

The Solution
of
The
Indian Minorities Problem

by

R. B. Sapre

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R13 Paper

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P 246

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PRICE
ANNAS EIGHT

DEDICATION

To all the *true lovers* of the Indian
Nationalism who would keep the
solidarity of the Indian Nation intact
at any sacrifice.



The Author in Washington, U. S. A.

INTRODUCTION

I have been a keen political student of Indian politics since 1905 and I have passed through many troublesome political stages which I have no desire to record here; as they do not concern the subject. However, it will not be out of place to narrate, very briefly, my personal impressions of the foreign democratic constitutions, whose working I had the opportunity to observe from close quarters and I am confident they will not only be found interesting but also much useful to the political student, in general, irrespective of his party or community; as that observation has enabled me to find out the present solutions of our thorny problems.

Japan charmed me first as I thought in my mind that it will be of immense benefit for us, Indians, to find out the real secrets of an Eastern nation which has recently come to the top amongst the powers of the world. Japan, in fact, impressed me extremely with her solidarity and with her inimitable and gigantic patriotism. The whole nation acted as if it was one family. The Japanese *did not condemn* anything Western as we do here. On the contrary they were found to be eager and prompt to adopt modern and Western things and therein lies the real key of her rising power and of her greatness as a nation. At the same time I could

observe that no real Democracy existed in Japan. The Emperor and a dozen of aristocratic families and a dozen of industrial magnets with military and naval experts managed the whole Government show and, no doubt, with eminent success.

My American impressions :—From Japan I went to San Francisco and after travelling from coast to coast I settled down in New York. Out of all things which impressed me most in U. S. A. was the American sturdy outlook and the American commonsense which they showed in everything they talked and acted. One could immediately see that the whole nation is permeated with intensive democratic principles. There are any number of examples of errand and newspaper boys rising to the highest not only in industrial sphere but also to the presidentship of U. S. A., the highest honour in American national life.

When disarmament Conference was held in Washington, my friend, Mr. N. C. Kelkar of Poona, appointed me as Kesari's representative and this afforded me a wonderful opportunity of studying minutely, from close quarters, the working of the Democratic Federal Constitution of U. S. A. The press of the world used to interview the Secretary of State every day and the President of the U. S. A. thrice a week. I was simply wonder-struck at the most friendly and the most cordial reception which the President used to give us all. The President, simply, used to stand at the sight of us and always used to greet us with "Well boys, what can I do

for you." We used to fire him with all sorts of questions and the President used to answer them all very politely. What a beautiful and a perfect picture of democracy and what a contrast it gave me of the Indian conditions of those days? It did not require anybody to tell me what a powerful part and what an important role the press of a country plays in the actual running of the powerful democracy. Mr. H. G. Wells gave me and my colleague, Mr. S. Hoosein, a great dinner, and remarked that if the Hindus and the Muslims could co-operate so fine as we were co-operating in Washington for the cause of Indian freedom, no power on earth can stop our becoming free. We both had assured him then that both the Hindus and the Muslims have been co-operating under the leadership of Mahatmaji to secure Swaraj for India. Who dreamt then that the relations between the Hindus and the Muslims will be so bitterly estranged as they are now. Mr. Wells has favourably mentioned about our work in Washington in his book on Disarmament Conference.

Another thing I could observe was that the American nation did not consist of homogeneous race or people. There was the Negro problem, the language problem, in fact, so many problems but I could see that the American Federal democracy has been able to solve all these problems successfully. The most surprising of all the things was that it also solved the peculiar problem of her emigrants, consisting of the European warring people, who take delight in murdering and destroying each other in Europe. The powerful American democracy has been

successful in converting these very warring people into honourable American citizens. It, in fact, converts them into comrade-in-arms. I thought in my mind, therefore, that if American Federal democracy has been able to make this miracle in U. S. A. there is no reason why the same type of Federal Democracy, if adopted in India properly, taking the local conditions into consideration, should fail to achieve the same wonderful miracle in India creating happy and cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims, Cast Hindus and Depressed Classes, Christians and non-Christians and between the Indian India and the British India when, particularly, the Indian people belong to the same stock or race.

I have actually seen the German and Italian Governments' working and, although the people of those countries are highly disciplined, greatly educated and wonderfully methodical, the general public preferred strong and personal rule of experts to that of democracy. The people there think that the democracy has failed to make them happy, prosperous and great. These States have become, therefore, totalitarians. I hope a time may come in their history when these people will alter their opinion about the Democracy.

British Democracy:—I have visited France but somehow or other the working of the French democracy did not impress me much, as I found it complex and too subtle. Russia did not attract me as I have been always of the opinion that the Indian nation would be harmed if it chose to adopt the Russian methods of communism for

her rule. I have actually observed how the same communism did play havoc with Italian and German democracies. It also tried to play the same game with the French and British democracies; but these democracies proved too strong for this communism.

