consciousness of Dravidians, but that is also due to the imperialistic designs of Hindi-zealots who have all along been contemptuously ignoring Southern Hindu languages.

From Perverted Sanskritists

Hindi has also been receiving a broadside for some years from a section of Sanskritists of U P., who have been so seriously wounded by the nationalisation of Hindi that they are now in a mood to form an anti-Hindi front with almost any one, even Muslims, who can lend his ears to them. ‘If not Sanskrit, let the National Language be Urdu’, that more or less sums up their attitude.

From Leftist Groups

The opposition of Communists and Radical Humanists like Prakash Pandit and Philip Spratt to Hindi is based on the principle that India should have no National Language at all, because she is not the abode of one Nation but of several Nations. They appear to suggest that the only medium of communication among them should be some international language, which in their view is perhaps Russian. How can they tolerate the place of Russian being usurped by Hindi, a Hindu language par excellence? To them Sanskrit, Punjabi, Tamil or Urdu will be no less offensive than Hindi, if at any time threatened to occupy the central place, which they have reserved for Russian.

From Punjabis

The grounds on which Punjabis, principally Sikhs, oppose Hindi are wholly different. Tamil, Sanskrit or Urdu come into conflict with Hindi on the National plane, and excepting in the case of Sanskrit-versus-Hindi controversy, our fullest sympathies and support are with Hindi; Punjabi comes into conflict with Hindi in the provincial sphere only, when Hindi threatens to replace Punjabi even as a regional language. Punjabi has never been acclaimed as an interprovincial language by any Sikh, nor have the claims of Hindi as the Union Language been challenged by any Punjabi. The whole trouble starts when Punjabi is denied its status as a regional language, which it so amply deserves. While, therefore, standing solidly behind Hindi in its struggle against Urdu, English or Russian,
the lovers of Punjabi must resist the inroads of Hindi tooth and nail, if it encroached upon the legitimate claims of Punjabi.

Non-Hindi-Speaking People handicapped

If Sanskrit, the classical language of Hindudom—the mother of all the Aryan and feeder of non-Aryan Hindu languages—had been recognised as the Union Language, all people would have had to make a more or less equal effort to learn it and there would have been no 'privileged' class born with Sanskrit as mother-tongue. By the installation of Hindi on the 'Imperial Throne', the things have basically changed. Roughly about one third of India's population is born with the silver-spoon of the Union Language in their mouth, while the remaining two thirds will have to acquire it by a strenuous effort. In getting into the All-India Services, the non-Hindi people will be distinctly handicapped. At the School-stage, while Hindi-speaking people will learn only one modern Indian language, Hindi, the others will learn two, the mother-tongue and Hindi, (unless the study of the latter is made optional, which is obviously improper). It is easy to see that under such an arrangement, a large section of population—perhaps the brainiest section, comprising Bengalis, Madrasis and Maharashtrians—will be placed under a permanent handicap in their race with their more fortunate U. P. friends. Though in the name of 'national interests', they may not mind it, yet some way must be thought out of this inequitable situation, before it worsens beyond limits. The effort required of a candidate for attaining a particular distinction—an apprised post under the Government or a Degree of a University—must be equal for all citizens of the State. There should be no 'privileged' class.

Should Union Language not be Compulsory?

How to equalise the educational strain on Hindi and non-Hindi scholars? One way is to make the knowledge of Hindi optional for Government servants and its study optional in Schools. But then the Union Language will defeat its very purpose. It may de jure enjoy an interprovincial status, de facto it will be but a regional language whose study for others will be of academic interest only.

An Ideal Scheme of Linguistic Studies

The second way is to make every educated Indian bilingual. Those children, who do not speak Hindi must learn it as a compulsory second language, in the second or third year after their starting the study of their mother-tongue. The exact stage, at which the compulsory second language should be taught, can be determined after due thought. Those, who speak Hindi and start their educational career with its study, must start learning some other Indian provincial language of their choice, as a compulsory second language, at the same stage, at which others start Hindi. The proficiency expected of them in the language chosen would be
of the same standard as that fixed for non-Hindi people in Hindi. Also, the language thus chosen by the Hindi-speaking children will be from among Bengali, Punjabi, Tamil, Marathi etc., which are called modern Indian languages, and not from among Sanskrit Pali, Prakrita etc., which constitute classics, or from among foreign tongues like English, German, Japanese, Siamese etc. The modern Indian languages, from among which one must be learnt compulsorily by the Hindi-speaking children, cannot be made replaceable by a classical or foreign language, because their acquisition interests Hindi and non-Hindi people equally. The modern Indian language may have its alternative in a classical or foreign tongue for Hindi-children only if non-Hindi-children are allowed to forego Hindi in favour of a classical or a foreign language. If the Public Service Commissions make it obligatory on Madrasis, Bengalis and Sikhs to pass an elementary test in Hindi, they must require the candidates from U. P. to qualify in elementary Tamil, Bengali or Punjabi.

An Example from Existing Examination System

The purpose behind the scheme of linguistic studies outlined above, is not to inflict an injury on Hindi-speaking people, but to harmonise the educational procedure. At the present time, the strain is uneven on Hindi and non-Hindi candidates, which situation is unfair, if not outrageous. Let us take an example from the existing University Examination system. In the Matric., Inter., or Degree Examinations, those who profess English as their mother-tongue, have their question papers in English different from those set for other candidates. They are required to learn, what ordinary students do not. If this "weighting" on the side of English-speaking students had not been effected, passing University Examination in English would have been easier for them than for others. The marks for the translation passage are not simply added to their total, but they are required to earn them by answering other questions.

Example of Osmania University

The Hindi-people want to follow Gandhi's favourite University—the Osmania University—in this respect. There the medium of instruction up to the highest stage is Urdu, which is known only to the Muslims of the State, constituting but fifteen per cent of the population. The rest speak Telugu, Marathi and Kanarese. By virtue of being Urdu-speakers the Muslims find it much easier to qualify for the Nizam's service than Hindus, for whom Muslims are no match in an open intellectual competition. With the recognition of Hindi as Union Language, the Hindi-people are aspiring to steal a march over their otherwise unsurpassable rivals, through a short-cut. No fair-minded person can allow such a game to go unexposed.
Importance of Bilingualism in Nation-Building

The teaching of two languages to every child at the upper Primary stage has got tremendous importance in the direction of nation-building. It widens outlook and sharpens intellect. In European countries children are encouraged in all possible ways to pick up elementary knowledge of as many languages as possible and it is not unusual to see persons conversant with two, three or even four languages. In Switzerland, almost every educated man knows at least two languages. The frog-in-the-well mentality, from which most of the Hindus suffer at the present time, can be shed off only by widening the base of their linguistic studies. And when about two hundred million non-Hindi people will be called upon to learn Hindi besides their mother-tongue, in the name of National unity, is it asking for the moon to require the remaining Hindi-speaking people to condescend to learn one other state language for the same noble purpose, if for nothing else?

Hindi-Imperialism must go

But it is an unhappy fact that the Hindi-speaking people only pride in their lordly indifference towards, and ignorance of, other Indian languages. The patent argument of their predecessors, the British, that "when you have picked up our language, why should we learn yours"? is now lying in the mouth of every Hindi-speaker. This imperialistic mentality of theirs is responsible for the countrywide resistance to the spread of Hindi. And if this baneful arrogance of these people is not immediately converted into a genuine appreciative interest in other provincial languages, the wave of opposition is sure to checkmate the progress of National Language and the hatred for it will become morbid. It is not "reactionarism" among Punjabis, Bengalis and Madrasis, that is jeopardising Hindi but the "imperialism" of its so-called supporters, that is menacing its future. Let the physicians, who are out to cure the maladies of others, heal themselves first. The menace of Hindi-Imperialism must go. May God save Hindi from the hands of its imprudent supporters.

N.B. Prakash Pandit's views on National Language have been collected from his monthly magazine, the 'Shahrah' of Delhi; Philip Spratt's from 'Beyond Communism' of Renaissance Publishers of Calcutta; and the anti-Hindi writings of Sanskritists have been appearing in the weekly 'Sanskritam' of Aurayya in U.P.

—Author.
CHAPTER X

The Main Problem

Our Scheme ignored

The scheme of linguistic studies, which has been outlined above, was placed before the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, but it was never considered seriously. Later, we managed to have it incorporated in the booklet 'Mahasabha and Its Ideals' published by the Hindu Mahasabha Central Parliamentary Board, of which the author had the privilege of being a member before the last General Elections. But the bigoted Hindi zealots never allowed the rationale of our scheme to be fully appreciated by the generality, though individual Mahasabhaites from Madras, Bengal and other non-Hindi States highly commended it.

A Brief Survey of the Situation

Coming to the subject proper, we may sum up the situation as follows:—

(a). The entire population of the present areas of P. E. P. S. U., Himachal Pradesh and Punjab (I), with the exception of pre-Partition inhabitants of parts of Gurgaon, Rohtak, Karnal, Ambala and one or two other districts, speaks Punjabi—in the standard form or with dialectal variations.

(b). Sikhs, as a community, want Punjabi in Gurumukhi script to be recognised as the regional language of the above areas and to be given the same status as is enjoyed by Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati in their respective regions. They are, as a body, not against Hindi being taught in the Punjabi region, as National Language, as it is taught in Bengal or Gujarat.

(c). The Hindus speak the same language everywhere as the Sikhs, with the few exceptional cases enumerated above, but they want Hindi to be recognised as their mother-tongue and linguistically the entire area, where Punjabi and its dialects are spoken, be regarded as a mere continuation of the U, P. They refuse, with remarkable obstinacy and obduracy, to admit the existence of a language called Punjabi.

(d). The Sikhs form about one third of the combined population of P. E. P. S. U., Punjab (I) and Himachal and though in
certain parts, the Sikhs or the non-Sikhs are distinctly preponderant, the population in general is most injudiciously mixed up and both sections are equally important almost everywhere. The question to be decided is: what should be the relative positions of Hindi and Punjabi in educational institutions and Government departments under the above conditions?

It should further be clearly understood that we stipulate that in our educational system, the study of Hindi will be compulsory at a definite stage in all schools of the ordinary type and that the regional language shall be the first compulsory subject to be taught to the scholar. In Bengal, for example, the schools meant for the generality will teach only Bengali and Hindi, besides other subjects, but there will be provision for special communities like Armenians, Anglo-Indians etc. to run their denominational institutions to suit their specific requirements.

First Proposal Examined

The first proposal, which comes from the ultra-communal section of the Hindus is that the Government should recognise only Hindi for purposes of official notifications, court work and teaching and should have nothing to do with Punjabi, which to their way of thinking, is no more important in Punjab than Hebrew, Armenian and Latin are in Bengal. Such people aspire to reduce the Sikhs to the status of Jews or Anglo-Indians in this region and pride in their magnanimity when they promise to permit Sikhs to teach Punjabi in their Khalsa Schools! This humiliation heaped upon a community, which is inseparably connected with the soil of the Punjab, and which even today forms a workable majority in half of its area, is an atrocious act. No wonder if the Sikhs, out of spite, turn anti-Hindi and search for sympathisers in all quarters, including Pakistan. This is the starting point of the vicious spiral, whose radius is fast increasing. Strangely enough, this proposal has the support of those, who had taken upon their shoulders the noble task of consolidating the Hindudom—we mean the Hindu Mahasabhaites and Jana Sanghites. We could verily ask, in the words of Chaucer:

“If gold rusts, what shall iron do?”

Master Tara Singh has rightly remarked that there is no Mahasabha, but only Mahashasabha, in the Punjab!

Second Proposal Examined

The demand for ignoring Punjabi and leaving it to be taught as a religious language in Sikh Gurudwaras, as Hebrew is taught in the Jewish Synagogues in South India, or in Sikh institutions only, is on the face of it, so preposterous that no sane man can countenance it even for a minute. A more rational formula which readily
suggests itself at this juncture, was hit upon mutually by some Hindu and Sikh leaders some time back. But although, on principle, the present Government of the Punjab is pledged to it, in practice it is honoured more in breach than in observance. The basic principle, from which it is evolved is that Punjab, P.E.P.S.U. and Himachal Pradesh should be divided into predominantly Hindi and Punjabi areas, the majority language in each region being taken as the mother-tongue and taught first, the other being added later on as a compulsory subject. A commission may be set up to investigate which are Punjabi districts and which Hindi. This division has tended to be identical with division between Hindu and Sikh areas—a fact, which has given the Hindus a strong stick to beat the Sikhs with. This formula has provoked a storm of agitation among the Hindus, who denounced it on two grounds. Firstly, they cannot, at any cost, allow their children to be “poisoned by the deadliest dosage of Gurumukhi.” Secondly, they mischievously likened the division of the State into Hindi and Punjabi regions, to the division of the country into Bharata and Pakistan and opposed the scheme as vehemently as if India was further going to be divided into “Hindusthan” and “Sikhistan.” The Sanghites and Hindu Maha-sabhaites of the Punjab were the leaders of this agitation and once again gave proof of their confused thinking. The popular ministry is more or less sitting on the fence, as if watching and awaiting the result of the tug-of-war between the Hindus and Sikhs, without strongly enforcing a set plan. The fate of this official formula is similar to that of Sharada Act.

Third Proposal Examined

Since the seeds of a future “Sikh State” are visible to some Hindus in the above plan, a third proposal has been put forth. It is the above proposal minus division of the States into Hindi and Punjabi areas. According to this formula, a person will be free to declare either Hindi or Punjabi as his mother-tongue and start his education with it, no matter whether he is in the area of one language or of the other. He will have to take up the other language at a later stage as a compulsory subject. The studies of Hindi and Punjabi are thus exactly reciprocal, their status, identical. This proposal again is subjected to bitterest of criticisms by the Hindus. The idea working at the root of their mind is that they must not allow their children to take the poison of Punjabi, the language of the inferior people but must impose their own language upon others. They do not express their real aims in that blunt way, but have carefully clothed them in glittering phraseology. They justify the compulsory teaching of Hindi to Sikh children on the ground that it is the Union Language. And they plead for Hindu children being exempted from the learning of Punjabi on two grounds: Firstly, they argue that teaching of Punjabi to children against their wishes is a coercion. If Sikhs feel the same way about Hindi, they are classed as traitors, for what is sauce for the goose, cannot, be sauce for the gander. The Hindus justify compulsion in the
matter of teaching of Hindi, but when the principle is extended to the teaching of any provincial language within its sphere, it becomes an oppression, to be resisted with all the "righteous violence." In the second place they oppose compulsory instructions in Punjabi even at a later stage, on the plea that the burden of two languages will be too much for a child. We were present at the Hindu Conference, Rohtak, sponsored by the so-called Punjab Hindu Mahasabha in 1949, when a resolution was adopted, protesting against the compulsory teaching of Punjabi to Hindu children on grounds of excessive pressure on their brain. The mover of this resolution was one of the greatest Hindu Mahasabhaite, who has, of late, been the main spearhead of reaction and anti-Sikh activities in the Punjab, and his motion was unanimously adopted in the presence of eminent Hindu Mahasabhaite of All-India fame. What a sad commentary this resolution makes on the general intellectual capacities of a Punjabi child, whose brain is strained beyond limit, when called upon to learn thirty-five letters of the Gurumukhi alphabet! When about two hundred million non-Hindi people, including the Sikhs, will be able to bear the strain of learning Hindi besides their mother-tongue, will the Punjabi Hindu find it too much to learn the alphabet of the language, he daily uses in his private life? The fact is, highly sounding words and fashionable slogans are being used to conceal reality, which is nothing more and nothing less than this: the Hindu has been systematically trained to oppose Punjabi blindly. Can any one find fault with the Sikhs if they react to this irrational attitude of their compatriots?

At this juncture we may revert to our formula for linguistic studies in India, suggesting compulsory teaching of a modern non-Hindi language to Hindi speakers. If Hindus of the Punjab claim Hindi as their mother tongue, they will fall under the category of Hindi speakers and will be governed by the rules, applicable to other Hindi-speakers. The Hindi-speakers of Bihar may profitably learn Bengali or Oriya. U.P. people may take up Nepali, Marathi or Punjabi. Rajasthanis may go in for Gujarati, Marathi, or Punjabi. In the same way, the Hindi-speakers of Punjab, P.E.P.S.U. and Himachal Pradesh should accept Punjabi as their second language. The above analysis clearly shows that the anti-Punjabi role played by the Punjab Hindu is also partly due to the imperialistic mentality of the Hindi-speakers which must be shed off as early as possible. The Central Government and eminent educationists should mitigate there unwholesome self-centredness by introducing compulsory teaching of non-Hindi languages in Hindi areas. Under that scheme Punjab Hindus must be required to fall in line with other Indians and learn Punjabi as an auxiliary language. This is the best way to serve the cause of Hindi, which is sure to be thrown back into the confines of U.P. if not saved from the wrath of Punjabis, Bengalis and Madrasis, provoked by the unmerited arrogance of the so-called lovers of Hindi. The third formula suggested above is but the provincial form of the linguistic scheme we had proposed for the whole country.
Avoid Frustration Among Sikhs

The recalcitrance of the Punjab Hindus and their stub-born opposition to Punjabi served as an index of their obstinately anti-Sikhs mind. Punjabi language, which was already a sacred trust with the Sikhs, became a point of honour for them. They decided to live and die with Punjabi. After a process of slow crystallisation, the Sikhs' political opinion has at last taken a definite shape and it may not be wrong to assert that at the present moment, the entire Sikh politics hinges round Punjabi. The cleavage between the Hindus and Sikhs is on the increase and if the idea of a Punjabi state is not precisely expressed and properly moulded, it may ultimately develop into that of an independent Sikh State. So far even the most blatant among the Sikhs have not openly demanded freedom from the Centre. But can any one suppress them with threats of Preventive Detention, if they embark upon an enterprise of that type? The recent history of Mohammed Abdulla of Kashmir, the Communistic activity of Telangana, the separatist tendencies of the Nagas, the cry of the Dravida Kazhagam, the example of Israel and, above all, the Pakhtoonistan movement, over which the Congressites and other unthinking Hindus are gloating, are being closely watched by the Sikhs and are firing the imagination of ambitious youngmen among them. We know that the above mentioned examples do not bear any close parallelism with the case of Sikhs but they can suggest certain lines of action, along which the Sikhs should proceed. In the strict sense, no two events can be exactly parallel—every event is unique in itself. But still we do follow certain precedents. The Sikhs have a number of instances from the contemporary history, to inspire them into an action, which may create a net-work of complications for the Central Congress Government. Their task may not be as simple as that of Israel was; their position to dictate terms may not be as strong as that of Muslims of Kashmir is; they may not achieve even partial success, if they launch a campaign for an independent Sikh State at this juncture. But that should not make the Hindus arrogant and inconsiderate towards the legitimate grievances of the Sikhs. They should not create a situation in which the simple demand for a Punjabi State may tend to develop into an open
offensive for a Sikh State. The confidence of the Hindus, that they can crush such an anti-national movement with force, should not encourage them to create circumstances, in which Sikhs may be left with no alternative except to make a desperate bid for achieving a 'National Home' for them. The best way to avert that eventuality is to distinguish between a Punjabi State and a sovereign Sikh State. Those, who confuse between the two are miscreants and are actually the real enemies of the Hindus. To use the words 'Punjabi State' and 'Sikh State' loosely, with the intention of creating confusion in the public mind, should be considered as a crime against the people. The two concepts are quite different. The Sikhs, who champion the cause of "Punjabi State", when in their mind lies the picture of "Sikh State", should shed off this hypocrisy and come openly with their true ambitions. The Hindus, who see the ghost of a "Sikh State" in every pro-Punjabi move, and try to alarm people just to harm Punjabi, are equally to blame and must be dubbed ruffians. We support the demand for a Punjabi State and that within Indian Union. We need not care a fig if some fools and knaves deliberately distort facts and malign us as supporters of Sikhistan. There is a pleasure in being misrepresented and misunderstood, too.

