SOCIO-POLITICAL STATISTICS

ABOUTORA ISHWARA TORA

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KITAB STAN

FACTS ABOUT INDIA is an altogether new approach to the solution of Indian political problem. It provides sociopolitical statistics for the politicians, statesmen and political thinkers.

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FACTS ABOUT INDIA

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THE MEMORY OF

LATE SIR ROSS MASOOD

FOREWORD

Dr. Ishwara Topa is no stranger to students of Indian history and culture. In his book he examines the communal problem of India and seeks to throw new light on it. His book is written with a definite end in view—the solution of the minority problem in the country.

The plan of the book is a comprehensive sociopolitical study of India, Province by Province. In defence of his provincial approach, the author contends that India as a nation is a sentimental idea, but on the other hand, the provinces of India are like the countries of Europe, different cultural nations; and in his view, the proper basis of a theory of nationality in India should be regional, not religious. This is surely an overstatement, though it contains an important element of truth. Despite striking differences between various parts of the country, there is a unity of design which has impressed the stamp of oneness on the civilisation of India. Unity of thought and sentiment transcends provincial barriers. But, as Dr. Topa himself says, emphasis on religion as the basis of nationality is interrupting the process of cultural integration and is fixing a great and ever widening gulf between the principal communities. It is with trembling hope, therefore, that men of moderation and goodwill pray that the Indian genius for synthesis, "working through all the ages and leaving behind its hallmark on all historical periods," may revive and may heal our calamitous differences.

It is the hope of the author that functional representation might serve as a prophylactic against communal reaction. His argument is that the people of India are distributed not in communities but in economic groupunits, that the functional interests of the people are not only abiding and permanent but also above religions and communities, and that it is these economic groupunits that should form the foundation of a new constitution to be built on the principles of functionalism.

Though functionalism has gained general acceptance among certain political thinkers, whether it alone can solve the communal problem is a question which cannot yet be satisfactorily answered. Nevertheless, Dr. Ishwara Topa has made an attempt at constructive thinking in order to solve what is, perhaps, the most complex and baffling minority problem in the world. His effort is praiseworthy and deserves the consideration of students of politics and leaders in public life.

Jaipur October 3, 1943

MIRZA M. ISMAIL

ANALYSIS

It is true that the facts about India will speak for themselves; but it is in the fitness of things to throw some light on the genesis of "Facts About India."

To begin with, the author professes no political creed, belongs to no political movement and holds no communal brief. As a student of Indian history and culture he has given his undivided attention and thought to the political problem of India. Since Pakistan as a scheme of political alignment has been discussed and debated all over the country, he has also interested himself in its problem. The idea that has impelled him to take up its study was to find out on the basis of factual data how far Pakistan is applicable to areas or regions on the actual distribution of population by religion. This was the beginning of the undertaking that slowly shaped itself into "Facts About India."

After having laboured for a couple of years the author has arrived at the following basic conclusions on the basis of socio-political facts:

- 1. To comprehend or estimate the real India it is but essential to understand and solve the problems of the Provinces because India is not provinces but the Provinces form India.
- 2. The importance of the Provinces of India lies in the fact that they are not provinces but countries like those of Europe with their different cultural nations. This fact reveals that India is composed of countries in

which not only two 'nations'-Hindu and Muslim-but many cultural nations live. The conception of India as a nation seems, on the basis of facts, to be a figment of imagination, a sentimental idea and a non-reality that cannot be proved by sociological data. This has complicated the whole political problem of India. The different communities fighting for the mastery and control of political power do not form a nation of India. Hindus and Muslims as 'communities' or 'nations' do not solve but intricate the problem of politics and government. The demarcation of national regions on the basis of Provinces as States will solve many a knotty politicoeconomic problem. In the light of Pakistan to demarcate or segregate them as distinct political units on the basis of race or religion is impossible; but to transform Provinces into States on the basis of provincial culture and language is feasible and a way-out of difficulties that are being faced in politics and government. obvious reason is that the so-called Provinces are the homes of millions of peoples of all religions and occupations and the cultures of the Provinces are still the living legacies of the people, irrespective of race, creed or caste. To judge India or to solve her socio-cultural and politico-economic problems from an all-India standpoint is to make matters worse confounded. The principle of political estimate or evaluation of communities on an all-India basis is a line of approach that distorts hard facts-social, ethnic, religious, economic, political, linguistic and cultural. India as a whole can serve no basis for the solution of her Provinces as 'States' that can bring about political progress, economic development and prosperity, social amity and harmony among people and people and cultural integration.