I was very much impressed with the British democracy. I have seen the working of the British Parliament, the mother of all democracies in the world. No doubt, the British Parliament is simply wonderful and fully democratic. At the same time it will not be proper for India to copy it wholesale. The British are homogeneous people and so their concentrating the whole power into Parliament alone is alright for the British people but it would not suit the Indian nation to do likewise because the Indian nation consists of different faiths, different cultures, different languages, and of different conflicting interests. I have, therefore, adopted in this Booklet the method of selecting the best from the American and the British constitutions and I have every hope that the present day Indian leaders will give their full and close attention to my proposal of having Safeguard Houses in the Provinces and in the Centre as that alone appears to be the cure of adjusting not only the disruptive communal troubles but also all the other anti-national troubles of our Country.

I pray God that the Indian people would rise to the occasion and would do their best to make India the Home of Real and Powerful Democracy as that alone is the salvation for the Indian people.

At the same time every community has got to remember that democracy does not merely function simply by counting heads and that proper democratic *devices* have got to be designed to suit the peculiar needs of each country. There are no two *similar* democracies in this world. The real need of the Indian Democracy is that there should remain no majority or no minority community not only in the Provinces but also in the Centre and that every community, however tiny and and uninfluential it may be, should be made to feel that it also *has as much voice*, as any majority community has, in the guidance of the country's political destiny.

One is really grieved to see that our eminent political leaders, instead of being engaged in devising such means, should be found engaged in the suicidal controversy of vivisectioning the country into "Hindu India" and "Muslim India." One can only say that they have all lost the bearing.

I sincerely trust this Booklet of mine will at least pave the way in the *right direction* and that the proposal of having Safeguard Houses will ease the communal situation of our country for all the time.

The Solution

OF

The Indian Minorities Problem

Origin

Even the merest novice of politics in India realises that Minorities Problem is absolutely blocking the way to Swaraj and that all our Indian leaders, including Mahatmaji, have failed to solve it. Today, in fact, it has assumed the malignity of a *cancer* in the body-politic of our Motherland. Now, if one goes back to its history, one finds that there never had been such problem till the British ruled India in their own fashion considered as despotic. Flatterers from both the Hindu and Muslim communities, obtained several occasional favours from the British officialdom as it suited it. The Anglo-Indians, the Christians and the Parsees have been in their turn special favourites and the members of these communities were at times immensely benefited. Slowly, however, as India began its march towards *Swaraj*, a gradual change came over as whims of the British officials were put under restraint and they could no longer act as they once did—a distinct phase in the evolution of that rule leading up to the final transfer of power.

Lok. Tilak's Work

The late Lokamanya Tilak could see the importance of the Hindu-Muslim Unity when an anna or two in

the rupee of *Swaraj* was in sight in his lifetime. As he was a great statesman in addition to his being a great extremist leader and an effective and influential agitator, he did not fail to devote his full statesmanship and amazing energy to bring out the communal unity at the right and psychological moment in the political history of our country. He silenced his Hindu followers who tried to raise their voice against his policy and action, by stoutly declaring that he did not mind if the Muslims or the Depressed classes got the whole *Swaraj* as he preferred them to the British who were foreigners. Mr. Jinnah was the Muslim League's representative or, at any rate, an acknowledged Muslim leader then, as he is today, and he was very astutely won over by Lokamanya Tilak on behalf of Congress and with his help Lokamanya Tilak did succeed to bridge the communal gulf, as it existed then, by his famous *Lucknow Pact*. This pact did undoubtedly impress the British statesmen and silenced the British officialdom who, after playing the 'Divide and Rule' game, were always apt to say, that the Indians could never unite.

Nehru Scheme

At the same time, one has to admit that the communal disease was not cured completely by the Lucknow Pact but that it lay there like a malignant lesion and it reappeared with great virulence when it found suitable ground with extremely harmful effects on the Indian Nationalism. The late Pandit Motilalji, on observing this, tried his level best to cure this communal disease.

on behalf of the Indian National Congress, by his famous *Nehru Scheme* and, although, constitutional Pandits like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru associated with it and although also Mahatmaji and other Congress and Muslim leaders backed it up with all the influence they possessed, this *Nehru Scheme* proved a complete failure because they were not able to take opposition Muslim and Hindu opinions with them. Mr. Jinnah, who has been playing a continuous and a conspicuous part, on behalf of Muslims, in the communal politics also issued his Manifesto of 14 points as a basis for further talks and understanding between the Congress and the League but nothing ultimately came out of it although his famous 14 points came to be discussed and criticized by every kind and shade of political opinion throughout the length and the breadth of the country.

Failure at London

Then, when the Indian Round Table Conferences were held in London, it was, perhaps rightly, presumed that eminent leaders of India like Aga Khan and Mahatmaji would not find it difficult, at any rate, they would not fail to come to some sort of permanent understanding, particularly in the calm and detached atmosphere of London, over the minorities problem and that *communal peace* would be finally perfectly established in the interests of the Indian Nationalism but, unfortunately, there in London as well, all our Indian leaders miserably failed. Mahatmaji is a unique and a Himalayan personality and a great organiser and a big propagandist

but, it appears, he lacks those outstanding qualities of statesmanship which enable the statesmen to do the right thing at the right moment.