Punjabi State defined

The Punjabi State in the sense, in which we support it, will be a State, in which Punjabi language, written in Gurumukhi script, will be the court language, the medium of instruction in schools and a compulsory subject of study, just as Bengali is in Bengal. The determination of the boundaries of such a State will be taken up only when the proposition has been accepted in principle. The main hurdle in the way of its realisation is the unreasonable attitude of the Hindus who, in our opinion, are labouring under wrong notions about Punjabi language and script and about Punjabi State, and are disowning them without justification. The solution of the problem is to educate the Hindus along Pan-Hindu lines and to acquaint them with all the components of their vast cultural heritage, of which Punjabi lore is an integral part. The moment they learn to view the entire cultural wealth from Tibet and Japan to Ceylon as their own, such petty skirmishes as at present exist between the Bengalis and Biharis, between Biharis and U. P. people, and between Hindus and Sikhs, will vanish in no time.

Lack of pan-Hindu Consciousness

The above suggestion, however, is only a lapse into idealism and has nothing to do with realities. The fact is that, at present, Sikhs have absolutely no idea of Pan-Hindu unity and they lack it, because other Hindus are even more ignorant of it. The Sikhs have tried to argue with the Hindus as to the folly of their disclaiming
their mother tongue. But as Pan-Hindu consciousness is wanting in both, all the precious logic has been simply wasted in fruitless talks. When logic goes against a person, he begins to go against logic, and introduces faith. That is exactly what the misled Punjabi Hindu is doing in so far as his attitude towards Punjabi language is concerned.

Punjabi State Versus Sikh State

The discussion on this topic can be started from any point. Let us start it by asserting that our Punjabi State will be the present Punjab and that its official language will be Punjabi in Gurumukhi script. Hindi will, of course, be there as Union Language. To this, the Hindus object, because the language of certain parts of the Punjab is more akin to Hindi than to Punjabi. Let us then propose the separation of those parts from the Punjab and their annexation to U. P. or Delhi. This the Hindus do not accept because their percentage in the remaining Punjab will fall slightly by the separation of predominantly Hindu areas from it, and though they will be a majority community, they seem to believe that for their mere preservation they require at least 60% majority! Otherwise, they would be wiped out by the Sikhs! Then they talk tall about the financial instability of the remaining Punjab and introduce all sorts of confusing tactics to checkmate this move. What should the Sikhs then do? They are really non-plussed. If the Hindus, who number upward of three hundred million in India and enjoy full sovereignty in so many States, require 60% majority for bare self-preservation in the Punjab, how can the Sikhs hope to maintain their existence there, when they form but one third of the population? If nothing else, this strange logic of the Hindus should be sufficient inducement to the Sikhs to struggle for the establishment of a Sikh State in sheer self-defence. If they have not yet launched a full-fledged campaign in this direction, it is not because of the fear of the numerical superiority of the Hindus, but because by nature, the Sikhs take more time to arrive at a conclusion. Fortunately for the Hindus, no Sikh has yet used their own logic for carving out a Sikh majority state by the exchange of population, if necessary. The Hindus' refusal to recognise Punjabi is sure to drive the Sikhs in the direction of Sikhistan. The acute Punjabi consciousness among the Sikhs to-day, and their almost fanatic zeal for this language has been accentuated by Hindus' misplaced opposition to it. Once the Hindus recognise Punjabi as a member of the Hindu group of languages which it is par excellence and agree to create a Punjabi State, where Punjabi may reign and flourish they will have removed the main political plank of the Sikhs form under their feet. We want a Punjabi State, no matter whether Sikhs form majority there or the Hindus. If the Hindus claim Punjabi as their mother-tongue in larger and larger numbers, the Punjabi State may even include Delhi and some districts of U. P. Those Sikhs, who conceal their ambition for an independent Sikh State behind the slogan of a Punjabi State, will soon be exposed, because they will
never countenance the idea of an expanding Punjabi State. Fearing that the inclusion of more and more Hindus in the Punjabi region might further dilute their numerical strength, they will have to ask the Hindus of Rohtak and Gurgaon not to learn Punjabi. The genuine promoters of Punjabi want that its sphere should widen, the Sikh communalists want that it should shrink. The stability of Punjabi State demands that people of Rohtak, Gurgaon etc. should embrace Punjabi. The condition of stability of the Sikh State is that those people must disown Punjabi. Like Bengalis, who have claimed parts of Singhbhum district from Bihar, we would demand annexation of part of Himachal Pradesh and U.P. to our Punjabi State. The spurious lovers of Punjabi, who in reality want a Sikh State, will oppose our move. We wish Hindus could defeat Sikh communalism by espousing Punjabi with a redoubled zeal. They, however, acted otherwise. We know full well that many Sikhs do not mean what they say and behind their tall-talk of Punjabi State, they cherish the ambition for a Sikh State. But the Hindus have failed to expose them. Such clever Sikhs should have been put into the false position by superior cleverness, which the Hindus have not brought to bear on the situation. As the case stands to-day, no impartial judge can accuse the Sikhs, whose avowed demand is for nothing more than a Punjabi linguistic State, which the Hindus are denying them.
CHAPTER XII

The Ideal of a Sikh State

Definition of a Sikh State

The ideal of a Sikh State, to which we have registered our opposition, and which we have distinguished from the Punjabi State favoured by us, does have a real significance with quite a few responsible Sikhs and merits some consideration in this connection. For purposes of our discussion, we shall take the Sikh State to mean a democratically governed area, having a numerical majority of the Sikhs but granting equal rights to all its citizens, and almost as independent of India as Nepal or Pakistan. The Sikhs will have, in that State, the natural advantages, which accrue to the majority community in a democratic regime.

Potentialities of the Ideal to inspire Sikhs

Now although no Sikh political party has so far come into the field with an open demand for a Sikh State as defined above, its conception has immense charm for the youth, and is, in fact, the theme of many a Sikh’s dream. The manner, in which Mohammed Abdulla had won such a large measure of autonomy for the Kashmiri Muslims, has suggested to the Sikhs how they should move. And since the Communists’ strategy in India is to encourage fissiparous and centrifugal tendencies, they are bound to support the Sikhs’ move for self-determination. Russian bloc will obviously bless it and the Anglo-Americans will have no reasons to oppose it. Pakistan will get its life’s chance then to avenge itself on India for her moral support to Pakhtoonistan movement. In a word, all forces, except the Hindus, will be with the Sikhs, if they ever launch a regular movement for seceding from India. And intelligent Sikhs know it, though the majority of them are not yet conscious enough to canalised their activity along sound principles of political science. But if they do set aside all formality one day and come forth with a frank demand for a Sikh State, we need not, in the least, be surprised. The surprise will rather be, why they delayed so long.

The Ideal of a Sikh State fraught with Dangers

But although the ideal of a Sikh State is so glittering and glamorous, it is not all gold, nor are the numerous potential supporters of it genuine. The Communists, the Russians, the Anglo-
Americans and the Muslims are more interested in exploding the unity of India than in helping the Sikhs. They will puff up the Sikhs but only to enjoy the sight of the resulting cock-fight between two sections of Hindudom. So far as the ultimate success of the Sikhs in achieving independence of the Hindus is concerned, it will depend entirely upon the Sikhs' own sincerity, endurance, political integrity and intellect, which, to be very frank, are not at all commensurate at present with the stupendous task, they may aspire to accomplish. They will be committing the most serious mistake if they raised the slogan of a Sikh State under the goading of agents provocateur and without thoroughly assessing the pros and cons of this risky move. No friend of the Sikhs can advise them to demand a sovereign Sikh State at the cost of India. It may harm the Hindus or it may not but it will surely wipe out the Sikhs. We are warning the Sikhs against this fatal mistake, not because the ideal is inherently immoral, unjust or anti-rational, but because the community, at its present stage of development, will not be able to face the dire consequences, the move will entail. We do not wish to justify our opposition to it on Hindu Sanghatanist reasons at this juncture, though they are equally cogent and will be given later. If the cool headed Sikhs impartially gauge the magnitude of the task, and their own physical, numerical and intellectual strength, they will desist from demanding an independent Sikh State, despite grave provocation from the other side. In this lies their own good.

Why Sikhs should not demand a Sikh State

We should like to discuss a little in detail why we do not regard the cry for a Sikh State to be in their best interests. The Hindus have recently lost a big portion of the country to the Muslims and owing to Nehru's iron rod, their wrath consequent upon Partition has become morbid, instead of being sublimated. A demand for further division is, therefore, bound to provoke violent reaction, which even Gandhian mahatmatics and Nehru's rod will not be able to suppress. And we have already said that a Hindu fights with full force only when the opponent is also a Hindu. After the creation of a Sikh State, therefore, the Sikhs will not be visible in the rest of India. A friendly State like Nepal can pull on nicely with India. But with a hostile India, it will be a marvel if the small Sikh State survives a decade. Having no outlet into the sea, it will be like an island in a vast ocean of enemies.

The Case of Israel examined

The example of Israel, the newly created Jewish State, gives a ray of hope to the Sikhs, when they find themselves in despair. Racially, the Jews and the Arabs both belong to the same Semitic stock and in a sense they are related precisely the same way as the Sikhs and the Hindus. Yet the creation of Israel has so offended the Muslims in general and the Arabs in particular, that the deadliest enemies of the Jews today are the Arabs. The same will be true...
of Sikhs and the Hindus if a Sikh State is created at the expense of India, against the wishes of the Hindus. The Jews had quite a few natural advantages too. Their State has a sea-coast. Their community is scattered all the world over and they have missionaries to mould world opinion in their favour everywhere. Above all, they are a highly enlightened and enterprising people and before they could get back their lost home-land, they had to convince the world of their exceptional intellectual capacities by producing such towering personalities as Marx, Einstein, Freud and Laski. Lastly, the Jews had a strong communal life and had a more or less uniform policy towards various world events. The entire Jewry supported the British in the World War I and as a prize of their co-operation, they got back their home-land. Even now they are alive owing to their diplomacy and their shrewd foreign policy. We wonder if Sikhs can boast of any of the above natural advantages or intellectual attainments. False vanity should not make them blind to stark realities. Wisdom is, after all, the better part of valour. Sikhs must wait and try to be deserving of what they desire.

The Example of Kashmir

The source of maximum inspiration to the Sikhs has, of late, been the struggle of Kashmiri Muslims to get rid of Hindu domination of the Dogras as well as of Indians. Under the guidance of their Aligarh trained leaders, they have succeeded in deposing the Hindu Raja, in ending hereditary rulership, in electing a sovereign Constituent Assembly, in having a separate flag and in declaring Urdu as their national language. The old Maharaja’s Government had applied for full accession to the Indian Union, but Nehru Government, in consultation with Gandhi, thought it feasible to thrust autonomy on the Kashmiri Muslims, when there was hardly any demand for it. Even a fool can see that stage is being set for future independence of Kashmir. The Nehru Government is bestowing all the parental care on Kashmir, so that when, at the most opportune psychological moment, this State secede completely from India, there may be no chaos inside or outside it. Nehru does not want that the bitterness, which followed the secession of Pakistan, may be created when another Muslim majority area, Kashmir, secedes. We declare it with prophetic certainty that in course of time, Kashmir will be as independent of India as Pakistan is and the status of Hindus (including Sikhs) there will be no better than in Pakistan. While the independent Muslim State of Pakistan was a parting gift of the Britishers, the independent Muslim State of Kashmir will be the parting gift of their faithful successors, the Gandhists. Only, the Britishers did not set their own creation, Pakistan, on very strong footing at the time of their departure. Nehru is taking every precaution that his creation, Kashmir, may rest on terra firma, before his party quits office. He is worried more about the future of Kashmir than of India.
Why Sikhs eulogised Abdulla

The Sikhs are watching all these developments with keen interest. Can they not have a Sikh State of the same type as Kashmir? This is the question that is lurking in the mind of every ambitious Sikh today. Even though there was no love lost between Mohammed Abdulla and the Sikhs just before his fall, the latter were second to none in showering praises on Kashmir Government & in paying encomium to its popular head, the Sher-i-Kashmir. The obvious reason was that in the light of the precedents set by Abdulla, the Sikhs hoped to intensify their campaign for a Sikh State. If Muslims of Kashmir can progressively become more and more autonomous why can’t the Sikhs? Abdulla had his fall in course of time but the futility and folly of some Sikhs actively supporting him, as long as he was in power, cannot be left unexposed. For, certain vital issues regarding Punjabi State are involved in the episode.

Nehru believes in no Precedents

Not only the Sikhs, but many other groups are awaiting the results of Kashmir. Opponents of hereditary rulership, critics of the institution of Rajpramukhs, protagonists of linguistic states—all are fondly hoping that precedents set in Kashmir will be followed in the rest of India. The poor souls are sure to come to grief some day. One characteristic of Nehru, which they should have discovered by now, is that this man does not believe in precedents. For him, every case has peculiarities of its own and can’t be considered in the light of precedents, except when it suits him. When there is an inconvenient precedent, Nehru will simply dispose of it by saying that the times, place and circumstances of its occurrence were different. Precedents, he will follow only when he is in a tight situation for want of logical arguments and a suitable precedent comes to his rescue. Such people disregard precedents because precedents point out inconsistencies in their conduct, which these thoughtless political demagogues daily comit in tens without the least hesitation. Let us exemplify this contention. Nehru deposed Maharaja Hari Singh, but his conscience did not pinch him in the least when he showered his bounties on the Nizam. He thrust autonomy on the Kashmiri Muslims, but the Nagas were thoroughly snubbed by him, when they applied for similar concessions. He defended the independence of Pakistan with almost religious fanaticism and perpetrated horrible atrocities on those, who ever demanded its annulment. But that same Nehru lent his full moral support to the Arabs in their struggle for the annulment of division of Palestine and granted de jure recognition to Israel with the heaviest of hearts, when he saw that Israel had come to stay. If Jawahar Lal were to follow the precedents set by himself, he would have ceased to be inconsistent and would have ceased to be Nehru. A man whose watchword is “Forget the past”, cannot have any respect for precedents. For him every moment is unique, every point in space is unique, every event is unique, everything is unique! This unique Nehruvian philosophy uniquely covers the inconsistencies in his day to day working.
Futility of supporting Abdulla

When the Sikhs will go to Nehru with demands exactly similar to those of Abdulla, will they receive the same hospitable treatment? Can the Sikh State come into existence by negotiating sweetly and amicably with Nehru? If the Sikhs say, 'Yes', let them enjoy their blissful ignorance. If the Sikhs really felt that Abdulla's conduct was above suspicion and that his activities were in the best interests of the people of India and Kashmir, they should, by all means, pay all tributes to him. Perhaps a secret chamber of his heart, which none excepting the Sikhs could see, might be full of love and affection for the disciples of the Gurus, and they should have reciprocated his noble sentiments for them. But if the Sikhs are lending their moral support to Kashmiri Muslims in the hope that later on the precedents set in Kashmir will help them in their own struggle, we must say, they are living in fools' paradise. All Hindus—and in this particular case, Nehru too behaves as a Hindu—regard the Kashmiri Muslims' position as wholly different from that of the Sikhs. Why should the latter, then, make a common cause with Kashmiri Muslims, whose policies are, in many respects, fatal to the Sikhs of the State? Supporting Kashmiri Muslims means supporting Nehru, for the two have identical views in so far as they relate to the Sikhs and other Hindus. There was no sense in their eulogising Abdulla and denouncing Nehru.

Muslims’ Status Different from that of Other Minorities

When the Sikhs join issue with the Muslims as a minority, they forget that their international status is fundamentally different from that of the Muslims. Even in India of today, the Muslims are far better circumstanced than the Sikhs, and it seems a Quixotic action, when the Sikhs become a mouthpiece of the Muslim minority. Numerically, the Sikhs are less than the error we commit in estimating the number of Muslims in India. Nehru's solicitude for Muslims is partly based on the international importance of Islam, which reigns supreme from Morocco to Indonesia. The Dar-us-Salam movement of Indonesia, the Muslim Brotherhood movement of Egypt, the Fidayan-i-Islam movement of Iran, the Motmar-i-Islam movement of Pakistan and various other similar Muslim uprisings in Tunisia, Sudan, etc., which form front page news in the world press to-day, are all inter-linked. Nehru may hang a hundred Tara Singhs in a day and not a bird will flutter in protest outside India. But Nehru and his cabinet will have to think a hundred times before passing orders for the execution of death sentence on an ordinary Muslim murderer. For, they know that every Muslim is a link of the chain extending far beyond Nehru's jurisdiction and touching him will set astir the entire Muslim world. It appears ridiculous when Sikhs set out to befriend Muslims by espousing their cause, as if besides Sikhs, there is none in the world, who will come to the rescue of the 'forlorn' and 'helpless' Muslim minority of India!
When a Hindu fights Most Zealously

What we mean is that what Nehru will readily agree to in the case of Muslims, he will flatly refuse in the case of Sikhs, because they are orphans. Their fate is similar to that of other Hindus, who have no champions of their cause outside the sultanate of Nehru. The threats and harsh words of Abdulla, which the Congress would quietly pocket, will not be tolerated from the Sikhs. The very Hindus, who had been assiduously looking for sense in all the non-sense that poured out of the Sheikh’s lips, will become hard realists before the Sikhs. Have they not so far discovered an important aspect of a Hindu’s character—that he fights with maximum zeal, only when his adversary is also of the Hindu stock? He becomes a non-violent Mahatma before a Muslim; he becomes generous enough, when he has to pardon a Communist saboteur. But while dealing with the Sikhs, all his non-violence and generosity vanishes into the thin air. For, after all, the Sikhs also belong to the same Hindu fold! He rises high above communalism while dealing with Pakistan or Muslims, but displays most hideous communal mentality when he has to deal with the Sikhs. And what is true of other Hindus, is equally true of the Sikhs. That is why, while both are mutually at loggerheads, they are both—Sikhs as well as Hindus—full of solicitude for the Muslims.

Israel not interested in Others

The conclusion, at which we arrive after this detailed digression is, that in their struggle for an independent state the Sikhs should not expect much return from Nehru, the Muslims or the Jews, whom they have been placating in various ways and on various occasions. The way of the world is such that it exploits others’ noble sentiments for its own purpose, but it never repays them. Abdulla utilised Sikh leaders’ favourable comments on his regime, to consolidate his own position, but showed little consideration to Sikhs under him. The Akalis and the Hindu Mahasabha were the first among Indian parties, to congratulate Israel upon its birth and to plead for its early recognition. But we have seen no favourable comment in Jewish press on these bodies. On the other hand undeserved greatness is being bestowed on Gandhi and his satellites by eminent Israeli writers and unmerited praises are being showered upon Nehru administration. If we had felicitated Israel for the love of it, well and good, but if it was a friendly gesture, expected to win reciprocal compliments, it has miserably failed. Israel is no friendlier towards the Hindus or the Sikhs for all their sweet overtures. She is more anxious to befriend Nehru and his party, because they are the ruling class.