ANALYSIS II

- 3. Facts about India conclusively bring out the importance of the continual domination of urban India over rural India. In other words, it means the complete domination of certain sections of people or classes as urban interests When the British Parliament concedes selfgovernment to India, it should not mean the rule of the few but of the people of India. As a pliable instrument in the hands of skilful politicians and statesmen in the framework of political democracy, they will be dominated by party interests of majority rule leading to complications in communal, inter-communal and intra-communal matters. Such politics and government in India will witness the reign of communalism. It will be another name for tyranny by the microscopic minorities—though powerful and vocal-of each religion. The people of India as communities do not exist politically, economically, linguistically and culturally. The Hindu or Muslim 'nation' is a dangerous contrivance for political exploitation in the interest of the minorities of major religions.
- 4. The real people of India as different people of 'States' embracing all religions and all occupations are distributed in economic group-units. The author, after having made a comprehensive study of the subject, feels that the conclusion is inescapable that functionalism as a principle of political representation is the only rational basis for political adjustment and progress, because all political schools in India have failed to achieve national solidarity. India is all the more disrupted today than she ever was. Politics stands for compromise and commonsense viewpoint of life. The political parties of India are playing their own high stakes. Their political non-realism is preposterous. They have not eased the

situation. It is all a huge bungling of socio-political facts all over and all through the country. Principles clash with counter-principles in the world of Indian politics. The dread of majority rule of government in the form of political democracy is hovering like a ghost. The clamour of 'political' minorities is considered nonsensical and stiff-neckedness. Even the demands of minorities are most irrational and erratic. The political deadlock is the result of antagonism, fear and suspicion. The communalistic principle in politics and government since 1909 has worked up the spirit of mutual rivalry among political communities. Its anti-climax is Pakistan. Such is the situation in India. Communities are masquerading as political parties of different shades of ideology. Their divergent aims assist in widening the gulf of differences between people and people. The majority communities want to have their own wav and dominate ruthlessly. The minority communities seek shelter from the majority rule. India's political fate is in the cauldron of uncertainty. Political desperation and communal 'neurosis' are signs of defeatism and bankruptcy of sound commonsense. Can order come out of such a political chaos? Peace, order and progress cannot come out of the present-day ideologies of political parties but by the introduction of a new principle of political representation—Functionalism.

"Facts About India" is an attempt in the elucidation of facts in this direction. It discloses bare facts about the peculiarities of the Provinces and their problems from the nation-building point of view. With this aim in view the author has developed the theme on the basis of the Provinces. The system adopted in the book is to bring to light such facts as tell their tale in their own bare way.

Each chapter of the book deals with the provincial country, population (urban and rural), occupational distribution, religion by communities, literacy by religion and languages. Each chapter raises problems that require serious consideration for the well-being of our country.

The author regrets that he could not consult the Census Reports of 1941 for the Provinces as they have not seen the light of the day. That is the reason why he has not been able to split up Bihar and Orissa as well as Bombay and Sind into separate chapters. In the eleventh chapter he has utilized the stray figures for 1941.

In the end the author wishes to express his profound sense of gratitude to Sir Mirza M. Ismail for writing a foreword to the book. He also thankfully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who, in spite of her illness, took the trouble of reading the manuscript and offering some suggestions. My warmest thanks are due to Mr. C. Hanmanthrao for his ungrudging help in the preparation of the manuscript.

27 GEORGE TOWN, SECUNDERABAD October 27, 1943

I. TOPA

N.B.—Owing to unavoidable circumstances the publication of the book has been delayed. The author could have utilized the latest figures from the Reports of the Census of India, 1941, but his difficulty was that all reports on all the Provinces of India have not been published yet. To give the latest data in few chapters and to let remain the old figures in other chapters would demerit the value of the book instead of enhancing it. The author has, therefore, retained the original based on the Reports of the Census of India, 1931.

June 24, 1944

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