The failure, therefore, in London as to come to terms with the minorities as well with the Indian States' Representatives, showed that none of the Indians assembled there rose to the height of such statesmanship. It is said that some of the Tory statesmen in London did play the game of "Divide and Rule" and that, but for this, the Indian leaders would have been united and evolved a workable formula but the true statesman anticipates all this and meets the situation accordingly. Any way, it was really a very *discreditable affair* to all the assembled Indian leaders there that they could not come to terms between themselves in what was held to be a purely internal and domestic affair of theirs and that they had to entrust this communal problem for its solution to the then Labour British Prime Minister, the late Mr. Ramsay Macdonald. It was thought that this arbitration by a third party would solve the problem and cure the Indian communal disease but it did not.

Winning the Muslim Masses

On the contrary the Communal Award given by the then British Labour Prime Minister increased the communal tension and although this Award is at present guiding the relations in the Legislature and in the actual administration of the Country; the communal disease has grown from bad to worse. Since then Mahatmaji and Pandit Jawahirlalji have tried to solve this knotty pro-

blem on behalf of the Congress in their own different ways. They have tried to win over the Muslim masses to the Congress side and have tried to *ignore* the old and accredited Muslim leaders, like Mr. Jinnah, on the ground that communal leaders of his type are blocking the unity problem; but this method has proved to be simply disastrous. Mr. Jinnah has turned openly into a *Congress enemy* and he has achieved considerable success in fanning the anti-Congress agitation at times to the detriment of the Indian Nationalism. His Muslim League, of which, virtually he is now the sole dictator, has followed the same agitational methods and the same technique which Mahatmaji adopted in fostering the anti-British agitation to win *Swaraj* for India. The result is, the Muslim masses, illiterate as they are, have begun to feel that the Congress is a Hindu organisation and that it is against their religion to be friendly or even to be neutral to the Congress. The result is, this method of winning the Muslim masses to their side adopted by Mahatmaji and Panditji *has also failed* to solve this unfortunate communal problem.

Untenable Claims

Mr. Jinnah contends that his *League* is the whole and sole Muslim organisation *which, alone*, has the right to speak on behalf of all Muslims of India. This is exactly like Mahatmaji's contention that the Congress alone has the right to speak on behalf of the whole Indian Nation. The *Hindu Mahasabha*, which is the chief organisation of Non-Congress Hindus, insists at the

same time that the Congress does not represent the Hindus and that the Congress—League compromise, if and when established, would never be binding upon the Mahasabha. Then, there is the Depressed class organisation whose mouthpiece is Dr. Ambedkar and he is loud in telling the whole world that neither the Congress nor the Hindu Mahasabha is entitled to speak on behalf of the Depressed classes. Dr. Ambedkar is actively supporting Mr. Jinnah in his anti-Congress agitation to the extreme. Then, there is the *Shiya Association* which repudiates the Muslim League's claim to represent the Shiyas and they are about one-third of the total Muslim population of India. Then, there are the Shikhs, the Indian Christians, the Anglo-Indians and other small communities and they are alert in declaring that the majority communities in different provinces should remember their existence, their special rights and their special privileges. The most surprising thing is that both the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League claim that they are equally national organisations like the Congress if not more and not the communal organisations as they are called by the Congress. At the same time, no non-Hindu can join the Mahasabha just as no non-Muslim can join the League even if he accepts their political programmes, unless, of course, one is agreeable to change his religion and is prepared to become Hindu or Muslim as the case may be. In short, it is clear like broad daylight that private or public negotiations between these various communities and their organisations,

as they are constituted and represented, at present, would never succeed in solving the minorities problem as there does not appear to be that friendly atmosphere and that sincere desire, which are *extremely essential* for its amicable settlement. What a difficult and troublesome riddle to solve for our political leaders which the Indian Democracy has created in the political life of our Country?

Constituent Assembly

At present, Mahatmaji is devoting his whole energy through his *Harijan* in convincing the Indian public and the British statesmen that he has discovered all the curing properties of this minorities disease in the *Constituent Assembly*. He honestly believes that the formation of the Constituent Assembly on the adult franchise system would solve the minorities problem to the satisfaction of all. But none of the minorities are keen about the Constituent Assembly as they do not believe that their legitimate communal and political interests would be adequately protected by it and as they honestly fear that the majority community's representatives would *out-number* them all. To this the minorities are told that they can send their representatives to this Constituent Assembly through their separate electorate, if they so desire, and that the decisions on communal issue could be taken by common consent and that in the event of any deadlock the matter could be sent to the *League of Nations* or to any other impartial tribunal for final decisions. This simple procedure, as it appears to the Congress, *does not find favour* with the minorities.

Every international political student knows well the failure of the League of Nations to solve the European minorities problems, whose facts and figures with all their intricacies the League knew well, and naturally the Indian minorities, therefore, cannot be blamed if the League of Nations which knows very little of the intricacies of the Indian minorities problem is not considered quite competent enough to solve the same. Similarly the minorities are reluctant to leave their fate into the hands of any tribunal.