Move for a Sikh State not Opportune

There is thus no chance of the Sikh State being established and any attempt in this direction will prove abortive. The move is bound fail, at least, under the visible circumstances, and the acrimony
that it will bring in its train, will irreparably damage Hindu-Sikh relations. Communists, Muslims, or Anglo-Americans, may goad Sikhs in that direction now, but will ultimately desert them, as none of them is genuinely interested in the preservation of Sikhism. We cannot warn Sikhs too strongly against this grievous blunder.
CHAPTER XIII

Sikh State and Hindu Sanghatanists

If the Sikhs insist upon a Sikh State

We have tried to show in the foregoing how, in the prevailing circumstances, the demand for an independent Sikh State can do incalculable harm to the Sikhs. But we do not know how far our arguments will appeal to the fire-brands among them, though the saner section seems to read the situation correctly. The wearer alone can tell where the shoe pinches. In the ultimate analysis, it is the Sikhs alone, who can decide, in what lies their good. A non-Sikh’s advice to them, howsoever sincere it may be, cannot materially alter the decisions, based on sentiments and pre-conceived notions. If, therefore, the Sikhs do decide to launch a campaign for the establishment of an independent Sikh State, how should the Hindu Sanghatanists react to it? We know how they will but we should like to suggest how they should. The question of the Sikh State concerns Sikhs as well as non-Sikhs. Its pros and cons from the Sikh point of view have been discussed. We have now to see how it will affect the non-Sikhs. While some Sikhs advocate Sikh State on purely sentimental grounds, majority of non-Sikh Indians oppose it on exactly similar grounds. Our address, however, is to those who are amenable to reason, among Sikhs as well as other Hindus.

Dismemberment not a Pleasant Experience

What will be the reaction of the Government of U. S. A., if some of their States demanded independence? Every one of us knows what it would be. And what is true of America, is equally true of any other country, big or small. It is a universal law that the whole always resists separation of a part of itself. All sweet talk of self-determination appears jarring, and provokes ill-feeling, when a country has to apply it to itself. If we do not judge Nehru from his exceptionally strange conduct in relation to Kashmir Muslims, upon whom he has conferred independence with a vengeance, even he would oppose, tooth and nail, if any non-Muslim community pressed its claim to self-determination. How can then the Hindu Sanghatanists, whose declared objective is Akhanda Bharata, and who have not so far given up hopes of ultimately integrating Bharata,
Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, China and Japan into a sort of Union of Hindu States, to be called Greater India, favour the creation of an independent Sikh State? Whether their opposition will be of any consequence or not, they will offer it, and with a good deal of justification. On principle, they must resist atomisation of India, be it through the agency of Muslims, Sikhs, Dravidas or Nagas.

Future of India's Territorial Integrity—Doubtful

But we doubt very much if the territorial integrity of such a vast country as India will long be maintained under the impact of certain extraneous destructive forces, which are active now, and to which there is no visible equilibrant. Unity of vast countries is usually maintained either by a powerful, magnetic centre or by deep attachment of its people to a common rational ideology. India of today has neither. Sentiment of patriotism, besides being too crude a tie to hold people together, cannot be spread over large tracts of land and seldom extends beyond one's linguistic region. Central Government of India may be strong enough to pull on with obedient provincial Governments, but can it face the challenge of one or two belligerent states? The allegiance of far-flung regions is rather to a few powerful personalities than to the Centre, which corresponds to the Crown in British politics. The English Nation is loyal to the Crown and not to Queen Elizabeth. We fear, however, our people are loyal to Nehru and not so much to the Centre. We have to recognise this fact, if we do not want to enjoy the bliss of ignorance. The Centre has not passed a single test so far.

Ideological Unity Most Formidable

And so far as a common ideological tie is concerned, India miserable lacks one. The common bond of Hinduism, which kept the people of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent a distinct unit in the world, even when politically it was not one, has been almost annihilated. What is there now to unite a Madrasi and a Punjabi? East Bengal and West Punjab are separated by a distance of about a thousand miles, but the uniting force of Islam has proved to be stronger than the dividing force of distance. Ideological unity is the most formidable factor in human relations and transcends all other considerations. It is this faith in common ideology—Communism—that has cemented people of diverse races, different countries and various colours into a monolith in the U.S.S.R. That cementing force, which once existed in the shape of Hinduism, is singularly absent today. The secularists—Congressities, Socialists, Communists—have shaken peoples' faith in Hindu Dharma, and they have failed to centre it, with the same intensity, round some other ideology. There is only one new doctrine, which can, and possibly will, take the place of Dharma, and that is Communism. Besides that, there is no common ideology, to which Indian Nation may adhere. The eventual disintegration of India, therefore, appears
inevitable, whether we like it or not. Genuine and clear-headed Hindu Sanghatanists are too few to be able to avert the catastrophe. The centripetal forces are far weaker than the centrifugal ones. It will be a miracle if India is able to maintain its territorial integrity intact for another thirty years or so, unless Hinduism comes to its own. And just as in our view Hindi, Punjabi and Bengali literatures are but components of our vast literary heritage, so is Hinduism, in our sense of the word, the aggregate of all the true Dharmic thoughts, including Sikhism, Buddhism and Jainism. Such a composite Hindu Nation existed before Indian Nation was born. And God willing, such a Hindu Nation will continue to exist, even when Indian Nationalism will be dead and gone!!

**How to face the Catastrophe**

While, therefore, it is the duty of all Sanghatanists to strive for retaining, at least, the present area of the Indian State as one political unit, they must be clear right from now how they will maintain the morale of the Hindu nation and keep their spirit of Pan-Hindu unity high even if India breaks up into a number of small independent States. The possibility of it may be remote, but there is a possibility, and is not remoter than that of the fatal Partition was till recently. The emphasis on the unity of Bharata was good for a time, and is worth while even now. But to carry this fad beyond limits, and to make integrity of India an essential condition for the very life of Hindu nation, will prove harmful in the long run. A nation must have a national home, no doubt, but nations are known to have maintained their existence for centuries, after the loss of their national home, provided they did not lose national consciousness, and kept up their morale in the darkest periods of their history. Jews are a typical example before us and we have to prepare the Hindus, too, for that trying situation, which God forbid. We must understand clearly that the homeland is meant for the nation and not nation for the homeland.

**Emphasise Ideological Unity rather than Territorial**

The undue stress on the unity of Bharata tends to produce on the mass mind, the psychological impression that Hindu nation will exist only as long as India is united and, if per chance, that unity is violated, the nation will perish with it. The injurious effect of such a ruinous mental attitude cannot be over-estimated and it must be dispelled at all costs. It prepares the nation for suicide under certain conditions, which its enemies may be competent to create. The actual dismemberment of the country may, or may not, exterminate the Hindus, but the mental shock and frustration, which will result from it, will surely do them to death. It is Hindu consciousness, and not Bharatiya or Indian consciousness, that is the antidote against that mental shock. Bharatiya consciousness of the Sangha brand or Indian consciousness of the Congress type, is based entirely upon a political entity—“India, that is Bharat”—and will evaporate into the
thin air, if "India, that is Bharat" disintegrates, which eventuality we seriously apprehend. But Hindu consciousness, if properly fostered, will survive all the grave situations, which Communist strategy might entail—they do mean ‘liberating’ “India that is Bharat” by vivisecting it into what they call ‘autonomous independent national units.’ Hinduism implies loyalty to an abstract ideology while Indianism means loyalty to an arbitrarily defined land. The former is far more deep-rooted than the latter. By the way, it is this difference in the basis of the loyalty—ideology or land—that distinguishes genuine Hindu Sanghatanists from spurious ones of the R. S. S.—cum–Jana Sangha brand. If Hindu nation is to be saved from the ravages of Communist tactics, absolute emphasis on territorial unity of India must give place to concerted effort to arouse Pan-Hindu consciousness. Hindus are our concern, no matter whether they are under the Delhi Government alone or under independent Governments of Bengal, Punjab, Maharashtra & Madras, or of Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon. Political tacticians can destroy Indian nation in a day by creating a number of independent states out of this subcontinent. But with all their advanced technique of loot, arson and sabotage, they can’t efface Hindu nation unless we ourselves agree to commit harakiri. Let every Hindu clearly understand that his national existence is not synonymous with the existence of Bharata as one political unity, nor is it conterminous with the same. There were Hindus, leading a full-fledged national life, when their land was governed by numerous, independent rulers. There were the Chola, Chera, Rajput, Maratha and various other kingdoms, quite independent of one another. But a Hindu of Chola territory never regarded Hardwar as a foreign land, nor did a Hindu of Rajasthan feel a stranger or alien in Rameswaram. All Hindus led their national life as perfectly then as now, if not better. The existence of political differences between one ruler and the other did not very much interfere with the national life of the people. That was so because Hindu consciousness transcended all other considerations. They were one, not in their loyalty to a single ruler, but in their faith in a common ideology. That keen devotion to Dharma has to be revived among the Hindus if they are to be saved from an impending danger. Love for Bharata will not help them, when the thing called Bharata or India will cease to exist. ‘India’ is nothing but a political entity and can have no permanent shape, unless we Hindus try to give it one. Once Burma was a part of it. Later ‘India’ become ‘India minus Burma; Now it is ‘India minus Burma minus Pakistan; & our leaders are persuading us to believe that India, is still ‘whole and perfect, and ‘the object of our Love !’

Union of Islamic States—A Lesson for Hindus

Take the case of Islamic States. The abolition of Caliphate dealt a death blow to Islamic solidarity and Pan-Islamists felt visibly upset by this bewildering calamity on the Muslim world. But they have out-lived the mishap. Despite mutual bickerings and party feuds, Muslims are more strongly united than any other human
group today excepting Communists and enter world politics as one unit. The reason is that it is not love of a country that unites them, but love for a common ideology, Islam. The Hindus must likewise expand their vision, if they have to face the coming ordeals successfully. Sentiment of territorial nationalism must be replaced by Pan-Hindu consciousness. We do not mean that we should willingly dismember India. No man can gainsay the fact that political unity—unity under a common central Government—is far more effective than anything else, in keeping the people knit together. But we can't depend entirely upon that factor, especially in view of the fact that the strategy of our enemies is to destroy our nation by shock tactics—by violating our territorial integrity and weakening us psychologically, so that we may be rendered incapable of surviving, once our land is distinguished.

When Hindus should support a Sikh State

The above discussion is relevant in as much as it has direct bearing on the question of Hindus' attitude towards the Sikh State, if at all it comes into existence. The discussion will appear utterly academic at the present moment, but it involves certain basic principles of Pan-Hindu political theory. In the end, we must make bold to assert that although we are unequivocally against dismemberment of India in any shape or form, there can be a situation, in which we may without departing from our principles, bless even such an anti-national move as the creation of a Sikh State. We conclude this section by justifying this anomalous, and apparently untenable, stand of ours.

Let Muslims also contribute towards the Sikh State

The demand for an independent Sikh State can be advanced by the Sikhs only when it is finally agreed, that they are not members of the Hindu Commonwealth of Nations, and that they are as distinct from the Hindus as from the Muslims. We have made it clear that we do not believe in the Gandhian policy of appeasement of minorities. The consummation of something like a federation of human groups of Hindu origin, (as distinct from Muslims) comprising Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains and the like, is in the common interest of them all. If they enter into an unwritten agreement of mutual help, they oblige none, if they keep out, they harm none, but themselves. So, if the Sikhs choose to remain neutral between Hindus and Muslims, and rather augment their kinship with the latter, we shall never insist that Sikhs be called, and treated as, Hindus. Internationally, their position will then be like this: they will be considered as a third nation, spread over the national homes of the Hindu and Muslim nations—India and Pakistan—and struggling for a similar 'home' for themselves. Why should they clamour for a national home at the cost of the Hindus alone? Simply because the Hindus were foolish enough to regard them as their kith and kin and accommodate them in their own national home, when the Muslims had turned them out of Pakistan?
Traditionally and culturally, West Punjab is more intimately associated with the Sikhs than East Punjab. Why should the Sikh State not be created near about Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Lahore? If the Sikhs manage to bring round Pakistan Government to surrender these districts to them, the Hindus should not grudge ceding the contiguous districts of Amritsar, Ferozepore, Gurdaspur and Jullundur in favour of the Sikh State. It is utterly unfair on the part of the Sikhs to hob-nob with the Muslims—who actually expelled them from Pakistan—and to apply all uncharitable adjectives to the Hindus, who after all, provided them with shelter in what the Sikhs themselves maliciously call “Land of the Hindus”. If the Sikhs are a common product of Hindus and Muslims both, if they claim that Sikhism was produced out of Islam and Hinduism both, if they regard Muslims as much their parents as Hindus, let Muslims equally contribute towards the establishment of a Sikh State. We can not have a soft word for those Sikhs, who are never tired of placating the Muslims and when the question of demanding a Sikh State comes, they turn upon the Hindus alone. The Hindu Sanghatanists should lend full support to the Sikhs, if they ever proceed to crave out a home for themselves by grabbing equal territories from India and Pakistan. That will be the unique situation in which the Sanghatanists may advocate the case for a Sikh State and under no other circumstances. With this we wind up the discussion on the Sikh State and return to our original theme, Punjabi State.
CHAPTER XIV

Hindu Rashtra and Punjabi State

The Terms Explained Again

When the implications of certain words are dubious and not well fixed, it is safer to explain, at the very outset, what meaning we attach to them, than to run the risk of being misunderstood through ambiguity. 'Hindu Rashtra' and 'Punjabi State' are the two unfortunate expressions, on which the maximum amount of mischief has been played in recent times, by adherents of the Gandhian school of politics. We have amply clarified in the foregoing, what we mean by a Punjabi State: we mean thereby a state within the Indian Union, having Punjabi in Gurumukhi script, for its primary language. We have also explained the meaning of 'Hindu Rashtra', but in order to avoid the necessity of reference to previous pages, we reiterate it here. By Hindu Rashtra, we mean a sovereign democratic state, not wedded to any particular theocratic doctrine and granting equal rights to its Hindu and non-Hindu citizens, but actively supervising Hindus' cultural and economic interests in foreign lands and legally bound to accommodate and accept as its citizens, all Hindu immigrants squeezed out of their native countries by their hostile non-Hindu Governments. Among Hindus are included the Sikhs, unless they create a separate homeland for themselves. The concept of Hindu Rashtra has come to the forefront in recent times by the frankly hostile attitude of Pakistan and other Islamic theocracies towards their Hindu (including Sikh) subjects, and there is no way of helping them, except by accepting them as our liability, which the present constitution of India does not permit. It is because of the same constitutional lacuna, left by the Gandhian Congress, that refugees from Pakistan are acknowledged as citizens of India by the Congress only with great reluctance. Hindu Rashtra, in our sense of the word, does not mean a capitalistic State, with a government dominated by high caste, orthodox Hindus.

Hindudom—A Commonwealth

Now Hindus are not a nation in the same sense in which Germans or Italians are a nation, that is, a people more or less homogeneous culturally, racially and linguistically. Hindus are an ideological collectivity, comprising a number of small groups possess-
ing diverse racial traits and widely differing customs. Those fire-brand nationalists, who aim at bringing about homogeneity over night, by destroying with the zeal of fanatics, all local traditions, are betraying ignorance of Hindus’ character. Hindudom is somewhat like the Commonwealth of small groups, something like United States of India, to use the words of Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore. There is unity in diversity, because all components—Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists and Sanatanists—have common traditions and are menaced by common foes. In order to retain membership of the Hindu Commonwealth, the Sikh has not to renounce even an iota of Sikhism, nor a Buddhist of Buddhism. The coalescence of these Hindu religious groups into a big ideological collectivity, Hindudom, is more or less similar to the merger of diverse racial specimens like Tartars, Mongols and Georgians into a single bloc—the Soviet bloc—in their common devotion to Communist ideology.

Administrative Units in Hindu Rashtra,

In a free Hindu Rashtra, every constituent group must feel equally free and must find equal scope for self-display. No Hindu group should be allowed to design the annihilation of another Hindu group by force. The Sikhs must be able to unfold their genius in Hindu Rashtra as fully as the Buddhists, the Jains and the Sanatanists. Then and then alone, will the Central Government of Hindu Rashtra be able to retain the allegiance of the various constituents. In the name of national unity, no group should be required to sacrifice its characteristic cultural features. The necessary condition for bringing about such an idealistic order of society is that the administrative units of the Rashtra should be as small as possible and should enjoy almost unlimited autonomy within their respective spheres. The Centre should interfere only when it must. In this way there may be four Sikh majority States, two Buddhist majority States and so on, and they will be free to chalk out their secular and cultural programmes in accordance with their actual requirements. To foist a uniform pattern of administration on all people, in utter disregard of their local conditions, is an antiquated mode of governing and cannot but breed discontent. The Centre should intervene only when there is a dispute between two states.

Sikh State within Hindu Rashtra

Thus, even the ideal of the Sikh State within the Hindu Rashtra is not repugnant to our fundamental principles. As long as the autonomous states are not big enough to challenge the authority of the Centre, there is absolutely no harm in having Sikh, Buddhist or Jain States, thus to make these Hindu sects feel that their traditions are not only safe in their common Rashtra, but play a real part in their life. The devotion and loyalty to the Centre must proceed from a feeling among all sects that Hindu Rashtra system can alone assure them the fullest measure of self-government, and that a danger to the Hindu Rashtra will imperil the safety of them
WITH SHRI V. C. DESHPANDE, M. P.
all. Hindu Rashtra composed of such loyal units, and enjoying their unsullied allegiance, will not only be itself a viable Union, but will expand and gradually reclaim those territories, which it once incorporated, but which it could not adequately protect from the ravages of Islam. Can any Hindu—Buddhist, Sikh or Jain—possibly oppose such a rational scheme, if his brain is not stuffed with Gandhian irrationalism or Communistic trash? This is the communalists' way of solving minorities' problems.

Administrative Units of Rashtra to be on Linguistic Basis

But it redounds to the credit of Sikh leaders that they did not demand a Sikh State even within India, whatever their reasons. Very wisely they confined their demands to the limits of Punjabi State. If other sects also show similar wisdom, the agitation throughout India can be permanently ended by carving out administrative units on more or less linguistic basis. The distinction between Part A, Part B and Part C states will have to go sooner or later. One would find in the new maps, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Desa, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab and so on, while names like Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Pepsu will be conspicuously absent. After defence and food problem, the question of creating administrative units on linguistic basis merits our first consideration.