At the same time, the proposal itself of carrying our internal quarrels to a third party shows that we Indians, cannot compose them ourselves and can it not therefore be justifiable if one calls it disgraceful and a true nationalist *gets really shocked* to see that it should involve in it the Congress, our great national organisation ?

Congress Rule

Similarly, the minorities are now well aware of the Congress methods of "Fair Play" and "Common Consent". The Congress rule has simply proved that it favoured only the Congress party and the Congress individuals. It even did not hesitate to label the Non-Congress people as enemies of the Country. The provincial, District and Taluka Congress officials behaved in a way as if they were the rulers and others the ruled. Even the opposition in the Legislature, which consisted mostly of the minorities, was treated, at times, with scant respect. It is really a pity that the Congress rule

has been, unfortunately, tactless and the minorities have become so much alarmed that these very minorities, who would have been, perhaps, persuaded to believe that the formation of the Constituent Assembly or the approach to the League of Nations or to the Hague or other Tribunal would adequately protect their legitimate interests, are not now in a mood, at all, to trust this line of action. The Congress rule had become the laughing stock of the whole world when it was found out that even for unimportant and trifling matters the *Congress rule* made the Provincial Ministers run to Wardha for instructions. This showed that practically no initiative was left either to the Ministers or to the Congress elected representatives. Similarly the Congress internal squabble and its exposure made by Messrs. Nariman, Khare, Bose & Co., have brought to light that there is more of autocracy than more of democracy reigning in the Congress Party. Anyway, the minorities, rightly or wrongly, believe that no proper safeguards could be secured through the formation of the Constituent Assembly

Pro-Muslim League Rule

One has also to mention, at the same time, that the pro-Muslim League rule in non-Congress rule provinces, as well, is being run quite unsatisfactorily and on party-favouring lines giving no heed at all to the minorities interests in those provinces. In the Punjab the Sikhs and Hindus, and in Bengal and in Sindh the Hindus are minorities and their legitimate interests in these provinces are suppressed without fear. The Bengal pro-Muslim

League Premier has made many irresponsible speeches in this respect, and at one time it is said that he declared that he would not fail to tighten the screws of his hard rule on Bengal Hindus if the Congress ministries in their Provinces would treat the Muslims unfairly. The Manzalga communal riots in Sindh and the atrocities perpetrated on helpless Hindus by Sindh's Muslim majority have shocked the Hindu community of Sindh's first democratic rule. One has also to admit that the opposition in both the Congress and non-Congress ruled Provinces did not act, on certain occasions with dignity as the opposition in fact, ought to have done. In short, such is the sorry plight of the first experiment of our Provincial Democratic Rule and it is the duty of every true Nationalist to *expose it* in clear and unambiguous words without fear or favour so that all the future provincial rule whether, pro-Congress or pro-League, is run with pure and unadulterated democracy, not simply in form, but also *in spirit as well*.

Groping in the Dark

The most remarkable thing about the whole Indian minorities problem is that, even uptill now, none of the aggrieved minorities have put in black and white any concrete proposals of their own which they would think adequate to protect their legitimate interests. They have amongst them many constitutional Pundits, like Mr. Jinnah and Dr. Ambedkar, but they are silent over it for reasons best known to themselves. Mr. N. C. Kelkar, an eminent political writer of 50 years' experience and

standing has written very interesting and informative articles in the *Kesari* over the minorities problem not only of India but of the whole world ; but he, too, has groped in the darkness when the time came in his writings to suggest a definite solution. Similarly, there are eminent constitutional lawyers in Congress and Liberal camps, and it is really strange that none of them have been able to produce a scheme of settlement of the minorities problem which would at least be considered a fair basis for further discussions in the matter. No doubt, they want the settlement but nobody is able to formulate it clearly. At the same time, leaders of various communities have met on many occasions in the name of All-Parties Conference, ostensibly with the purpose of solving the minorities problem, but they have only talked and talked and mainly over the *loaves and fishes* of the Government jobs or of Ministerial offices as even Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan describes them but none of them has been able to find out at any time any kind of fair and permanent basis or methodology for the communal problem's settlement. Even now, it is declared on behalf of the Muslim League, although indirectly, that if Congress consents to take Muslim League representatives as Ministers in the Congress-ruled Provinces the communal problem would be solved to a large extent. Dr Ambedkar on behalf of Depressed classes is also supporting this idea to have coalition cabinets on behalf of his party.

Proper Cure

The Punjab and the Bengal pro-Muslim premiers

are agreeable to include Congress nominees in their respective cabinets. But the matter should be clear to any impartial political observer that the communal *Cancer* would never be cured by tentative measures or by such patched up understandings between one or two parties but that until and unless *constitutional safeguards* are well provided for in the constitution itself, to the satisfaction of not only of the strong Muslim minority but also that of all other minorities, however small and insignificant they may be, and that these safeguards should also prove *effective* and *properly workable* in all circumstances whether there is Eight annas in the rupee Swaraj or whether there is Sixteen annas in the rupee Swaraj reigning in the country.