Communal Approach versus National Approach

Before we close up this part of the thesis, we take leave to bring out the distinction between the Congress method of approaching India's problem and our own, or which we may describe as "nationalist" method and "communalist" method, respectively. We are not in love with any words, nor do we hate other owing to certain prejudices, which attach to them. Communal method is just one of the ways of curing ills of the people and is as good and noble as the so-called nationalistic method. The former recognises the possibility of unity in diversity, the latter regards uniformity as a prerequisite for unity. The nationalists would demand Hindus and Muslims to take Hinduism and Islam lightly and evolve, by mixing the two, a composite culture called Indianism. The puritans among Hindus as well as Muslims despise such a proposition. For them unity is not worth having, if its price is surrender of one's cherished faith and beliefs. A true Hindu alone can respect the susceptibilities of a true Muslim. The communal way of bringing about harmony is to encourage every sect to be true to its traditions, but at the same time, be considerate to others. A true Sikh or a true Muslim can pull on more harmoniously with a true Hindu, because they all hate disregard for culture, which characterises light-hearted and care-free youth of today. This also explains why the so-called "nationalist" Muslims and Sikhs are hated by their respective communities as deeply as Gandhi and all his creatures are by the true Hindus. A Sikh can come to a workable understanding with a
true Hindu Sanghatanist sooner than with a Congressite. It is our claim that the Hindu-Muslim question would have been settled far more amicably, and the loss of life and property, that followed the departure of the British, would have been much less, if the negotiations had taken place directly between representative Hindu and Muslim leaders. The ignoble British creation, the Congress, which thrives upon lies, mis-statements and political blackmail, alone was responsible for the blood of Hindus and Muslims. If it had not fed the innocent masses on sheer make-beliefs and had taken a realistic view of communal tension, it could have planned the migration of minorities and exchange of properties when Jinnah had hinted at it. Migration had to take place and if Congress did not plan it, it went on unplanned, inflicting unimaginable hardships on the poor people. Even now Nehru is not prepared to exchange Hindus of East Bengal with Muslims of India, because this proposal is utterly communal in nature. We say, not Muslim League, but this Gandhian Congress alone is responsible for bringing avoidable miseries on masses, through obstinacy, recalcitrance and hypocrisy. If the problem has been tackled from communal angle, exchange of minorities and their assets would have been mutually planned as early as 1946, by Hindus and Muslim leaders jointly, and the holocaust of 1947 would have been averted. We must recognise the efficacy of communal method of solving at least some of our crucial problems. "Unity without uniformity" is the basic principle which underlies our policy in home affairs. The golden rule of 'unity in diversity' was not only discovered by the Hindus long ago but successfully practised by them for centuries, till the impact of Semitic thought deprived them of this priceless legacy. We are proud of our 'communalism,' because in that lies the salvation of us all.
CHAPTER XV

Punjabi State and Indian Political Parties

Punjabi State and Secular Parties

The attitude of political parties towards an issue is more often governed by expediency than ideology. The issue of Punjabi State is as secular in nature as anything can be. But strangely enough, no secular party has championed it with the zeal it deserved.

Opposition from Congress

Congress, which at one time used to cry hoarse against the British Government for shelving the issue of readjustment of provincial boundaries on linguistic basis, is now second to Jana Sangha only in advocating status quo. But we can understand it. It would have been anomalous if the Gandhists had continued to favour the principle of linguistic states when they have reversed all their pre-Partition plans since their coming to power. It is a patent fact that Gandhi, Nehru and all others of their ilk, were never serious about implementing whatever they had been preaching before gaining their ‘gaddies’. Good words had nothing more than a stunt value for them. They used to malign British administration on the ground that it was top-heavy, that the ministers and governors were too heavily paid, that corruption was rampant among officials and that the economic potential of the country was being squandered. But they never meant doing otherwise when returned to power. A vice is a vice if the Englishman is addicted to it. An offence is an offence if an Englishman committed it. When indulged in by a Congress Government, all suppression, loot, exploitation and tyranny become righteous ,because the disciples of the Mahatma can do no wrong! If, therefore, they have not implemented their pledges in respect of linguistic provinces, why should we chide? Have they implemented any other promises? The Congress has no idea of the objective value of good principles, They view everything subjectively.

A Gandhian Principle

In the case of Punjabi, the Congressites, opposition results from a Gandhian principle, which states that if a “bad man” does some-
thing good, oppose him. That is, by doing good, a "bad man" does not become better and merit some credit; rather the good action becomes profane. This reminds us of an injunction in Hindu Tantric philosophy that a Shudra or a woman should not be allowed to perform a Yajna, or even acquire learning, as by so doing the Yajnas or instructions in Shastras are polluted, rather than the debased persons are purified. Gandhi is said to have once started a Satyagraha in Hyderabad, but when the cursed Hindu Mahasabha joined the movement, he at once withdrew it lest his pure campaign is rendered impure, by association with it, of such bad characters as Hindu Mahasabhaites.

The Pariahs of Gandhian Age

And who are the worst characters in the Punjab? Tara Singh, Hukam Singh, Kartar Singh and all Akalis, who have revolted against Gandhism. How can the little Mahatmas, who are scattered every here and there like rats and mice, join a movement, how-so-ever progressive, if it is sponsored by "bad characters." The Congress must oppose Punjabi language because the Sikhs like it. Congress must oppose the creation of Punjabi State, just because Akalis, the shudras of the Gandhian age, want it.

Indian Socialists—Camp-followers of Gandhi

Socialists of India show little ingenuity in approaching India's problems. Vagueness and confusion are their characteristic features and lapses into irrational chauvinism are becoming a frequent phenomenon with them. We can get Socialism of India by mixing Gandhian Indianism and Maxian economics in almost equal proportions. On the question of linguistic states, their views vary between those of the Congress and the Communists, and deserve no separate scrutiny.

Indian Communists—marking time

Communists should have joined issue with the Akalis and fought with full vigour for Punjabi linguistic state. But their indifference in the matter has baffled many a genuine lover of Punjabi. Communists have a well-developed technique of political practice and change their tactics with time and place with remarkable cleverness. Ordinary Indians, whose political outlook is static and inelastic, cannot easily understand how a Marxist, who regards religion as an opiate of the masses, could lend support to the Pakistan demand of Muslim religious fanatics. But to an observer, conversant with Communist tactics, their so-called anomalous behaviour presents no difficulty. The slogan of an independent Sikh State, not to talk of a mere Punjabi State within India, would have been raised by the Communists themselves, if Akalis had but acted a little more tactfully. Violation of the territorial integrity of India
suits the Communists most at the present time. Their doings in Kashmir, in South India and on the Eastern Frontier indicate clearly in which direction their mind is working. We have no doubt in our mind that if, at any stage, the Sikh agitation for a free Sikh State, gains considerable momentum, the Communists will be one with the Sikhs. They are luke-warm at present because the demand for a Punjabi State appears to them to be too meagre, and because the Sikhs themselves are not serious about it. How easily Sikh leaders can be purchased can be easily gathered from the conduct of Sikh Ministers, who are invited by the centre to represent the community there. How can shrewd politicians like the Communists lend support to the movement, whose leaders are men of doubtful integrity.

**Jana Sanghites—Political Babes**

Jana Sangha, an illegitimate child of R. S. S. and Congress, is opposed to linguistic states. These people are politically mere babes and nobody need take any notice of their childish utterances. But sometimes they furnish some amusement. We said to one of their big bosses one day, “If you think, creating administrative units on linguistic basis will accentuate provincial feeling, why not launch a campaign for destroying linguistic boundaries where they exist? Let Kashmir and Jullundur district form one State, Bihar and Bengal another and so on, so that each State is multi-lingual.” To this he replied, “No, wherever linguistic States have come into existence we need not destroy.” So to our Sangha friends change is bad, in whatever direction it may be. And that is exactly the sign of reactionaries. They oppose every action The Sanghites feel that whatever has been created by God Almighty, in His extreme compassion, is the best. Man has no more right to redistribute provincial territories than he has to change the caste or status of a man. The map of India is the best in the form, in which the “white” masters had painted it for the Sangha! Their so-called Maha-Punjab move should be interpreted in this light. It is a mere counter-blast to the demand for a Punjabi State. If the Akalis withdraw their demand, the Maha-Punjab bubble will collapse automatically. The Lalas and Mahashas never even verbally protested, when slogans in favour of Maha-Punjab were banned. The Jana-Sangha hopes to retain status quo by equilibrating the pro-Punjabi forces by putting up a mock-show of Maha-Punjab Front.
Where Hindu Sanghathanists Faltered

Hindus in the Grip of Parasitic Capitalists

Having explained the Hinduistic character of Punjabi language and Gurumukhi script, and the bewilderment of the Congress at the prospects of the Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab uniting on the issue of Punjabi State, we should be able to prove now, without much difficulty, that the emergence of Congress as the most powerful party in Punjab after the last general elections, is due, in a large measure to the bunglings of the pig-headed leadership of Hindu Mahasabha in the State. These people pretend to be Hindu Sanghathanists, but they do not know even the A B C of Hindu political ideology. They use the word “Hindu” in a very narrow sense. Just as a European means by the term “humanity”, nothing more than “whitemanitny”, the Lalas, Rai Bahadurs and Sirs of Punjab Hindu Mahasabha mean nothing but a member of their own capitalistic class and reactionary clan, when they utter the word “Hindu”. For them, even those Hindus, who do not belong to their own caste, are not full Hindus, not to talk of Sikhs, Jains or Adi Dharmis. They pretend to be Hindu Sanghathanists just to exploit the blind zeal of true Hindu idealists, whose place, in the present order of society, is only in the lowest strata. It is these parasitic capitalists, who for the time being hold command of Sanghathanist forces, that have brought Hindu ideology into disrepute.

A Golden Chance to oust Congress missed

The suppression of Sanghathanists after the murder of Gandhi almost synchronised with the incarceration of Master Tara Singh and this chance factor provided the two anti-Congress forces an opportunity to understand each other’s view point more closely and to explore the possibility of forging a united front against the common aggressor. Meanwhile, the Hindu Mahasabhaite of Bengal and Andhra raised the slogan of linguistic provinces and, as if nature wanted Hindus and Sikhs to come together, an eminent Bengali leader of Hindu Mahasabha undertook to defend Master Tara Singh in the Punjab High Court and actually got him released. Congress popularity was then at its lowest ebb, owing to its bun-
blings in the matter of refugee rehabilitation, Kashmir issue and its weak-kneed policy towards East Bengal. If Hindu Sanghatanists had acted wisely at this time, Congress would have been completely routed in the Punjab. They, however, failed to take any advantage of the favourable situation.

Our Love’s Labour lost

Being officially connected with the Hindu Mahasabha at that time, we eagerly rushed at the golden chance that had presented itself, and tried to utilise it for bringing about a permanent rapprochement between the Akalis and the Mahasabha. The common programme, on which the two parties were to agree, was chalked out by us along the following lines:

1. Complete militarisation of able-bodied punjabi adults and liberalisation in the issue of arms licences.

2. Planned exchange of Hindus and Muslims between India and Pakistan and speedy rehabilitation of refugees. Conferment of occupancy and proprietary rights on occupants of Muslim evacuee lands and tenements.

3. Intensification of campaign for the recovery of Hindu abducted girls.

4. Reciprocal agreement with Pakistan in respect of religious shrines and properties.

5. Restrictions on settlement of Muslims—of Pakistani origin, intending settlers from other states or returning migrants—in the State of Punjab.


7. Annulment of Partition by peaceful methods.


We did not include economic policies in this list of fundamentals for agreement, for almost all progressive Hindus and Sikhs think alike on the economic plane. Our programme was well received by the generality of the Sikhs, but the inclusion of the last point, namely support to Punjabi, infuriated the Hindus so much that they refused to give a moment’s thought to the proposal, unless the part dealing with Punjabi was dropped. From the Sikh point of view, this was the most important clause and the anomalous opposition to it shook them off their feet. The result was that our proposal fell through and our love’s labour was lost.
Sikhs Forced to look to Non-Hindus for Help

Now whether winning of Sikh support by upholding the cause of Punjabi was a profitable bargain for Hindu Mahasabha or not, is a matter of opinion. At the time of elections, profit or loss is calculated in terms of votes, but that is the least important consideration for idealists. Our view was that by espousing the cause of Punjabi State, the Hindu Mahasabha would have deprived the Congress, and all other secular parties, of a valuable stunt, by which the Sikhs’ hearts could be captivated at any time. However superior may be the numerical strength of the Hindus, they cannot simply ignore the existence of Sikhs; and whichever party may come into power, it will have to take into account Sikh susceptibilities. If Hindu Mahasabha did not come to some sort of an agreement with Akalis—who alone represent the true Sikh viewpoint—they would turn to others, preferably to the Congress, for a “forced alliance.”

A Subtle Point

Here a subtle point must be clarified. By our upholding Punjabi language in Gurumukhi script, the Sikhs feel humoured and it appears as though in relation to Sikhs, we are acting exactly as Gandhi acted in relation to Muslims. We have often been dubbed a Gandhi in relation to Sikhs. The insinuation is, however, based on malice and lack of understanding. Gandhi went out of his way, and even disregarded his principles, for placating the Muslims. By pleading the cause of Punjabi, we are not deviating, in the least, from our rigorous Sanghatanist course. In fact, if the Sikhs had known that supporting Hindu languages and scripts was a part of Hindu ideology, they would have realised that all the eight points on which Akali-Mahasabha rapprochement was proposed, were in furtherance of Mahasabha ideology only. And while Akalis were to carry out many parts of the programme, which they did not have in their original party manifesto, the Mahasabha would not have to alter a comma of their ideology after coming to an agreement with the Akalis. We left this point in vagueness at that time, lest the Sikhs should demand more price for their co-operation. We left undisbanned the false impression that we were yielding to Sikhs on the question of Punjabi, so that the Sikhs might feel that they had also gained something in the bargain. In point of fact, the whole agreement was on purely Hindu Sanghatanist terms. And the foolish Hindus, who had no eyes, called us a Gandhi! Expediency demanded that we should remain mum, but the unscrupulous friends of the Hindus wanted us to blurt out that Sikhs had gained no concession from us, though they had pledged full support to us.

“Hindu Mahasha Sabha”

Congress and other secular parties dub Hindu Sabha a party of caste Hindu capitalists in which Sikhs have no place and by its conduct, the Hindu Sabha has proved that it is so. It is now playing
exactly the role—the role of anti-Sikh reactionaries—which Congress wanted it to play. It is now a body of non-Sikh Hindus only and is best described by the term Hindu Mahasha Sabha.

Support to Punjabi as an Expendiency

We have made it clear that supporting Punjabi language and characters is quite in keeping with Hindu Sanghatanist ideals. But incidently it has immense stunt value also. Gandhian stunts for winning Muslims always necessitated a compromise of principles. Suppot to Khilafat Movement, Acceptance of Communal Award and Partition on Communal basis, on the part of a man wedded to secularism or one-Nation theory, cannot be explained otherwise. But support to Punjabi, which is a pure Hindu language, is not only unexceptionable, but even as a tact, it has immense value. Ninety percent of Sikh politics hinges round Punjabi and any political party, which aspires to win them, will have to take this strong Sikh sentiment into account. If we can win them so easily, without sacrificing our ideals, why should we leave this important stunt to be utilised by other parties ? But it is expecting too much from Hindu Mahasabha to think that they can assess the value of political stunts.

Mahasabha gets the just Punishment

When the proposal for an Akali-Mahasabha alliance was placed before the Hindus, three classes of answers were received.

(i). The Sikhs will not vote for a Hindu Sanghatanist even if we support Punjabi.

(ii). It is not worth while to get Sikh votes by supporting Punjabi, even if it is presumed that they will vote for a Punjabi-loving Hindu.

(iii). It is criminal to bank upon Sikh votes; a Hindu, who tries to get a seat by the help of Sikh votes, is a traitor.

With such stuff in their brains, the Hindu Mahasabhaite entered the election field and got the just punishment for their stupidity. If a sort of agreement had been concluded between Akalis and Mahasabha. both would have gained some advantage—the latter by far the greater. The Hindus, for placating whom the Mahasabha antagonised the Sikhs and disowned Punjabi against all moral considerations, went solidly with the Congress.

Two Ways of dealing with Sikhs

Let us admit, for the sake of an argument, that Akalis are worse than the Muslims. Should Mahasabha have no set policy towards them ? They can either be looked upon as friends or as foes, there is no other course. We suggested the first course, and tried in our humble way, to bring the two together. The official Hindu Mahasabha chose the second course. The advantage, they could gain from Mr. Chatterji’s initiative, was lost to them !
How Congress misrules Punjab

Then, if the Hindus were politically conscious, they should have understood without being told that a Akali-Mahasabha alliance would be far better for them than Akali-Congress alliance. For the Sikhs it would have mattered little, but for the Hindus, it would have made a world of difference. As the Hindu Mahasabha erred grievously at the time of elections, the Congress got its chance again and one need not waste a single tear of sympathy for the foolish Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab who are again groaning under the Congress misrule. If an alliance between Akalis and Mahasabhaites had been forged along the lines suggested by us, Hindus should have championed the cause of Punjabi in this State, while Master Tara Singh would have raised the cry of "Akhanda Bharata" on All-India basis. Our unity would have been more solid and sincere, because our convictions are identical. Congress policies are opposed to ours on all the eight points. Gandhian creed of non-violence stands in flagrant contradiction to our militarisation schemes. His secularism stands in the way of exchange of population, rehabilitation of refugees and ban on cow-slaughter. And his solicitude for Muslims does not permit his disciples to be hostile to the Islamic theocracy of Pakistan. A coalition between the Congress and the Sikhs can be only an inactive coalition, its constituents pulling in opposite directions on most of the vital issues. Centre will be able to dictate its policies with the greatest ease in such a state. And what we see before us every day amply testifies to our contention.
Choice Before Hindus of Punjab

Party Alignment in Punjab

The present composition of the Punjab's population is: Gandhists 70% (including Muslims, Christians, debased Sikhs and de-Hinduised Hindus, passing off as Congressites, Socialists and Communists); genuine Sikhs 25 per cent, comprising four-fifths of the entire Sikh population; and genuine Hindus 5 per cent, forming but one fourteenth part of the Hindu population of the State. Now these three elements, who may be referred to as Gandhists, Sikhs and Sanghatanists for the sake of brevity, are quite distinct from one another, and alliance between any two of them— for purposes of fighting elections, or for forging parliamentary coalitions—can be made only by a conscious effort. Each group will weigh the pros and cons of such an alliance from the point of view of its own interest. At the time of last elections, the Sanghatanists had to choose between the Sikhs and the Gandhists. Would the Sanghatanists' cause be better served by their aligning themselves with the Sikhs or with the Gandhists? The question is a very intricate one and no wonder if the dull-headed Sanghatanists of the Punjab failed to see the correct answer to it. These people are in fact, Gandhists carrying only a skin-deep coating of Hindutva. You scratch them slightly and you will discover pure Gandhism in them. That was why they preferred a Congress rule to a Sikh rule. Inspite of Sikhs' willingness to join issue with Sanghatanists to oust Congress, the Mahasha-Sabhaites continued to vilify the Sikhs and even incited open hostilities on them, by fabricating the fatastic story that Sikhs were inviting Pakistan to raid India! All dacoities, rapes and gansterism, that came in the wake of political unrest in the Punjab and Pepsu, were attributed to the Sikhs. The choice between Congress and Sikhs was likened to a choice between misrule and utter chaos. Carried away by such propaganda, indulged in by people, who pretended to be Sanghatanists, but who were in fact Congress agents, the nervous Hindu masses saw their saviour in the Congress and voted it. The collapse of Sanghatanist forces in the Punjab is thus due to the imprudent role of the Sanghatanists themselves, who played the Congress game, knowingly or otherwise.

Is Congress Rule Preferable to Sikh Rule?