An opportunity, therefore, is being taken to put in this booklet some *concrete proposals of permanent nature* of solving the Indian minorities problem with a firm belief, that they would at least be considered a fair basis of settlement by the majority and also by all the minority communities of our country, so that a strong and permanent edifice of the Indian nationalism can be erected on this proposed foundation, in which every community, however small it may be, would like to dwell with pride, feeling that its legitimate interests are adequately and satisfactorily protected.

Safe-Guard House

The Rules and Regulations provided in the Government of India Act, 1935, as to the formation of Provincial

Houses etc., will remain in tact, and the Provincial Democratic Governments are to be formed as mentioned therein, with the main exception that the principle of separate election is to be abolished and the principle of joint election is to be adopted instead. The Ministries, however, will be formed by the majority party of the two Houses. It is, however, proposed to add another House by the name of "*SAFEGUARD HOUSE*" itself, whose members will be elected by the communal votes of each community and either on adult franchise (which should prove cumbersome) or on such qualitative franchise as each community may desire, and that 3 members of each community in each province will find their places in this Safeguard House, irrespective of each community's population, wealth, education or military use.

The function of this Safeguard House will be to study minutely and to pass the budget, the laws and bills and all other legislative measures which the other Houses will be passing and submitting to this House for approval. Then the Minister in charge and his advisers will be there to explain the purpose and the meaning of the laws proposed, which will enable this Safeguard House to examine them in detail and to pass the same by *two-third majority*. In case this majority could not be secured, the legislation may be supposed as rejected, and in that case it would never become Law. Unless, of course, this Safeguard House sends the Bill back with modifications and alterations of its own and, if the other Houses in the Province accept the modified draft bill and send it back to this Safeguard

House for approval, then the Safeguard House will give the formal approval and then alone the Bill would become a law. :

No doubt, no initiative is left to this Safeguard House, as it is not empowered to bring any measure or Bill of its own but the main point is that no Bill can be passed without this House's approval and in this House there remains *no minority or majority* communities because every community of the Province has equal representation of 3 members and naturally, any legislation approved by the two third majority of this House shall always be considered as representative of the cumulative will of the Province. At no time the vote of the Safeguard House can ever be construed as a communal one or of majority community's vote tyrannizing the minority; because members of the Safeguard House are to be elected on approved franchise by their *respective communities*. It is taken for granted that only those communal leaders, who are extremely selfless, upright and honest and are highly respected by their respective communities, will find their places in this Safeguard House. But the main point to be remembered is that in this House the number of representatives is kept *equal* for each community, however small or large it may be. In short, this constructive proposal of having a Safeguard House in each Province of the nature proposed and the powers given will be found completely satisfactory to all the minorities of each Province to safeguard their respective communal interests.

The exact formation of this Safeguard House as proposed in each province is given in the following page in the various Tables and it is hoped it would be properly understood.

Practical Application

It would be extremely interesting to find how the contentious Labour and Prohibition measures of Bombay Congress Ministry would have fared in this House. Congress would have needed 26 votes on her side to have these measures passed in their original form. It is, surely, very difficult to say, how the members of each community would have voted in respect to Labour legislation but there seems no doubt that the Labour Act would have been amended in such a way that the angry protests subsequently made by Labour leaders culminating in the Firing by Congress Ministry would have all been avoided.

As to the Prohibition measure passed by the Bombay Congress Ministry there is no doubt that the British Europeans and the Anglo Indians would have solidly gone against the measure but it is difficult to say whether all Parsees and all Christians would have gone against the measure as Congress would have influenced a couple of them. The Depressed class votes would have also been divided. As to the votes of all the remaining communities they would have voted solidly for the Prohibition, and thus the measure would have secured only 21 votes. It seems likely that the measure would not have been passed for Bombay and other Cities or in any case it would have been amended considerably.

Table showing how PROVINCIAL SAFEGUARD HOUSES will be constituted in each Province.

Community	Bombay	Madras	Bengal	U. P.	Punjab	Behar	C. P.	Assam	Orissa	Sind	N. W. Province
Hindus	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Shiyas	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Sunnies	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Depressed classes	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Arya Samajists	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	3	3	3
Jains	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	3	3	-
Sikhs	3	3	3	3	3	3	-	3	3	3	3
Brahmos or Parthans Samajists	3	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-
Lingayats	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Buddhists	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	3	-	-
Christians	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
British Europeans	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Anglo Indians	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Parsees	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Total Representatives of Safeguard House in various provinces	39	36	39	33	33	36	90	90	36	33	30