How are the Akalis better than the Congressites? The answer depends upon the experiences of the persons, at whom the interro-
gation is posed. A man feels happier in an atmosphere, where he can display and express his ideological convictions freely. Can a true Hindu Sanghatanist carry out his programme more freely under Nehru or under Tara Singh? We say, under Tara Singh. Those, who prefer Congress to the Akalis, have never suffered for the Hindu cause and have, perhaps, never pursued Hindu ideology seriously. Otherwise they would have known what it means to be an energetic and dynamic Hindu under Nehru's autocracy. Let our Sanghatanist friends first clearly understand what our ambitions on the national and international plane are; let them publicly express them and try to translate them into practice. Then and then alone, they will learn that the most formidable foe of all that we stand for, is Nehru and his Congress. A patriot like, Savarkar would not have suffered such a humiliation except under Nehru; Khare, Lahiri and Deshpande would not have been detained on the occasion of Liaquat Ali's visit to India, except by an enemy of Hindudom; Chatterji, Ram Singh, Khanna and Seth would not have been detained without trial by Tara Singh for anti-Pakistan activities; Prem Nath Dogra would not be rotting in Jails, under the Sikhs, for unstinted loyalty to the Indian Tricolour; and a humble man like the author would not have earned detention without trial under the Akalis, if he had called Pakistan an enemy state and pleaded for exchange of minorities! Nehru's wrath victimised us, when we demand annulment of Partition, when we want to make India, a Hindu Rashtra, when we try to Hinduize politics and to militarize Hindudom. Akalis would have disallowed only opposition to Punjabi and refused us licence to indulge in black-marketing. We thought it more expedient to have freedom to oppose Punjabi and to indulge in black-marketing and sacrificed all other things.

Unholy Alliance between Hindus and Congress

An average Hindu is temperamentally averse to ideological pursuits. He is essentially a careerist and cares little for social obligations. He wanted a government, which might permit him fullest liberty to make money, by fair or foul means. The Congress on the other hand, wanted subjects, who might indulge in any corrupt practices, but who must denounce religion. Thus the Hindu subjects found the right type of rulers among Congressites. The Hindu said, "Please, benign Congress Government, we promise not to exalt Dharma, but pray, do not interfere in our money matters." And the Congress smilingly replied, "Yes, my dear subjects, as long as you do not exalt that cursed thing called Dharma, I assure you I shall not interfere in your money matters." Certainly, Tara Singh could not offer such lucrative terms to the Hindus and the latters' choice could be none too doubtful.

Why Hindus do not feel Pinch of the Congress Mis-rule

So to the Hindus, whose interest was mainly mercenary, Congress rule offered much better chances than Akalis'. They would
Punjab Hindu Mahasabha, at Ambala

Mukhi Shanti Swaroop, President Ad Hoc Committee,
Shri Ram Singh with Vishvesh Kapoor; Prof. Kapoor with Shri!
Genl. Secretary, All India Hindu Mahasabha; Vishvesh Kapoor; Prof. Manohar Lal,
Shri Parmannand (of Jhansi); Shri Parmannand; Shri V. C. Deshpande; Shri.

(From left to right (Shri Balraj Khanna), President Delhi Hindu Mahasabha).

WITH HINDU SANGHAANIST FRIENDS.
have felt the pinch of Congress rule if they had in their programme to rescue Hindu girls from Islamic countries, if they were to take up the case of East Bengal Hindus seriously and if they were determined to retain Kashmir within the Indian Union. All these items, however, were too grim to interest them. They chose to display their heroics in denouncing Punjabi only and got a licence from Nehru for black-marketing, by voting the Congress to power, under whom no Sanghatanist activity could be pursued. The Congress rule is better than the Akali rule only for those, who have no Pan-Hindu ambitions. The activity, which Akalis would have banned, would be only opposition to Punjabi, which forms no part of Hindu ideology.

Disown Condemnable "Show-Boys"

While the Sanghatanists committed the blunder of regarding Congressite Hindus as their nearer cousins than the Akalis, the latter regarded Congressite Sikhs as their own men, as against the Hindus. This was a greater blunder. The Hindus, including Sikhs, must understand clearly that deserters and traitors are more dangerous than the enemies. This is the lesson, which the history of the past one thousand years teaches us most eloquently. All practical politicians of our own times have believed in it. Jinnah was more hostile towards the so-called "Nationalist Muslims" than towards Hindu Congressites. Lenin's party men, the Bolsheviks, were more bitter against the Mensheviks—a group of Communists led by Trotsky—than even against the non-Communists. If the Akalis do not want a miserable end in the long run, they must cease to lionise and must learn to condemn, those spineless Sikhs, who are better unnamed—who rose to eminence through the support of Sikh masses, and who later on shamelessly compromised their principles for bettering their own chances in life. A Hindu Sanghatanist should prefer an Akali to a Congressite Hindu and an Akali should prefer a Hindu Sanghatanist to a Congressite Sikh. This will be the basis of Hindu-Sikh relations when the political trends of this unfortunate State of ours will begin to drift in the right direction.

When Gandhists regard Opposition as an Enemy

We are now face to face with another important question. What will be the attitude of the Central Congress government, if an Akali-Sanghatanist Coalition Ministry is set up in the Punjab? The question is just a particular case of the fundamental issue: how will the Congress Cabinet acquit itself if non-Congress Ministries are set up in the Constituent States? The answer depends upon the particular non-Congress party, which comes forth. All non-Congress parties are not equal in the eyes of the Congress. To our way of thinking, the Congress, Socialists, Communists and Sanghites form one group of parties—the Gandhian group—while Hindu Sanghatanists & Akalis form another group—the anti-Gandhian group. The Gandhists have differences of their own, but all of them recognise the authority of Gandhi and regard him as the Father...
of their Nation”. They regard members of other parties of the Gandhian group as opposition members and members of anti-Gandhian parties as enemies. Thus, if there is a Congress Ministry at the Centre and a Communist Ministry in some State, the former will extend all the courtesy and constitutional freedom to the latter in their mutual dealings. For, from the Congress point of view, Communists, Socialists and Sanghites are only opposition groups, which have a right to exist in a democracy, while Sanghatanists and Akalis are not opposition groups but enemies, which must be finished up at any cost. Jawahar Lal Nehru had once declared that if a communal, or what is the same thing as a Hindu Sanghatanist, government were ever established in India, he would consider it his duty to fight it out, even with the help of foreign powers.* This he could not have said if he had looked upon the Sanghatanists as just opposition members. He would not think of fighting out a Socialist government, for example, with foreign help. With such a strong anti-Hindu bias, would a Congress Cabinet at the Centre simply tolerate an Akali-Sanghatanist Coalition in the Punjab as an innocent opposition? Those, who think so, are living in fool’s paradise.

**Demand More Autonomy for Punjabi State**

If, therefore, the Sanghatanists ever aspire to form a ministry in some state, they must prepare their shoulders to bear all the active hostility of the Central anti-Hindu government. And in the Punjab, in particular, their task will be all the more tedious, because here their collaborators, the Akalis, too, are not in the good books of the Congress. This peculiar situation of the Punjab from the Sanghatanist point of view necessitates two basic alterations in our attitude towards the Centre:

First, we must look to the Centre for loans or other help, as seldom as possible. Punjab must be made as self-sufficient and as self-supporting as possible. Austerity measures must be adopted wherever we can do so.

Second, interference from the Centre in day to day business should not be brooked and must be openly opposed. *Punjab must

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*The quotation is from a speech delivered by Jawahar Lal Nehru at Naini Tal in June, 1948. We remember to have read it in some English language papers too, but the report, we have preserved in our file, was sent by a special representative of the daily “Hindi Milap” and published in its issue for June 25, 1948. To the best of our knowledge, it was never contradicted by any one. The relevant portion of the report says:

“If the people of India do not like to see me Prime Minister of the country, I am prepared to relinquish that job any moment. But I shall still continue to fight persons of communal mentality. Even if people turn me out of India, I shall organise and fight against them from outside, as they are dangerous not only to the country but to the whole world.”

The speech is a wonderfully correct index of Nehru’s mind!

Author,
exercise the fullest measure of autonomy guaranteed by the Constitution, and must fight—along the lines of Kashmir—for more autonomy. We must shed off false sense of loyalty to the Centre as long as it is not sympathetic towards our genuine aspirations. Our dealings with it must be based on the clear principle of “responsive cooperation” enunciated by Savarkar.

Does "Autonomous Punjab" Mean a Sikh State?

This programme of ours—demanding more autonomy for the Punjab, emphasising military training, and restricting Muslims’ resettlement—cannot be viewed with equanimity by Gandhaists. Consequently, since the day it was made public, there has been a flood of criticism against it, in the Mahasha press. Particularly, the clause relating to more autonomy for Punjab, has been cleverly interpreted to mean that we advocate creation of an independent Sikh State. We do not mean rebutting such irresponsible and malicious fulminations and should like to submit only that if, after all the above explanation, our arguments seem to lend support to the idea of a Sikh State, we are not sorry for it. Whether it is the conception of a Sikh State, or a Hindu State, or a Punjabi State as we believe it to be, the good of the people lies in its consummation.

Failure of a Noble Mission

The Sanghatanist programme for the regeneration of the Punjab through Hindu-Sikh unity, as outlines in the foregoing pages, was well received by the Sikhs but very few Hindus, if any, favoured it. The reason is that Hindus are more easily influenced by the Congress press than the Sikhs. We must frankly admit that the best occasions for bringing about Akali- Sanghatanist rapprochement along right lines have already been lost. We have narrated this sad tale in the hope that perhaps some time in future, the lessons of the past may serve some purpose.

Epilogue

The object of this brochure is to discuss the political and cultural issues involved in the ideal of a Punjabi State. How that ideal is to be achieved, is outside the purview of the present volume, which deals with theoretical aspects of the problem only. Complete political practice requires theory (ideology), organisation (human machinery) and tact (strategical skill). We have concerned ourselves with the first aspect only in this concise treatment of the subject. It is for the practical politicians to organise a party, lay down strategical principles and strive to achieve the ideal.
After an informal sitting at Ambala in October, 1954.

WITH MASTER TARAA SINCH
APPENDIX

A Philological Survey of Punjabi

(A) PUNJABI AND EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The structural peculiarities of a language cannot be surveyed in a short note. Comparative philology is a science almost as exact as mathematics—and its laws are very similar to those of statistics. In the limited space available to us, we can only touch the outermost fringes of this vast subject, so as to arouse popular interest in it.

Punjabi is not a dialect

There has been a good deal of discussion, of late, whether Punjabi is a full-fledged language or a mere dialect. The question has been discussed more often by political propagandists than by scholars and the objectivity of the problem has been completely masked by the heaps of vile propaganda, indulged in by the supporters as well as opponents of Punjabi.

Philological Importance of Punjabi

Punjabi is a language and not a dialect of any other language. It leads an independent life, like other well-known languages—Hindi, Bengali, English or German. The study of this language is important, not only because it is one of the most widely spoken languages of India, but also because Punjabi has preserved some of the rarest phonological and structural peculiarities of the ancient Aryan speech, from which have sprung up the majority of Indian and European languages of to-day. No student of Aryan philology can, therefore, afford to ignore Punjabi.

Teutonic and Romance Languages

The evolution of Punjabi from the original Aryan speech, of which Sanskrit is the best representative extant, has followed exactly the same rules of transformation, as governed the evolution of modern Teutonic and Romance languages from the parent speech. The main Teutonic languages are German, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish and
English and owe their birth to a common source. The family of Romance languages includes French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Roumanian. They are more or less direct descendants of Latin. Both old Teutonic and Latin, along with Slavonic, Armenian and Sanskrit, are believed to have originated from a common parent speech, called by German scholars, the Ursprache.

Process Of Evolution

The transformation of the parent language into its derivatives follows certain general physical trends, or speech habits, of the speakers, and as a rule, similar geographical or ethnological factors produce similar changes in the language. Our business today is to show that transformation of Sanskrit into Punjabi has followed the same lines, more or less, as the transformation of Latin into its modern off-shoots, principally Italian. The change from the classical to the modern language has taken place in accordance with certain rules, which have, of course, a number of exceptions. Let us now examine some of these rules.

Some Philological Rules exemplified

Rule I. The conjunct ‘ct’ or ‘kt’ in the classical language changes into ‘tt’ in the modern language.

Examples. (a) EUROPEAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>Vittoria</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octo</td>
<td>Otto</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noctis</td>
<td>Nitte</td>
<td>Night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>Ottobre</td>
<td>October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lactis</td>
<td>Latte</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) INDIAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhukta</td>
<td>Bhatta</td>
<td>Allowance (Rice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saktu</td>
<td>Sattu</td>
<td>Barley flour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rakta</td>
<td>Ratta</td>
<td>Blood (Red)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikta</td>
<td>Titta (or Teet)</td>
<td>Bitter (Sour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pankti</td>
<td>Pantti (or penti)</td>
<td>Row (Line)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rule II. The conjunct ‘pt’ in the classical language changes into ‘tt’ in the modern language. This Rule, as well as the one exemplified above, can be combined into one generalisation, viz. simplification of the conjuncts and reduplication of the succeeding consonants.
Examples. (a) EUROPEAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Optimus</td>
<td>Ottimo</td>
<td>Best (Sanskrit: Uttama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Septem</td>
<td>Setto</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scriptum</td>
<td>Scritto</td>
<td>Written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Settembre</td>
<td>September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sceptre</td>
<td>Scettro</td>
<td>Sceptre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) INDIAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sapta</td>
<td>Satt-a</td>
<td>Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supta</td>
<td>Sutta</td>
<td>Asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tapta</td>
<td>Tatta</td>
<td>Hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dugdha</td>
<td>Duddha</td>
<td>Milk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gupta (concealed), Lupta (vanished) and Tripta (satisfied) are important exceptions. These words have come from Sanskrit, without undergoing any modification.

Rule III. The conjunct ‘x’ or ‘ksh’ in the classical language changes into ‘cc’ (pronounced as ‘ch’ in ‘church’), ‘ss’ or ‘chh’ in the modern language.

Examples, (a) EUROPEAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Excellentia</td>
<td>Eccellenza</td>
<td>Excellence (-y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exception</td>
<td>Eccezione</td>
<td>Exception</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximo</td>
<td>Prossimo</td>
<td>Proximo (Next)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exactement</td>
<td>Esettamente</td>
<td>Exactly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) INDIAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lakshmi (Laxmi)</td>
<td>Lacchhmi</td>
<td>Goddess of wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaksha</td>
<td>Kacchh-a</td>
<td>Arm-pit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakshi (Paxi)</td>
<td>Panchhi</td>
<td>Bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riksha</td>
<td>Ricchh-a</td>
<td>Bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vriksha</td>
<td>Birchh-a</td>
<td>Tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lakshana</td>
<td>Lacchhan-a</td>
<td>Symptoms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rule IV. The hard consonants in the classical language tend to soften in the modern language. This is a modification.
of the well-known Grimm’s law in Indo-European philology. For purposes of this law, hard consonants mean the first and second rows of the Nagari consonants and soft mean the third and fourth rows.

Examples (a) EUROPEAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catta</td>
<td>Gatto (Spanish: Gato)</td>
<td>Cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aqua</td>
<td>Agua (Spanish)</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aequalis</td>
<td>Eguale</td>
<td>Equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabatum</td>
<td>Sabado (Spanish)</td>
<td>Sabbath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aprilis</td>
<td>Abril (Spanish)</td>
<td>April</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) INDIAN LANGUAGES:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loka</td>
<td>Log-a</td>
<td>People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoka</td>
<td>Sog-a</td>
<td>Grief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancha</td>
<td>Panja</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanta</td>
<td>Kanda</td>
<td>Thorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danta</td>
<td>Dand-a</td>
<td>Tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Api</td>
<td>Bi (or Vi)</td>
<td>Also</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rule V. The sound of ‘p’ in classical language tends to change into that of ‘v’ in modern language. The best example of it in European languages is the change of Latin ‘Aprilis’ into French ‘Avril’ (—English ‘April’). Among Indian languages the examples of this transformation are numerous.

Examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dipa</td>
<td>Diva</td>
<td>Lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dipawali</td>
<td>Divavali (—Diwali)</td>
<td>A festival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotapala</td>
<td>Kotval</td>
<td>A police officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gopala</td>
<td>Govala</td>
<td>Cowherd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kacchhapa</td>
<td>Kachhuva</td>
<td>Tortoise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandapa</td>
<td>Manduva</td>
<td>Stage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Api</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>Also</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rule VI. The sound of ‘sh’ in the classical language is very often changed into ‘kh’ in the modern language.

The rule immediately reminds one of the two ways of pronouncing ‘ch’ in different parts of Germany, the first pronuncia-
tion approximating to that of ‘sh’ and the second, to that of ‘kh’.

The following examples from German will make the point clearer:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>German</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ich</td>
<td>Ish or Ikh</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicht</td>
<td>Nisht or Nikht</td>
<td>Not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mich</td>
<td>Mish or Mikh</td>
<td>Me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richt</td>
<td>Risht or Rikht</td>
<td>Right</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples of interchangeability of ‘sh’ and ‘kh’ sounds in the Iranian group are striking:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Form</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pushta</td>
<td>Pukhta</td>
<td>Strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pushto</td>
<td>Pukhto</td>
<td>A language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pashtoon</td>
<td>Pakhtoon</td>
<td>A Pathan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples of change of ‘sh’ into ‘kh’ in the study of Punjabi are almost numberless:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lak-sha</td>
<td>Lak-kh-a</td>
<td>Lac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak-sha</td>
<td>Pak-kh-a</td>
<td>Side (or Fan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tik-sha (na)</td>
<td>Tik-kha</td>
<td>Sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrak-shana</td>
<td>Mak-khan-a</td>
<td>Butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ak-shi</td>
<td>Ak-khi</td>
<td>Eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drak-sha</td>
<td>Dakh-a</td>
<td>Grapes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parik-sha</td>
<td>Parikhya</td>
<td>Examination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhik-sha</td>
<td>Bhik-kh-a</td>
<td>Alms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Isolated Words of Interest

The following words furnish an extremely interesting study as they bring out certain rare features of similarity between Indian and European languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To-day: Sanskrit:</th>
<th>Adya;</th>
<th>Punjabi: Ajj-a;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latin : Hodie;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Italian: Oggi;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth: Sanskrit:</td>
<td>Yuvan;</td>
<td>Punjabi: Javan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin: Juvenis;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Italian: Giovane;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widow: Sanskrit:</td>
<td>Vidhava;</td>
<td>Punjabi: Vidhava;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin: Veduus;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Italian: Vedova;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epe: Sanskrit:</td>
<td>Akshi;</td>
<td>Punjabi: Akkhi;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin: Oculus;</td>
<td></td>
<td>Italian: Occhio.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An Important Rule reversed

A very important rule of transformation from Sanskrit to Punjabi is the complete suppression of ‘r’ in a conjunct and reduplication of the second component of the conjunct.
For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karna</td>
<td>Kann-a</td>
<td>Ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakra</td>
<td>Nakk-a</td>
<td>Nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakra</td>
<td>Chakka</td>
<td>Wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parna</td>
<td>Panna</td>
<td>Leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karma</td>
<td>Kamm-a</td>
<td>Work (action)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charma</td>
<td>Chamm-a</td>
<td>Leather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karpura</td>
<td>Kapur-a</td>
<td>Camphor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the following cases, ‘r’ has been imported into Punjabi, when it was absent in the original Sanskrit; in these cases, it simply fills the gap before an accented syllable.

Examples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam-bandha</td>
<td>Sar-bandh-a</td>
<td>Relation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vi-lapa</td>
<td>Vir-lap-a</td>
<td>Wailing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tik-shana</td>
<td>Tir-khan-a</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapa</td>
<td>Shrap-a</td>
<td>Curse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evolution of Punjabi verbs and case-endings forms a very interesting study, and our survey of it will be incomplete without comparing it with its Indian relatives, principally Hindi and Sanskrit.

(B) PUNJABI, HINDI AND SANSKRIT

Punjabi is the most faithful representative of the ancient Indo-European speech (the ‘Ursprache’ of the German philologists) and, if Sanskrit is taken as the nearest approach to that hypothetical language, a comparative study of Punjabi and Sanskrit can go a long way to show how faithfully Punjabi has preserved some of the rarest features of its ancestors, while most of the other cognate languages have lost them in the process of evolution.

Similarity with Sanskrit—An Asset for Punjabi

The similarity of Punjabi with Sanskrit is at once its asset as well as its liability. Those who regard Sanskrit as an ideal of linguistic perfection, and look upon every departure from its grammatical and prosodic rules as degeneration, will regard Punjabi as a ‘superior’ or ‘more refined’ language than Hindi or Bengali, which have gone further away from Sanskrit. Their measure of ‘refinement’
of a language is its nearness to Sanskrit. The further a derivative recedes from its parent, the more degenerate it becomes. Majority of the Hindu scholars, and specially those, who believe in Pan-Hindu ideals, like the author of this thesis, favour Punjabi because they are convinced that in many respects it is the nearest relative of Sanskrit extant today. It is to this extent that Punjabi’s similarity with Sanskrit can be looked upon as its asset.

**Similarity with Sanskrit—A liability for Punjabi**

But this same characteristic, namely similarity with Sanskrit, becomes a liability for Punjabi, when we view it from another angle. There is a very large section of community, which regards Sanskrit as a symbol of all reaction, irrationalism and orthodoxy, and from their point of view, the association of Punjabi with Sanskrit, if established, will be a permanent stigma on it. The progressive content of a language, in their opinion, is proportional to its departure from the rules of the parent speech, and so they measure the “progressiveness” of Punjabi by the number of instances, in which it has deviated from Sanskrit. If, therefore, it is proved that Punjabi is more closely related to Sanskrit, than Hindi or Bengali, the self-styled “progressives” will have good reasons to make a case against it, and the very quality, which might be an asset so it under different conditions, will turn out to be a liability to Punjabi. In the present age of decline of Pan-Hindu consciousness, majority of the protagonists of Punjabi do not like the idea that Punjabi should be shown as being any way related to—much less derived from—Sanskrit.

**Inference from an Objective Study of Punjabi**

The object of the present investigation is essentially non-political, though we cannot escape the political implications of our finding whether we wish it or not. Ours is an unbiased enquiry—to study facts objectively. We have to examine Punjabi in a scientific spirit. Our conclusion is that of all the existing Indian languages, Punjabi is most closely related to Sanskrit in its essentials—verbs, phonology as well as syntax.

**Two Periods in the Development of Indian Languages**

The histories of Bengali, Marathi and Hindi languages show that the transition from Sanskrit to their modern standard form has taken place in two different stages: first, from Sanskrit, through the Prakritas, to Apabhramshas; and second, from Apabhramshas to the present form.

**From Sanskrit to Apabhramshas**

The change-over from Sanskrit to Prakritas and Apabhramshas is, in the main, true evolutionary development. It is the stage of simplification of conjuncts, softening of hard sounds, modification of
vowels and generalisation of rules regarding case-endings and verb-terminations. This stage, therefore, truly marks the evolution of more rationalised speech habits of the masses. The Sanskrit words were all cast into new moulds, according to definite empirical rules. If Dharma (धर्म) was changed into Dhamma (धम्म), then Karma (कर्म) was also made into Kamma (कर्म) and Charma (चर्म) into Chamma (चर्म). As a rule, the Sanskrit words were not used in the Prakritas in their original (or Tatsama) forms; they were made into Prakritas and then used (—being then called Tadbhavas). The changes in the language were thus essentially structural, and not due to the influx of foreign words. Some modern mis-guided politicians, who think that the progress of a language is measured by the absorption of foreign substantives only, should remember that true evolution is not only assimilation of foreign elements, but rationalisation of the very structure of the language. The Tatsama or Sanskritic element upto the Apabhramsha stage is very rare in Bengali, Marathi and Hindi; the bulk of the vocabulary consists of deformed or Tadbhava words; and the foreign element is negligibly small.

From Apabhramshas to Modern Form

The transition from the Apabhrasmsa to the present form is marked by two new features: the foreign, principally Arabic and Persian, words frequently make their appearance; and a tendency is clearly noticeable towards replacement of broken or Tadbhava words, by their pure Sanskritic or Tatsama forms. ‘Dhamma’ becomes obsolete and ‘Dharma’ gains currency again. Old Bengali has much less Tatsama element than the Bengali of comparatively recent writers, like Bankim Chandra Chatterji. The same thing is found in the case of Marathi and Gujarati. Tulasi Das, Sur Das and other medieval Hindi writers employ ‘deformed’ or ‘broken’ usages more freely than a modern scholar of Hindi would do. The tendency to enhance Sanskritic element has succeeded in arresting the unlimited diversity of Hindu languages and has brought them closer to one another.

The Turning Point in the History of Indian Languages

Thus the transformation from Sanskrit to Apabhramsha is characterised by an ever-increasing tendency to deform words; and from Apabhramsha to the modern form, it is characterised by a gradual increase of pure Sanskritic element. The Apabhramsha stage is thus a point of inflection in the curve, showing the variation of the number of Sanskrit words in a language with time. All derivatives of Sanskrit—Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Oriya etc.—have been through the same process, though the period of revival of Sanskrit was different with different languages. In Bengali, it began much earlier than in Hindi. The period, at which Tadbhava words began to yield place to Tatsamas in a language, will henceforth be referred to as its Renaissance period.
Essential and Non-Essential Parts of a Language

The restoration of deformed Tadbhava words to their original Tatsama forms was possible in the case of non-essential parts of speech only—in the case of nouns, adjectives, adverbs or conjunctions. The essential part of speech is the verb, and to a lesser degree the prepositions or postpositions. These are the most stable elements of a language and a change in their form truly indicates an evolutionary step in its development. The verb is the least influenced by foreign impact, while noun and adjective are most susceptible to foreign influences. That is why the verb and prepositions are called the essentials of a language, and substantives—the noun and adjective—the non-essentials. The number of nouns and adjectives, which Hindi, Bengali and other Hindu languages have borrowed from Arabic, Persian and other alien languages, runs into thousands, but foreign verbs, which have been assimilated, can be counted on fingers. Some of the rare examples of such verbs are ‘गुजरना’ (guzarna—to pass), ‘खरीदना’ (kharidna—to buy) जमाना (jamana—to freeze) and फर्माना (farmana—to say). Not a single verb of common usage has crept into an Indian language from English, in spite of all the much-advertised tyranny of the British Imperialism. Leaving aside the solitary example of ‘फिल्माना’ (filmana—to film) no English verb lends itself to be treated in accordance with the native grammar. We can never say ‘हैदना’ for ‘eating’ or ‘हितनोद’ for ‘drinkable’ or ‘हिस्ट्री’ for ‘sitting’. In hybrids like ‘lubricate’ करना ‘report’ देखा ‘or ‘dismiss’ होना, it is the Indian part करना, देखा, होना, etc., that yields to the requirements of Indian grammar in a sentence. The English verb never submits to the dictates of Indian grammar; or, in other words, no English verb has so far found a place in Indian languages, barring a very, very few slangs like ‘filmana’. And since extraneous influences cannot easily alter the verbs of a language, they are looked upon as the most stable part of it and are called the “essentials” of a language. When we want to make a genealogical study of a language, we turn our attention to its verbs and prepositions rather than to the non-essentials—the nouns and adjectives. Its genius is known from the essentials only.

A Distinct Tendency of Post-renaissance Writers

Now at the time of renaissance, the ‘deformed’ words—Tadbhavas—began to be replaced by their ‘pure’ Sanskritic forms—Tatsamas or by words of foreign origin, mainly Arabic and Persian. We need not go into the causes of the growth of this tendency in detail, nor need we discuss the propriety or otherwise of it. What we wish to emphasize is that the existence of this tendency among the post-naissance writers must be recognised. Among the causes of this tendency towards Sanskritisation and Arabisation are variously mentioned:

(a) Poverty of the spoken languages and their inability to express rapidly evolving complex ideas of later centuries.
(b) Zeal of Muslim conquerors to popularise their languages and Indians' reaction to such cultural inroads against them.

(c) Generation of Pan-Indian consciousness and a desire (among the Hindus in particular) to augment their cultural solidarity by enhancing Sanskritic element in their languages, thus to bridge the ever-widening gulf between their past and present literatures on the one hand, and between this geographical unit and that, on the other.

(d) The revival of art and literature in the medieval days.

The Various Causes not Independent

The fact of the matter is that possibly all, or at least more than one, factors were operative simultaneously. These various factors, too, are not independent, but are inter-dependent; for example, the growth of Pan-Indian consciousness itself may be due to the presence of hostile foreigners on the Indian soil and their missionary zeal to popularise foreign languages here, to the detriment of native languages and scripts. Whatever may be the causes for it, we do recognise, among post-renaissance writers, a distinct tendency to replace Tadbhavas by Tatsamas or by foreign words. It was on account of this tendency—conscious or unconscious—that numerous words like Dharma, Karma, Chandra, Surya, Krishna, Pakshi, and Ratri—which had for centuries been obsolete from plabeian speech, staged a come-back and became current in modern languages. In some cases, both, the 'pure' and 'impure', forms are equally prevalent, e.g., Chandra and Chand (Moon), Surya and Suraj (Sun) or Ratri and Rat (night); while in the case of some others, the two forms—Tatsama and Tadbhava—have different connotations, e.g., Chakra (Wheel) and Chakka (A potter’s wheel or a mill-stone), Karma (Action) and Kam (work) or Pakshi (Bird) and Pakkhi (Fan). Such pairs are called doublets, and European languages are replete with them. In English, the oft-repeated example is that of ‘Captain’ and ‘Chieftain’.

Nearness of Hindi to Sanskrit—Superficial

Now Hindi, Bengali and Marathi appear to be more akin to Sanskrit, than Punjabi is, because of the preponderance in them, of Sanskritic nouns and adjectives, which as we have already mentioned, have made their appearance in spoken languages after centuries of disuse. They are not essential, or stable, elements of a language and can be knocked off as easily as they can be imported. From the languages of Pakistan—Punjabi as well as Sindhi—they have disappeared as miraculously as they have come into the languages of Bharata. And we need not be jubilant at their frequent appearance in Hindi or Bengali; for a strong wind blowing down to Delhi, from Moscow or New York, can cause the Sanskritic element of Hindi to dry up in no time and saturate our Lingua Franca with Russian or
English. It is the verbs, pre- and post-positions and pronouns (to a lesser degree) that determine the real character of a language. While therefore, comparing Hindi and Punjabi with the parent speech—say Sanskrit—we should scrutinise mainly their respective verbs and their terminations, case-endings, nouns in their Tadbhava forms and pronouns. We disregard Tatsamas, not because we are opposed to restoring words to their pristine purity, but because they do not typify the genius of a language.

Renaissance of Punjabi

In the case of Punjabi, the renaissance has just begun. The delay in its attainment of majority is due to the unfavourable political atmosphere of the Punjab—the perpetual cultural conflicts among various sections of the population of this frontier province. That is why pure Sanskrit words in Punjabi speech are comparatively few and majority of its writers even today exhibit extreme reluctance to revert to Sanskrit sources for its vocabulary. In spite of that, the impact of the other Indian languages is clearly visible on the technical side of Punjabi vocabulary, which is decidedly richer in Sanskrit element. A glance at the official publications of the Punjab and P.E.P.S.U. Governments will convince any observer that of late Tatsama words have shown a remarkable increase in Punjabi—a phenomenon, which had occurred much earlier in Hindi, Bengali and other sister languages. Vidhan (Constitution), Dhara (Section of a Code), Rashtrapati (President), Rajpramukh (Head of a State) and thousands of such words connected with law, administration and Sciences, have now become a permanent part of Punjabi. This is just the harbinger of the forthcoming renaissance.

Punjabi—Much Closer to Sanskrit

The nearness or remoteness of a derivative from its ancestor is measured by the number of stages its words have covered in their passage through time. The Hindi word ‘Kam’ (— work) has not suddenly sprung up from ‘Kamma’. Similarly, the Bengali word ‘majhe’ (— during etc.) has come from ‘madhye’ through ‘majjhe’. The Punjabi word ‘nakka’ (nose) is but one degree below Sanskrit, while the corresponding Hindi or Bengali word ‘nak’ is two degrees below. For, from the original ‘nakra’, ‘nakka’ is got by one philological rule only — “reduplication of a conjunct”—and is at least 2500 years old, while ‘nak’ is much younger in age and is got by the application of another empirical rule, viz — “simplification of a conjunct and lengthening of the preceding vowel.” If the life of words is divided into three main periods, ancient, medieval and modern, the following examples should illustrate how they have passed through the two stages of their transformation.
We say that medieval forms are nearer the original ones, and represent the phonic character of their ancestors more faithfully, in as much as they have undergone fewer changes than the modern forms. The vocabulary of Punjabi is much the same as that of Pali and Prakritas. In other words, the vocabulary and phonic system of Punjabi have remained much the same during the last two millennia and a half, while those of Hindi and Bengali have undergone two, and in some cases three, stages of deformation. The words like काम (work), कान (ear), नाक (nose) हाथ (hand), आक्ष (eye) etc., are not more than one thousand years old, while their Punjabi forms— काम, कान, नाक, हाथ, आक्ष etc.—are at least 2500 years old, if not older. If the contention of some Western scholars, that Sanskrit and Prakritas once co-existed, be accepted as correct—and it is not yet proved otherwise—then majority of words prevalent in Punjabi today, appear to be as old as Sanskrit. No other Aryan language of India can claim that antiquity, whether it is a credit for Punjabi or a discredit, we leave it for the readers to decide according to their own predilections.

Stability of forms of words is, in our judgment, a great—perhaps the greatest—virtue of a language. It is a sign of maturity of its structure. Immature languages change their shape and form very rapidly with time and space. The uncivilised languages of African aborigines used to change so rapidly till a few decades back, that a Christian Bible in a native language could not be used by two generations! Tamil and Greek are among the stablest languages of the world. Even three-thousand-year old Tamil words are not as much different from modern Tamil, as the language of Chand Kavi is from its modern representative. The ever-changing languages of Persia and Arabia have been so remarkably stabilised by Islam, that reading of thirteen-hundred-year old Arabic, or of one thousand-year old Persian, does not present to a modern speaker of that language, even half as much difficulty, as reading of one thousand-year-old Hindi presents to a modern Hindi speaker!

Why Punjabi is Dear to a Sanskritist

The stability of Punjabi phonetics, therefore, amply proves its maturity of form and indicates its potentiality to vie someday with such classical languages as Tamil, Greek, Arabic and Persian in ex-
cellence. Blind advocates of Hindi may assert that by more and more changes in its essentials, Hindi has covered more stages of evolution, and is more developed, polished and advanced than Punjabi, which is still in the primitive stage—much lower in the scale of evolution. But we are conservative enough to submit that mere rapid changes of pronunciation do not make for the progressiveness of a language. In reality, the very fact, that a language of a human group changes too rapidly, suggests that the speakers of it lack discipline in their speech habits and need a radical treatment. English, Hindi and Bengali have obtained the necessary stability comparatively recently. In the following pages, we shall only furnish examples to show how Punjabi has preserved several dominant characteristics of the old Aryan speech. It should not then be difficult to understand in how high an esteem Punjabi will be held by a person, who looks upon Sanskrit and old literature of the Hindus as an invaluable heritage of human race. Punjabi is the nearest and dearest relative of Sanskrit, the soul of Hindudom. While Hindi and Bengali have hurried up lately to recoup their Sanskritic element, Punjabi has, for the most part, preserved it through the ages in its very pith and marrow. We shall now enumerate the various instances in which Punjabi usages are closer to those of Sanskrit than are of Hindi or Bengali.

(a) Final अ (— a) of Sanskrit preserved by Punjabi.

The final ‘a’ of Sanskrit words is invariably dropped in Hindi, Bengali and Marathi, but Punjabi retains it in a slightly modified form. Sanskrit का (Karna — ear) changes into कान (Pronunciation ‘Kan’) in Hindi; but in Punjabi, it changes into कान which is pronounced, not as ‘Kann’, but as ‘Kanna’, the final ‘a’ being slightly, but clearly pronounced. Similarly in ‘Kall-a (Tomorrow) ‘Duddh-a’ (Milk), ‘Gabbh-a’ (Middle) and thousands of other common words, the final ‘a’ sound is preserved in Punjabi alone.