Of course, the Congress Party, supreme as it is today in our land, on account of the saintly personality's influence in politics, can secure majority for slow progressing measures but it would be rash to say that it would surely secure solid majority for its Wardha Education Scheme and for other revolutionary socialistic measures. But, if the Congress could secure such solid majority in the proposed Safeguard House then, no one in our Country, not even, Messrs. Jinnah and Ambedkar will have anything to say or grumble except that the whole Country is under the *yogic* spell of Mahatmaji and is behind the Congress, the great Indian national organisation of today. It can also be said definitely that even in Pro-League Rule there would have been less dissatisfaction, as is found today amongst the minorities of these Provinces. In short, the Safeguard House would have prevented acrimony and would have surely created sweet reasonableness amongst all the parties of our Country in its place, as "Give and Take" policy would have been the real guiding hand in deciding the Country's progressive programme, than the uncompromising attitude which naturally springs through the solid majority of one party, and Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya, the Madras Premier, and other Ministers would have been spared in vouchsafing the various explanations to their voters and to their opponents for the unpleasant consequences which have been created by the uncompromising rule based on the solid majority of one Party.

Central Adjustments

Now the question arises of how to safeguard the various conflicting interests at the centre, wherein, not only the minorities problem but also the Indian Rulers' problem so also that of the defence and the British vested interests are required to be equitably adjusted. It will serve no purpose for anybody to say that these problems *do not exist or that they can be quickly adjusted* after the Swaraj is secured. The Indian States are there, even before the British established their rule in India.

States Complex Problem

The Maharastrians would never consent to the abolition of Maratha States which are scattered all over India. In fact, *they will fight* for their preservation. Similarly, Muslims will oppose with all their might the abolition of *Nizam and other Muslim States*. The Sikhs will do likewise for the *Sikh States* and the Rajputs will not be lagging behind to do their duty for the *Rajput States*. South Indian Hindus will not keep quiet if Cochin, Mysore and Travancore, are threatened with forcible abolition. Individual rulers may be bad or good. If they are bad they can be replaced. In fact, if there is any class which will be extremely useful in the defence of India then it is this class. Only the eldest child can become the Ruler and the other members of the family can be secured for higher Military services as they have all the means at their disposal to devote their whole attention for military purposes. Only special efforts are required to be made to rope round the sons of Aristocracy

for filling the officers' jobs in the defence services. It is a pity that our Indian leaders do not have the vision to understand these things. They simply refuse to visualise our army, our navy and our air force manned and officered all by Indians. Their prejudices against the Indian aristocracy is simply absurd. They do extoll the Naidus, the Dhyanchands, the Gamas for their world famous skill in Cricket, in Hockey, in wrestling respectively but; they would not admire the Jaipur, the Kashmir and the Bhopal polo players simply because they belong to the aristocracy class. On the contrary, they are maligned. This is extremely unfair and unjust.

In short, *India must remain as one unit and one nation intact* wherein all the conflicting interests are to be harmoniously blended and all political impartial observers will come to the conclusion that this result can only be attained through an all-India Federation. There are political leaders in our country who believe that the Federation of only British Indian provinces will be the right thing to do at present as they opine that the States are dying their natural deaths and no attention is necessary to be paid to them. This is simply an erroneous and a suicidal idea. Similarly they argue that States are extremely backward. But what is the position of all the British Indian Provinces? Can any one say that all the Provinces are equal in either the political advancement or in other spheres of progress? After all the whole of India is our Motherland and it matters very little if some portion is more advanced and if some other portion is

somewhat less advanced or is more backward. In fact, it is the duty of Indians of all shades of opinion, irrespective of caste, creed, colour or religion that they should spare no attempts to make the backward portion advanced. Is every community equally advanced in the British Indian Provinces? Are there not extremely backward people and even aboriginal tribes in some portion of British India? But that is not made the reason for that province to be made unfit for democracy and unfit to enter into an All-India Federation. The Princes had once shown perfect willingness to enter the All-India Federation and it has been extremely tactless on the part of British Indian politicians that they have unnecessarily tried to antagonise them by depicting them as the worthless specimens of humanity. Morvi, Gondal and Bhavnagar have recently done wonders to alleviate the miseries caused by famine of their respective subjects. Baroda, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin have done more than British Indian provinces in educational and social matters. The point is, even if the States were worse maladministration, they are part and parcel of our Motherland, and that it is our duty to improve them by asking the Rulers to introduce Responsible Government *within a fixed period* and by asking the State subjects to take more and more active interest in the administration of their respective States. It shall never pay Indian nationalism to leave them alone and neglected and not to take them into an All-India Federation.

Distribution of Seats

It is proposed, therefore, that the Federal part of 1935 Act should remain intact as to the election and the formation of the House of Assembly and Council of State with the exception that, out of the 125 States Representatives in the Assembly and 104 in the Council of State 94 and 78 are to be elected by the States subjects, while 31 and 26 are to be nominated by the States Rulers in the House of Assembly and Council of State, respectively. In the original Act it is proposed that all are to be nominated by the States Rulers while Congress has been demanding that they all should be elected by the States subjects.