(b) The vowel before a conjunct is lengthened in Hindi and Bengali, while in Punjabi it suffers no change. The conjunct is only converted into a double consonant in Punjabi, while in Hindi and Bengali, it is further ‘simplified’. In other words, Punjabi still retains the ancient pronunciation, while that of Bengali and Hindi is comparatively recent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Old speeches</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karma</td>
<td>Kamma</td>
<td>Kamm-a</td>
<td>Kām</td>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarva</td>
<td>Sabha</td>
<td>Sabb-a</td>
<td>Sab</td>
<td>All</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasta</td>
<td>Hattha</td>
<td>Hatth-a</td>
<td>Hāth</td>
<td>Hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashta</td>
<td>Attha</td>
<td>Atth-a</td>
<td>Āth</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danta</td>
<td>Danda</td>
<td>Dand-a</td>
<td>Dānt</td>
<td>Tooth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancha</td>
<td>Panja</td>
<td>Panj-a</td>
<td>Pānch</td>
<td>Five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(c) Words, in which Punjabi has retained ‘r’ of the original Sanskrit, while Hindi has completely lost it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tri</td>
<td>Trai (Tin)</td>
<td>Teen</td>
<td>Three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putra</td>
<td>Puttar</td>
<td>Poot</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sūtra</td>
<td>Sūtar</td>
<td>Soot</td>
<td>Yarn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grāma</td>
<td>Grān</td>
<td>Gāoñ</td>
<td>Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mūtra</td>
<td>Mūtar</td>
<td>Moot</td>
<td>Urine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tritiya</td>
<td>Trījā</td>
<td>Teesara</td>
<td>Third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinshat</td>
<td>Trīh</td>
<td>Tees</td>
<td>Thirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhrātā</td>
<td>Bhrā</td>
<td>Bhāi</td>
<td>Brother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) In the following past participles, while Punjabi has preserved the dental sound (‘t’ or ‘d’) in the suffix, Hindi has lost it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pita (पीता)</td>
<td>Pittā (पीता)</td>
<td>Piyā (पिया)</td>
<td>Drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Datta (दत्त)</td>
<td>Dittā (दित्ता)</td>
<td>Diyā (दिया)</td>
<td>Given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Krita (कृता)</td>
<td>Kītā (कीता)</td>
<td>Kiyā (किया)</td>
<td>Done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nīta (नीता)</td>
<td>Lītā (लीता)</td>
<td>Liyā (लिया)</td>
<td>Taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supta (सूपता)</td>
<td>Suttā (सूत्ता)</td>
<td>Soyā (सोया)</td>
<td>Slept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadita (खादिता)</td>
<td>Khāddā (खाद्दा)</td>
<td>Khāyā (खाया)</td>
<td>Eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) The following words have been completely replaced by their foreign equivalents in Hindi, but Punjabi has preserved the native counter-parts. In Hindi, where a word of native origin has managed to outlive the foreign ravages, it is not used by the commonfolk and the bourgeoisie prefer its Sanskrit or else Persian equivalent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>पर</td>
<td>पर</td>
<td>लेकिन</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>But</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>जे</td>
<td>यदि</td>
<td>ब्रागर</td>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>If</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Italian (chiave)</td>
<td>Tamil (Vadai)</td>
<td>Hebrew (Native)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>بَنَاح</td>
<td>بَنَاح</td>
<td>بَنَاح</td>
<td>تَنَان</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سَرِير</td>
<td>شَرِير</td>
<td>شَرِير</td>
<td>نَارَن</td>
<td>نَارَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>پَدَّ</td>
<td>پَدَّ</td>
<td>پَدَّ</td>
<td>شَرَن</td>
<td>شَرَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>تَتَدَّم</td>
<td>تَتَدَّم</td>
<td>تَتَدَّم</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ضَرَر</td>
<td>ضَرَر</td>
<td>ضَرَر</td>
<td>نَارَن</td>
<td>نَارَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
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<tr>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
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<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
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<tr>
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<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
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<tr>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
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<td>بَنَاح (آتَر)</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
<td>فَرَن</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(f) The Punjabi verbs of commonest use are more closely related to Sanskrit than the corresponding Hindi verbs are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Āsit</td>
<td>'Śi</td>
<td>Thā, Thī</td>
<td>(He, she) was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āsan</td>
<td>'San</td>
<td>The</td>
<td>(They) were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āsih</td>
<td>'Śi</td>
<td>Thā</td>
<td>(Thou) wast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āsta</td>
<td>'Soṅ</td>
<td>The</td>
<td>(You) were</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āsam</td>
<td>'Śāṅ</td>
<td>Thā</td>
<td>(I) was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āasma</td>
<td>'Śāṅ</td>
<td>The</td>
<td>(We) were</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(g) Punjabi adverbs are far better representatives of original Aryan speech than Hindi adverbs are.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kadā</td>
<td>Kad-a</td>
<td>Kab</td>
<td>When</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yadā</td>
<td>Jad-a</td>
<td>Jab</td>
<td>Then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tadā</td>
<td>Tad-a</td>
<td>Tab</td>
<td>Then</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhunā</td>
<td>'Hun-a</td>
<td>Ab</td>
<td>Now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutra</td>
<td>Kitthe  (Kutthe)</td>
<td>Kahāṅ</td>
<td>Where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yatra</td>
<td>Jitthe</td>
<td>Jahāṅ</td>
<td>Where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tatra</td>
<td>Otthe</td>
<td>Wahāṅ</td>
<td>There</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atra</td>
<td>Etthe</td>
<td>Yahaṅ</td>
<td>Here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kena-vidhinā</td>
<td>Kiddāṅ</td>
<td>Kaise</td>
<td>How</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yena-Vidhinā</td>
<td>Jiddāṅ</td>
<td>Jaise</td>
<td>As</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tena-Vidhinā</td>
<td>Oddāṅ</td>
<td>Waise</td>
<td>In that way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anena-Vidhinā</td>
<td>Eddāṅ</td>
<td>Aise</td>
<td>In this way, thus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhastāt</td>
<td>Heṭhāṅ (Heṭh-a)</td>
<td>Niche</td>
<td>Below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adyāpi</td>
<td>Aje-'vi</td>
<td>Abhī-tak</td>
<td>So far, till now</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(h) The only derivative of the original Aryan speech that has preserved the sibilant sound ('s' or 'sh') in the future tense of the verb is Punjabi—its Western dialect, to be more accurate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saḥ yāti</td>
<td>Oh jāndā-ey</td>
<td>He goes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saḥ yāsyāti</td>
<td>Oh jāsi</td>
<td>He will go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te yānti</td>
<td>Oh jānde-ne</td>
<td>They go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te yāsyanti</td>
<td>Oh jāsan</td>
<td>They will go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aham yāmi</td>
<td>Main jānda-hāṅ</td>
<td>I go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aham yāsyāmi</td>
<td>Main jāsan</td>
<td>I shall go</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(i) In the following sentences, the Punjabi form is distinctly nearer to Sanskrit than the Hindi form.

1. **Sanskrit**: Etat karma mayā karanīyam (āsīt)
   **Punjabi**: Eh kamm-a main karnā si
   **Hindi**: Yeh kam mujhe karnā thā
   **Meaning**: This work by-me to-be-done was

2. **Sanskrit**: Idam kena kritam (āsīt) ?
   **Punjabi**: Eh kin-a kita si ?
   **Hindi**: Yeh kis-ne kiyā thā ?
   **Meaning**: This by-whom done was ?

3. **Sanskrit**: Maya hastena dugdham pītaṃ
   **Punjabi**: Main hatthanāl duddh-a pītā
   **Hindi**: Main-ne hath-se dūdh piyā
   **Meaning**: By-me with-hand milk drunk

4. **Sanskrit**: Maya Jālandharam kadāpi na drishtam
   **Punjabi**: Main Jallandar kadi-vī nahiṇ diṭṭhā.
   **Hindi**: Main-ne Jallandhar kabhi nahiṅ dekha
   **Meaning**: By-me Jullundur never (is) seen

5. **Sanskrit**: Kalya-dine tvyā kośṭhāe kim vikṣitam (āsīt)
   **Punjabi**: Kall-a dine taiṅ koṭṭhe-vich ki vekheya 'si ?
   **Hindi**: Kal-din meṅ tū-ne kāmré-meṅ kyā dekhā thā ?
   **Meaning**: Yesterday by-you in-room what seen was ?

6. **Sanskrit**: Asmabhīh rātṛau adhāh suptam (āsīt)
   **Punjabi**: Asīṅ rātiṅ heṭhāṅ sutte 'saṅ
   **Hindi**: Ham rat-ko niche soye the
   **Meaning**: By-us at-night down-stairs slept was
Punjabi—A Mine of Philological Material

The instances could be multiplied to any length, but the specimens cited above should be sufficient to prove that the speech habits of the inhabitants of the 'Land of Five Rivers' are well stabilized and even the most virulent on-slaughts of alien invaders, spread over a period of a few millennia, have hardly succeeded in influencing the language of the common folk to any appreciable degree. The Western Punjabis in particular, who have been defending the gates of India since the days of Alexander, and who bore the brunt of Islamic fury more than any other section of Indian population, have also been in the first rank in defending their linguistic heritage and have preserved the important characteristics of ancient Aryan speech as none else has. The study of Punjabi can throw a flood of light on the philology of Aryan languages and should be undertaken by all scholars and educationists. This mine of philological material is yet to be explored and put to national and international use. We study Lithuanian, Albanian and Armenian for collecting material on Aryan philology, but we contemptuously spurn Punjabi! The preservation of Punjabi dialects, their study and propagation, should be undertaken by students of linguistics the world over, and not be left to the tender mercies of politicians—much less Punjabi politicians—who are too ignorant, at the present moment, to appreciate the value of their own treasure.

Punjabi as an Aid to the Study of Sanskrit

A knowledge of Punjabi can prove a valuable aid to the study of Sanskrit. The teaching of prakrita, as we all know, is best effected by means of certain rules, by which Sanskrit can be transformed into Prakrita. Punjabi is nothing but Prakrita for the most part, and by reversing our rules of transformation—paying due heed to exceptions, of course, which may be quite numerous—we could easily convert a Punjabi word, or a sentence, into Sanskrit. A student, who has a grain of intelligence in him, should be able to formulate some of the rules of transformation from Punjabi to Sanskrit without being told. If 'Lakkha' becomes 'Laksha' in Sanskrit, 'Pakkha' becomes 'Paksha' and 'Akkhi' becomes 'Akshi', it does not call for any extra-ordinary intelligence to infer that the Sanskrit word for 'Makkhi' should be 'Makshi'. When the methods of teaching Sanskrit will be revised and brought up-to-date in the Punjab, fullest advantage will be taken of the similarity and close relationship between Punjabi and Sanskrit.

Technical Terms for Punjabi

In the end we recommend that all new technical terms for Punjabi should be borrowed from Sanskrit and should, as far as possible, be retained in their pure Tatsama form, unless in exceptional cases, some word of plebeian origin is distinctly more suitable from the points of view of pronunciation and currency. Punjabi will thus fall in line with other Indian languages and actually excel
them in its Sanskritic content. For, while Hindi and Bengali will have only nouns and adjectives—the non-essentials—of Sanskrit, Punjabi will have also the core and structure—verbs and case-endings—very closely allied to Sanskrit.

Importing Sanskrit Words should not be banned

It is a wrong, though wide-spread, notion that by importing a word from Sanskrit into Punjabi, without modifying its ‘ksha’ into ‘kkha’, or ‘sta’ into ‘ttha’, or ‘shta’ into ‘ttha’, we shall be destroying the distinctive character of Punjabi. We may not convert ‘Richchh-a’ into ‘Riksha’ (bear) or ‘Chhura’ into ‘Kshura’ (knife), but there should be no bar to the use of such Sanskrit words as ‘Pratyaksha’ (apparent) or ‘Rakshana’ (defence) in Punjabi, without modification. After all, Punjabis are not averse to the use of the conjunct ‘ksha’, nor is its pronunciation as burdensome on our vocal organs as that of the Arabic letters ‘Q’ and ‘Gh’. If we do not feel the need of converting the conjunct ‘ksha’ into ‘kkha’ in foreign words absorbed by Punjabi, why should the conversion be imperative in the case of each and every Sanskrit word? Is there any Punjabi, who shows a tendency to pronounce ‘Election’ (रैल्चन) as ‘Elek-khan’ (एलक्खन) or ‘Connection’ (कनेक्शन) as ‘Connekkan’ (कनेक्खन)? If every rustic can easily produce the sound of छ (ksha) when it occurs in non-Sanskritic words, we have to infer that the tendency to degenerate ‘ksha’ into ‘kkha’ is not congenital but environmental. We should not, therefore, scrupulously guard against the infiltration of pure Sanskrit words into Punjabi. If we can tolerate ‘Election’ and ‘Connection’, Why must we insist upon the conversion of ‘Lakshan’ (definition) or ‘Rakshan’ (defence)?

Duty of Lovers of Punjabi

The destinies of Punjabi and other Aryan languages are knit together and we must augment their mutual ties. Sanskrit is the connecting link between them. If this basic fact is clearly recognized the linguistic antagonism among various sections of the Punjabis can be ended in a day. It is to be hoped that all lovers of Punjabi language still strive for its uplift, preservation and propagation in an intelligent manner and win for it, within its own region, that rightful place, which every living language enjoys in its homeland—which Bengali enjoys in Bengal, Hebrew in Israel and Telugu in Andhra. We want a Punjabi State for the unfoldment of Punjabi genius—nothing more, nothing less.
False Propaganda Against Punjabi

The occasion for scrutinising the vocabularies of Punjabi and Hindi languages has arisen in view of the fact, that lately some interested persons have tried to spread the erroneous notion that Punjabi is a dialect of Hindi. The motive behind this move is to belittle Punjabi and to make out a case against Punjabi being recognized as a regional language anywhere in India.

When Logic is against a Person

The corner-stone of scientific method of study is an unbiased approach to the problem under investigation. But in unscientific political practice, it is not facts, that lead the observer to a particular conclusion, but his wishful thinking. Conclusions are already arrived at, and suitable facts are gathered just to put up a mock show of proofs. This has actually been the attitude of anti-Punjabi demagogues who are not concerned with facts of the case, but are fanatically advancing illogical arguments, “believing where we cannot prove.” When logic goes against a person, he usually turns against logic, and introduces faith. Most of the fulminations of unscrupulous advocates of Hindi against Punjabi are based on untruth and malice and have little to do with realities.

Anti-Punjabi Manoeuvres

A big convention was some time back held at Ambala, with the avowed aim of stifling Punjabi. The capitalistic press, in keeping with its inglorious traditions, gave unimaginably wide publicity to the anti-Punjabi speeches, that were made there. In the presidential address, we find two passages, which can be cited as master-pieces of confused thinking if not as a bundle of deliberate lies. We could ignore such diatribes against Punjabi, if they were expressions of an individual’s opinion only. But our reading is that the entire crusade against Punjabi is traceable to the mental set-up, created by such unfounded theories, as enunciated by the president of the aforesaid Conference. And we must study, at some length, the exact relationship between Punjabi and Hindi.

Hindi versus Sanskrit

The president—who is a Rai Bahadur—says in the first place:—

“Take the instance of Israel where large numbers of Jews from various countries have gone to live. Even though they came from different countries, and had different languages, yet it was decided that in order that they may become a nation, they should have one
language. The language they chose to have was Hebrew, which is not the spoken language of any country at present.... It is an irony of fate that in our State, where the languages of the people have one common origin in Sanskrit, some are determined to perpetuate the corrupt form of the original language.......

(Tribune, Dated 27-12-1953).

After placing the above facts about Israel and “our State”, if the Rai Bahadur had called Hindi, Punjabi Bengali, and Marathi “corrupt forms of the original language”—Sanskrit—and suggested for our *lingua franca*, the name of Sanskrit, “which is not the spoken language of any country at present,” his talk would have been coherent and would have made some sense. But as logic went against him, he took leave of logic and introduced faith. Instead of carrying his argument to its logical conclusion—that Sanskrit should enjoy the same status in India as Hebrew in Israel—he abruptly takes up the case of Hindi—as if Hindi is less corrupt than Punjabi—and goes on to say :

“We must all learn Hindi as on top priority in stead of trying to impose the learning of Punjabi in Gurumukhi script.... India has accepted Hindi as the national language....

Whatever may be the other reasons for the acceptance of Hindi as India’s national language—and we fully appreciate the soundness of those reasons—we fail to understand how the Rai Bahadur’s citation of the case of Hebrew lends support to the case of Hindi. We do not know for certain, which section of Israel’s population—German, Polish or Oriental—is most numerous; but let us suppose for the sake of argument, that German-speaking element is most predominant. If the German-Jews had foisted their language on the rest of the German-dominated Parliament, in place of Hebrew, what would be the reaction of the Polish or Spanish sections of Israel’s population to such a legislation? Thank God, no Punjabi has so far chafed against Hindi, though after studying the case of Israel, the monstrosity of placing Hindi in the seat, which is rightly deserved by Sanskrit, should become clear to any man with a grain of sense in him. Punjabi and Hindi are both “corrupt forms” of Sanskrit, and if anything the latter more so than the former. When a Hindi-speaker calls Punjabi “corrupt”, it sounds like kettle calling the pot black.

Is Punjabi born of Hindi?

The ignorance—or shall we call it stupidity—of the blind advocates of Hindi is best exemplified by the other statement of the president of the Convention in which he avers:—

“I am of the opinion that Punjabi is a form of dialect born of Hindi. Hindi has many such forms of dialects, including Brij Bhasha, Purbi, Oudhi etc. These have their origin from Hindi and so had Punjabi.... Punjabi dialect lacks in literature and has to be enriched.”
The statement has all the vehemence, which is usually found in overactive liars. To call Punjabi a dialect of Hindi, or to regard it as born from Hindi, is nothing but a travesty of facts. We propose to explain clearly what is technically meant by a 'dialect', and then to show that by no stretch of imagination can Punjabi be said to be born of Hindi. If a 'vertical' relationship can at all be established between the two languages, Hindi can, with greater justification, be said to be born of Punjabi.

**Difference between Language and Dialect**

Etymologically, the word dialect means 'a variety or form of a language peculiar to a district' or 'a non-literary vernacular'. Brij Bhasha, Purbi or Oudhi can truly be regarded as dialects of the Hindi language because, what we call 'Hindi literature' is but a collection of the compositions in those dialects. Every Hindi scholar learns them without being taught, and pieces from these dialects are invariably included in the texts prescribed for Hindi examinations, from the primary right up to the University stage. Punjabi text is never included in Hindi examinations. The reason is, that Punjabi is not a dialect of Hindi, any more than Bengali is a dialect of Hindi, or Danish is a dialect of German. Students of linguistics know that mere community of some words between two languages does not make an argument for one of them being called a dialect of the other. French and English have a large number of Latin words, which are a common property of both. But nobody can accept the theory that French is a dialect of English.

A fairly accurate test, as to whether a form of speech is a dialect, or an independent language itself, is furnished by a scrutiny of its vocabulary. The main language is like a centre, around which the dialects revolve. The dialectal variations are never stable; the pronunciation and structure of dialectal slangs vary from place to place and from time to time. The main language—that is to say, the standard dialect—remains fairly constant and variations in its structure are few, if any, and result, not from the lethargy or loose speech habits of a set of mentally indisciplined persons, but from conscious adaptation by masters of the language. Whatever may be the arguments for recognising the plebeian trends in a language, no sane person can afford to belittle the importance of standardisation in the matter of spelling and pronunciation of words. The surest way to do a language to death is to encourage contemptuous attitude among the laity towards the recognised authorities in that language.

**Examples of Dialectal Variations**

The point under examination is a subtle one and needs clarification. We have to effect a conciliation between two opposite view-points. We recognise the need of evolutionary changes in a spoken language; it has to shed off irrational rules of composition and grow with the passage of time, as all other mundane things do. And we also fully appreciate the need for standardisation of rules;
grammatical rules, like legal code, concern large numbers and cannot be left to be interpreted by all and sundry. How are we to reconcile the 'progressive' zeal for change with the 'orthodox' love for standardisation?

The task is not as difficult as it is made out to be. If we understand the parallelism between legal rules and linguistic rules properly—bearing in mind the points of difference too—we can readily find the solution to the problem in hand. Legal code is a changeable entity, and there is nothing very sacrosanct about it. We consciously frame and adopt it by common consent, and modify it, from time to time, as changed circumstances so warrant. But as long as a code is in force, all are constrained to abide by it. Its interpretation is the business of competent judges and its revision is undertaken—at the instance of popular wish, of course, as expressed through duly elected representatives—by a Committee of experts.

Exactly similar procedure is followed by users of developed languages for effecting a change in its structure, without violating the requirements of standardisation. English, German, French, Bengali, Tamil—all have an authentic, codified, style recognised as the standard language, besides numerous dialects varying from place to place, and from time to time. The idea 'I go' is expressed in German by 'Ich gehe', pronounced in the standard dialect very much like 'Ish gehe.' But between Southern and Northern stretches of the German speaking territory, we have the same sentence variously pronounced as 'Ik gehe', 'Ikh gehe' and 'Ish gehe'. These are true dialectal variations.

While writing, all Germans, no matter whether they are Southerners or Northerners, write only 'Ich gehe'. Standard Tamil for 'I go' is 'Naan pokiren' which is the dialect spoken in Jaffna (Northern Ceylon). Indian Tamilians contract it to 'Naan po'ren' in their colloquial speech. But while writing, all will write only 'Naan pokiren'.

We all know that when a Bengali wants to express the idea 'I go', he almost invariably says, 'Aami jaa'chhi', but if you ask him to write it down, he would write 'Aami, jaa'te chhi.' For, the latter is the standard form. These examples amply bring out the distinction between a language and a dialect and the relationship between the two.

**Punjabi Vocabulary Much Older Than Hindi**

Now Punjabi is not related to Hindi the same way as Calcutta-Bengali is related to Dacca-Bengali or Madras-Tamil is related to Jaffna-Tamil. Punjabi and Hindi are two distinct languages, each having its dialects, and each leading a life quite independent of the other. Punjabi vocabulary is by far the older than Hindi vocabulary—the majority of Punjabi words having existed in the present form for much longer period of time than the corresponding Hindi words. Very few Hindi words are more than one thousand years old and majority of them are not older than five hundred years. The forms of Punjabi words are two, and in some cases three, thousand years old.
We may here again emphasize the fact that for purposes of comparison, we should not choose the nouns, the adjectives or such of the pure Sanskrit words, as have staged a come-back into spoken languages after centuries of disuse. However commendable may be the tendency to augment Sanskritic element in modern languages and however natural may now appear to be the usage of some pure Sanskrit words in modern languages like Hindi, Bengali or Marathi, we must clearly recognise that they do not typify the genius of a language and cannot be accepted as the stable element of it. While comparing the basic structures of Hindi and Punjabi, we should choose the tadbhavas—"corrupt words"—prevalent in them. The fact, that for over two millennia, over forty million people, spread over the vast area from Delhi to Peshawar, have preserved the vocabulary of their language in an exceptionally stable form, should suffice to convince any honest student of linguistics that Punjabi had passed the dialectal stage, when Hindi—standard Hindi—was not yet born. Hindi has its merits—some of them hardly found even in such advanced languages as English and Russian. But why should it be necessary to tell lies in order to glorify Hindi? Punjabi was never born of Hindi, nor are Punjabi words 'corrupt' forms of Hindi. It may be good politics to say so, but not sound logic.

Scientific Method of Study exemplified.

Before we sit down to examine the actual specimens of Hindi and Punjabi vocabulary, we have to understand the method of comparison, that will be followed. Let us take the Punjabi word 'atth-a', eight. Its Hindi form is 'aath'. If we search out ancient Indian literature, century by century, we find that the form 'aath' is hardly visible in books older than about one thousand years. But in its Punjabi form, ath-a, it continues to occur in much older literature—in Gupta literature, in Jaina literature and even in Buddhist literature. In the Rummindei (Lumminigam) edict of Asoka, the assessment for the village of Lummini is fixed at 'one eighth part', in the words 'atha bhaagiyecha'. We are forced to infer that 'aath' is born of 'attha' and not vice versa.

And the instance of the word 'attha' is not the only one that could be cited. An empirical rule cannot be formulated except on the basis of necessary and sufficient data—collecting sufficient data is essential for fairly accurate generalisation. As Prof. Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya of Calcutta University once remarked, 'sound (-phonological) philology is not sound (—good) philology.' An example will make the idea clearer. The words for 'eight' in Sanskrit, Pali, Latin, German, Greek and Persian are, respectively, ashta, attha, octo, acht, okhto and hasht; and we claim that these languages belong to the same family, the Aryan stock. The Tamil word for 'eight' is 'ettu', which is phonetically quite similar to the corresponding Aryan words. On the basis of this similarity of sound, if we jump to the conclusion, that Tamil belongs to the Aryan family, we shall be
committing the most grievous mistake. For, the evidence before us is not sufficient. A single swallow does not herald the approach of spring. The similarity between the Aryan and Dravidian words for *eight* is accidental.

On the other hand, the transformation from Punjabi to Hindi is fairly consistent; if *attha* becomes *aath* in later years, then *sattha* (sixty) becomes *saath*, *hattha* (hand) becomes *haath* and *pittha* (back) becomes *peeth*. We cannot here quote all the hundreds of words, that are common between Punjabi and ancient languages. The examples chosen are but representatives of groups of words, that could be cited, if limitations of space had not prohibited their citation.

**Punjabi words in Buddhist literature**

The following words are selected from Pandit Adya Datta Thakura's book 'Pali Prabodha' published by the Ganga Pustakamala Karyalaya of Lucknow. These words frequently occur in Asoka's edicts as well as in the 'Dhammapada' and other Buddhist scriptures. History places Buddha in the sixth century before the birth of Christ, while Asoka flourished about three centuries later. The vocabulary of Pali can be safely taken as about 2500 years old, though it might be proved to be older still, if older records were available. The pages refer to 'Pali Prabodha.'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sing-a</td>
<td>(सिंग) Horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sippi</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sippi</td>
<td>(सिपी) Oyster shell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sachcha</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sachch-a</td>
<td>(सच्चच) Truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duddha</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Duddh-a</td>
<td>(दुध) Milk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rasi</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Rassi</td>
<td>(रसी) Rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satta</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Satt-a</td>
<td>(सत्त) Seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attha</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Atth-a</td>
<td>(अठ्ठ) Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasa</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Das-a</td>
<td>(दस) Ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajja</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Ajj-a</td>
<td>(अ्ज्ज) To-day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalla</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Kall-a</td>
<td>(कल्ल) To-morrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issara</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>Issar-a</td>
<td>(इस्सर) God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thambha</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>Tham-bha</td>
<td>(थम्भ) Pillar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setthi</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>Setthi</td>
<td>(सेत्थी) Money-lender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addha</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Addh-a</td>
<td>(अध्ह) Half</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabbha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gabbh-a</td>
<td>(गब्भ) Middle portion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Needless to say that the corresponding words in Hindi have either become obsolete or have undergone change in more than one respects. A glance at the Pali prose selections (e.g. Dasaratha-Jaatakam) given in the above book, shows that even Pali prose is far more akin to Punjabi than to Hindi. Without considering the truth of the story, let us compare the Pali version with that of Punjabi. The story reads: -

"...जेटढ़ा अग्नि महेंसी हैं पुत्र एक चं दीतर विद्यार्थी।
जेटढ़ पुत्र राम प्रियदत्त नाम श्रीसत्त्रि, दृष्टियों लक्षण कुमारो नाम,
धि ता सीतादेवी नाम।"

Rendered into Punjabi, it would read: -

"...जेटढ़ पत्रसैनी हैं पुत्र 'ते इनक' धि जानी।
जेटढ़ पुत्र राम प्रियदत्त नाम
दृष्टि, दृष्टि लक्षण कुमार नाम दा, 'ते धि सीतादेवी नाम ही।"

The similarity between the two languages is too apparent to need a comment; the former is two thousand and five hundred years older than the latter.

Punjabi words in Jaina Literature

The Jaina literature may be said to commence with the appearance, on the Indian scene, of Mahavira Vardhamana, whom V.A. Smith, agreeing with Prof. Jacobi, assigns the six century before Christ. He was thus a contemporary of the Buddha. But the sayings of Mahavira were compiled, and committed to writing about five centuries after his death. The following words, which have been collected from Bechara Dasa Doshi's 'Mahravira Vani', published by Sasta Sahitya Mandira, New Delhi, are supposed to have come down from Mahavira himself, and are, thus, at least,
two thousand years old. The language of Mahavira’s sayings is called Prakrita.

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<thead>
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<th>Punjabi</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>72</td>
<td>Pattaa</td>
<td>Leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osa</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Os-a</td>
<td>Dew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sachcha</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sachch-a</td>
<td>Truth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loga</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Log-a</td>
<td>People</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaddha</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Vadda</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appana</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Appana</td>
<td>Oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lona</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Loon-a</td>
<td>Salt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singara</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Singar-a</td>
<td>Fashioning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beeya</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Bee</td>
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<td>Attham</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>Attham</td>
<td>Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(of sun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putta</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Putt-a</td>
<td>Son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkhaa</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sikkh-a</td>
<td>Advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attha</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Atth-a</td>
<td>Eight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aha</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Aha, eha</td>
<td>This</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sikkhe</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sikkhe</td>
<td>May learn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarira</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Sarir-a</td>
<td>Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanjama</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Sanjam-a</td>
<td>Self-control</td>
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<td>Deewa</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Deewa</td>
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<td>Sutta</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Suttaa</td>
<td>Asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kesa</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>Kes-a</td>
<td>Hair</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paaniya</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>Paani</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paara</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Paar-a</td>
<td>Ashore</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ga-e</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>Ga-e</td>
<td>Went, gone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baniya</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Bania</td>
<td>Trader</td>
</tr>
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<td>Dupaya</td>
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<td>Rukkh-a</td>
<td>Tree</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chauppaya</td>
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<td>Chaupaayaa</td>
<td>Quadruped</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>Jaina Prakrita</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khetta (खेत)</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Khet-a (खेत)</td>
<td>Field</td>
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<td>Hattha (हाथ)</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Hatth-a (हाथ)</td>
<td>Hand</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mattiya (मट्टिय)</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Matti (मट्टी)</td>
<td>Clay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jogga (जोग)</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Jogga (जोग)</td>
<td>Fit, capable</td>
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<td>Lakkhana (लक्खन)</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>Lakkhan-a (लक्खन)</td>
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<td>Chhatta (छाठ)</td>
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<td>Maayaaao (मायाम्य)</td>
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<td>Maaiyaan (मायाम्य)</td>
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<td>Sejja (सेज)</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>Sej-a (सेज)</td>
<td>Bedstead</td>
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<td>Kanna (कन्न)</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>Kann-a (कन्न)</td>
<td>Ear</td>
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<td>Soodda (सूद)</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Sood-a (सूद)</td>
<td>Shudra</td>
</tr>
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<td>Gabbha (गम्भ)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>Gabbh-a (गम्भ)</td>
<td>Middle portion</td>
</tr>
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<td>Chakka (चक्क)</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>Chakk-a (चक्क)</td>
<td>Wheel</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seesa (सीसा)</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>Sees-a (सीसा)</td>
<td>Head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these, there are many words in Jaina Prakrita (also called Ardha Magadhi), which throw light on some rare Punjabi constructions. For example, on page 16, we have the word ‘Sabbe’. meaning ‘all’. This word is now almost obsolete in Punjabi, having been replaced by ‘sab’, owing to the influence of Hindi. But in some old sayings we still find it intact. We have, for instances ‘Maaraa dhaggaa Sabbe rog-a’, meaning, ‘a weak animal (has) all the maladies’. Or, a well-known proverb runs:-

“Pet na paiyaan rotaan,
To sabbe gallaan khotiaan.”

that is, ‘all talk is spurious when the stomach is without bread.’

A couplet in ‘Bala Sutta’ on page 110, has a line :-

“Na me dittha pare loe,
Chakkhu-dittha imara-ee,”

which means ‘I have not seen the other world, but these riches are seen with the naked eye’. When literally translated into Punjabi, it becomes :

“Na main ditthe paraye lok-a,
Akkhin-dittha ehraaj.”

Such is the close parallelism between modern Punjabi and the language spoken by Lord Mahavira, over two thousand years ago! The stability of Punjabi can be appreciated by an Englishman, if he compares modern English with the language, his ancestors spoke, when they were under their earliest Roman Rulers!
Punjabi Words in Gupta Literature

According to Hindu tradition, the Gupta period lasted near about the first century before Christ, being commemorated by the Vikarmi era, which commences with 57 B.C. Western scholars however, place the last Guptas in the fifth century of the Christian era. If we accept the testimony of V.A. Smith, that Kalidasa wrote his best dramas, including the celebrated Shakuntala, in the reign of Kumara Gupta the First, we have to admit that the Prakrita, he puts in the mouth of his inferior characters, was the spoken language about fifteen hundred years ago. One is carried away by delightful surprise to discern in Kalidasa’s Prakrita, the same trends, which characterise modern Punjabi. We have picked out the following instances from Kalidasa’s ‘Shakuntala,’ published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press of Bombay.

Page 30. Rukkha (रूक्ख) —Tree

This word is found in Jaina literature also (vide, Mahavir Vani, page 16) and though almost obsolete in modern Punjabi, being replaced by a Persian word, it is retained by some old sayings. For example:

‘Nadi Kinaare rukkharaa, ajj-a dheya ke kall-a’. (The tree by the river-side may fall today or tomorrow). Or, we may find in ‘Heer’ of Warris Shah:

‘Teri chhatar-chhaanwen baabal rukkha waangon, Din-a chaar tere ghar reh challe we.’

(We have spent a couple of days, Oh Father, in your house, under your affectionate care, as a traveller spends a while under a tree).

Page 89. Sahio (सहियो)—Friends.

The word is an integral part of Punjabi literature. Vide, the following line from a well-known Punjabi folk song:

‘Tusin jaawo sahio ni, Raanjhe nun lyaawo mor ke.’

(Go you, my friends, and bring back Raanjha).

Page 91. Puchchhissan (पूछ़िस्त्त) —I shall ask

Page 93. Kahaissan (कहाँस्त्त) —I shall say.

This form of the future tense has been preserved by the Western dialect of Punjabi only, and by no other Indian language. In modern Punjabi, spoken near Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Dera Ghazi Khan, they still say:

Main puchchhissan —I shall ask.
Main Kahaissan —I shall say
Main Karessan —I shall do.

Page 91. Hodu (हौड़ू) —May it be so, does not matter.

The word is freely used in Punjabi, but is contracted into How (हौ). Whenever a Punjabi has to say, ‘Does not matter’, he says ‘How’. Kalidasa uses the word quite often, and in exactly the same sense.
The following Prakrita words may also interest a Punjabi student.

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<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Vi (वि)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Vi (वि)</td>
<td>Also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ettha (एथ)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Ettha (एथ)</td>
<td>Here</td>
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<td>Jobbana (जोब्बना)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Jobban-a [जोब्बना]</td>
<td>Youth</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pekkhadi (पेक्खड़ी)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Vekkhadi (वेक्खड़ी)</td>
<td>She [sees]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiaa (हिया)</td>
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<td>Hiaa [हिया]</td>
<td>Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chakkawaaka [चक्कवाक]</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>Chakkawaa[चक्कवा]</td>
<td>Ruddy goose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Conclusions from the Historical Survey

A study of the above lists of words shows, in the first place, that the Punjabi vocabulary is much older than Hindi, and that Hindi forms were derived from Punjabi—aath (eight) from atth-a, Kaam (work) from Kamm-a, kaan (ear) from kann-a and so on—some ten centuries back. Hindi is thus a 'corrupt' form of Punjabi in this sense, if at all the relationship between the two languages is to be described in this way.

In the second place, this study enables us to view Punjabi vocabulary in its proper historical perspective. This is very essential for assigning the right signification to words. In the light of its etymology and past history, as well as its various modern implications, we can fix the meaning (or meanings) of word, so essential in a language, which aspires to be a medium of complex scientific thought. Vagueness about the meaning of a word, or looseness in its use in a text, can do untold harm to a scientific theme.

In the third place, the history of a word should help us in standardising its pronunciation. One may not necessarily accept Sanskrit or Prakrita as the standard in this respect, (though personally we are of the opinion that in majority of cases, Sanskrit rules should be observed), still plurality of pronunciation must be ended. It damages the prestige of the language and creates confusion. A word must have one, and only one, standard pronunciation at a time: and where sheer ignorance of etymology, lack of education or confusion are found to have been responsible for corrupting the pronunciation of a particular word, the educated should think it their business to restore it to its correct form. We must decide once for all, whether in chaste Punjabi we have to say Mandar (temple), aalam (learned), pandat (scholar) and pattarkaa (journal) or mandir, aalim, pandit and patrikaa We do not mean suggesting here what standards should be accepted for the different classes of words. But we must strongly emphasize the imminent need for fixing the pronunciation and accent.
Last, but not the least, the historical study of Punjabi Vocabulary can prove an invaluable aid in the standardisation of spelling. In a phonetic system of writing—in which there is but one sound to a symbol, and only one symbol for a sound—the spelling is automatically standardised, when pronunciation is standardised. And if spelling is first thoughtfully fixed, it can go a long way in inculcating proper speech habits among the people. In modern Punjabi publications, due heed is seldom paid to the correctness of spelling. And this is, in turn, due to lack of authentic reference books on the subject. As we write these lines, we have before us some text books prescribed by the Punjab University for its Intermediate and Degree classes. The various authors—whose names we purposely omit—spell the same word in different ways, and in some cases, the same author writes a word in different ways on different occasions. This is inexcusable to say the least. Authors of text-books must conform to certain rules of spelling, if they do not want to make their language an object of ridicule. And the task of standardisation of spelling is not quite as easy as it may at the first sight appear. It necessitates familiarity with the history of every word, and a thorough insight into philological concepts like metathesis, agglutination and rhotacism. The correct spelling should be determined along certain broad-based principles, and not arbitrarily after the whims of half-educated street-singers. A correct spelling will, of course, take into account the outstanding phonic trends of the generality of the masses; but, at the same time, it should not completely mask the etymological elements of the word and must, as far as possible, retain its similarity with its counterparts in other cognate languages. In other words, vertical and lateral contiguity of the word must be preserved in its spelling and pronunciation. The English people had refused, when the question of standardising English spelling arose, to spell 'nation' and such other words, as 'neshon' etc., because in 'nation' they see, on the one hand, a connecting link between their present and past (classical) languages, and on the other, a symbol of unity among modern European languages, like French and German.

An example will make the point clearer. The Sanskrit word for 'wing' or 'feather' is 'paksha' (पक्ष). In Prakrita, it becomes 'pakkha' (पक्ख) by the well-known transformation of 'ksha' खश into 'khh', ख. In Punjabi this Prakrita word gives rise to two doublets: 'pakkha' (पक्ख)—side, and 'pankha' (पंक्ख)—feather; the latter typifying the peculiar tendency of the Punjabis to nasalise the accented syllables in certain words. Spontaneous Nasalisation is common in Punjabi; (cf. Niraakaari-Nirankaari, Kaashi—Kanshi Karaachi—Karanchi, pakshi-panchhi etc.). Now this word, pankha, changes to 'phanga' (फङ्ङा) by the transfer of the aspirate 'h' to the first syllable—also a frequent phenomenon in Punjabi. 'Phanga' (फङ्ङा) is very often changed to 'khamb-a' (खांम) in common speech, by the metathesis of the consonantal sounds. This word (खांम) (—feather) has found place in some books of recognition. The question is whether the standard Punjabi word for 'feather' should be taken to be 'pankh-a or 'khamb-a. We have left 'paksha' out of discussion, because we know its use will appear too puritanic to majority of the present-day writers. Some may advocate
the use of all the forms—khamb-a, phang-a, Pankh-a and even paksha—in different contexts. But although 'you', 'ye' and 'thou'
are all used under different circumstances by modern English writers, the word employed in standard English speech is only 'you' Khamb-a'
is in my opinion, the least suited for recognition; it is a thoroughly
degenerate expression and is comparable to the Bijnor slang 'bugga-
araa' (for ghubbaaraa-balloon) in Urdu. We would favour the adoption
of 'pankh-a' ( sağlan) as the standard word for 'feather' in the twentieth
century Punjabi. For, it retains the etymological elements of the
parent word and maintakes family resemblance with other cognate
languages—Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati etc.

A Plea For Thorough Historical Survey of Punjabi

We have dilated purposely on the single word 'pankh-a', be-
cause the basic principles, which emerge from this discussion, can be
profitably applied to the process of standardisation of the meaning,
pronunciation and spelling of other words also. The historical survey
of Punjabi is essential, if we wish to understand the general phonetic
and structural trends of it in the past and to guide its course along
progressive lines in future. Our language has immense potentialities
and is pregnant with rare linguistic genius, if only we care to nurture
and develop it. Let it not be said that the race of Paanini—the
Punjabi savant, who gave the word the most concise treatise on
grammer—is extinct in the land of its origin.
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