But in order to protect the minorities' interests, the States Rulers' interests and other vested interests, a Third House is proposed, as is proposed in the Provinces and it will be called the Central Safeguard House which will consist of 141 Members out of which 125 will be elected by each community of each Province as given in the table and 16 will be elected by the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber. This election can be done simultaneously when Provincial elections of Safeguards Houses are made and thus avoid the double election troubles and the expenses. Now the powers of this Central Safeguard House will also be the same as they are in Provinces which means that all the Bills, Laws and Regulations which will be passed by the other two Houses at the Centre will have to be confirmed by two-third majority of this Central Safeguard House before they will

become laws. This House will have the power to propose the modifications or changes and if the other two Houses accept the change and submit it for final approval, then that Bill shall become the law otherwise the Bill will be considered as rejected. Similarly, the budget, all trade agreements and all foreign commitments will have to be passed by the two-third majority of the House.

Strength of United India

The Federal Ministry will be formed by the majority party in the two Houses only. No initiative is left to the Third House ; the main purpose of it is to safeguard the conflicting interests of all minorities in an equitable manner and this result is achieved by providing equal representation to all the communities and to all the conflicting interests including the State Rulers and the British Europeans as well. In short, this Central Safeguard House is so proposed that the House will protect the legitimate interests of all minorities and will equitably adjust all the conflicting interests as equal representation is given to all. Naturally, under these circumstances, the British will have to give *Purna Swaraj* to India and if they hesitate, then, the Indian nation, when consolidated and strengthened by the unity of all the communities, will not sit idle but will easily force the British hands to release the power which they are withholding at present on the ground that there is no *national unity* in the Country. The power of the united nation in that case will become so strong that the British will be the first to bow down to it. In fact, full Dominion Status of the

Statute of Westminster variety is already promised. Then remains the question of time, but the united will of India will secure this status promptly, as it is absurd to wait till the duration of war, which may last even 5 or 6 years. There are some Indians who generally care more for sentiment and they would say, "India must have Independence." The British statesmen are shrewd enough, and they would not fail to negotiate a treaty of Indian Independence on Egyptian lines to satisfy *this sentiment* but to achieve all this we must have complete solidarity amongst our Indian leaders of all communities and the scheme proposed in this booklet is a fair basis to achieve this object. At the same time this Independence will be only a Paper Independence in name as without her own strong army, her own adequate navy and her own large air force manned and officered by Indians the Independence of India can only remain in name. But there will be some people, who are accustomed to fight all along, would always like to fight even after Freedom is attained. In Ireland it was the same case. Even now they are fighting amongst themselves in Ireland. The point is we want to settle the peculiar minorities and the States problems once for all and it can only be settled in a constitution which is applicable to all the cases whether there is sixteen annas of Swaraj or whether it is a pie less than sixteen annas Swaraj.

There are some prominent Indian leaders for whom the world Federation is a taboo. But every political student knows how the Federal constitution has made

U. S. A. great, strong and a first class power respected by all in this world. To this, some of our leaders argue that they are not against the Federal system, but that they are particularly against the Federal portion of 1935 Act in which less power is given to Indians. You need the minorities and other safeguards whether there is less transfer or bigger transfer of power.

Federation the Real Cure

The proposed Federal or Central Safeguard House or call it Senate if you like, suits all the circumstances of the case. At the same time, it should not preclude us from taking the good, healthy and democratic portions of the 1935 Act, particularly, as regards the election and the formation of Provincial and Federal Ministries. If one studies the Constituent history of U. S. A., it would be seen that they had had there the same constitutional deadlock that we have reached here at present in our political life over the minorities problem. Even now, all the American States are not equal in progress. Then, some of them are very large and very densely populated, while some others are so tiny in area and population that a single large State will make five or six of these small States. This was the very reason why smaller States were not willing to enter the Federation as they rightly presumed that larger and bigger States would always rule them through the pressure of majority on the principle of "One man—one vote". Then the idea of having a Senate struck them in which every American State was granted only 2 Representatives, irrespective of its

population, size, wealth, education etc. This satisfied the smaller States, as it made every State in America equal in political sphere. This Senate is the all-powerful body in the American Federal Government by which the American citizen is able to control not only the cliques of their Congress and of the larger States but also the whims, fancies and vagaries of their all-powerful political head—the American President.

Blending of Democratic Constitution

In short, we Indians can learn a great deal from American Federal Constitution as we have been learning from British Democratic and parliamentary system. In England, the Parliament is all in all. She can do and undo things. We cannot give, or rather we should not give such power to a single body of our own, even if it were elected on adult franchise of India; but it is a pity that there is the tendency with many of our leaders to copy the British Democratic Institutions completely and blindly and to pay no attention to the peculiar circumstances and needs of our own problem, such as the vastness of our Country, the existence of different religions, of different faiths, of different languages and of different conflicting interests that makes our Country a veritable continent. The fact is, we Indians are not one homogeneous race or people as the British people are. In America, on the other hand, there exists also the diversity of races, people, languages small and large States and also vastness of Country and there is, therefore, much which we can learn and adopt

from American Constitution which would suit the needs of our Country, and if we could graft a step of the British and American Democratic system into the existing tender plant of our own democratic institutions' growth thus making the whole as equitable, as just and as democratic as possible taking into consideration the various view-points of all our countrymen, we will be surely doing our real duty to our nation. This very thing has been achieved by the proposal of Safeguard Houses in the Provinces and in the Centre and it is hoped that the same will meet approval of all our countrymen; as the main issue is solved by the provision of Safeguards in the constitution itself without leaving anything to the mercy of our leaders. An opportunity is also taken to adjust the other communal and irritable points as well to the satisfaction of all. They are given below one by one with their equitable and just solution.

Solutions of Irritable Questions

National Language.—It is better to leave the selection of the National Language to the two Federal Houses and the Central Safeguard House. Congress efforts to foster Hindi, meaning Hindustani language, as National Language on the people of India are not appreciated as the political-minded Hindus say that it is more Persianised while the political-minded Muslims object to it on the ground that it is more sanskritised. In fact, the masses from both the communities are quite indifferent to it. The trouble is only with the political-minded people. At the same time, it is better to retain the

English language as the political language of India for some time to come. We have adopted cricket as our national game and there should not be the least objection from any side to have the English language as our political language. The controversy regarding the Script of Hindi or Urdu gets automatically dropped.

National Flag :—The two Federal Houses should be given the power to select the design of the National Flag and when their selection is approved by two-third majority of the Central Safeguard House then alone that particular design becomes the National Flag.

National Song :—Everybody is aware that older generation has made tremendous sacrifices to keep the Bande Mataram song alive, for which bitter opposition is raging at present, by the Muslims. Any way, this song cannot now become the National Song. Other songs will have to be composed. Only that song could become our national song which will be approved by Federal Houses and again confirmed by two third majority of the Central Safeguard House.

Music before Mosques :—Existing usages, and customs of each place should guide this matter and both communities would now see when their major differences are amicably settled that this insignificant point does not spoil their cordial relations.

Cow Slaughter :—No ceremonial cow slaughter is to be allowed in any part of India. Slaughter Houses alone

should be the places where the cattle including cows are to be allowed to be slaughtered.

Ratio in Government Service :—The main thing to remember in this case is the administrative efficiency. At the same time strict attention has to be given in giving fair chances to all the communities according to their population ratio. Efforts will always have to be made to equalise this ratio in filling the vacancies provided the efficient candidates are available.

National Defence Forces :—These forces are to be recruited from the best available material of India. No provincialism or communalism is to be mixed up in this selection business. The only points to be considered are the efficiency and the highest fitness of the available material. At the same time, compulsory military training should be provided in all the schools and colleges. This will place the defence question on a satisfactory basis and facilitate its early and best solution.

In conclusion, all level-headed people will now admit that every effort in this booklet has been made to solve the Minorities communal and political problem, the Indian States problem and the British Trade interests problem to the satisfaction of all keeping in mind only one idea, that is of making the Indian Nation not only modern but great and strong in every respect so that India is able to stand with her head erect amongst the foremost, great and progressive nations of the world and and it is hoped that all justice and liberty loving people

will give assent to this proposed Scheme of solving the tough minorities problem which has not only marred the communal relations to the detriment of the interests of our Motherland but also turned out to be an insurmountable stumbling block against the freedom of our Motherland.

The Table showing the Constitution of the Central Safeguard House is on the next page..

A Brief Explanation of the Table on opposite page

From this table one will find that the Hindus, Shiyas, Sunnies, Depressed Classes, Christians, British Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Parsees are given one seat each for each of the 11 provinces; hence 88 members of these communities will find their places in the Federal Safeguard House elected by their respective communities. As there are no enough Arya Samajists in Assam and no enough Sikhs in C.P., they will be sending 10 members each from the 10 provinces. Also as there are no enough Jains in Assam and in N.W.P. Province, the Jains will be sending 9 members one from each of the 9 provinces. The Brahmos and the Buddhists are only in 3 provinces and so they will be sending only 3 members each from their respective communities from these three provinces, while the Lingayats, who are in 2 provinces, will be sending 2 members from the two provinces. The Princes are given 16 seats, which will be filled by the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber, Delhi, and so the total of the Federal Safeguard House comes to 141 as given in the Table.

Table Showing how FEDERAL SAFEGUARD HOUSE will be constituted at the Centre.

Community	Bombay	Madras	Bengal	U. P.	Punjab	Behar	C. P.	Assam	Orissa	Sind	N. W. Provinces	Indian States		
Hindus	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Representatives to be elected by the Standing Committee of the Princes Chamber at Delhi		
Shiyas	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Sunnics	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Depressed classes	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Arya Samajists	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1			
Jains	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-			
Sikhs	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1			
Brahmos or Prarthana Samajists	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-			
Lingayats	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Buddhists	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-			
Christians	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
British Europeans	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Anglo Indians	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Paracs	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			
Total	13	12	13	11	11	12	10	10	12	11	10	16		
Total Representatives of the Safeguard House at the Centre.	-	-	One hundred and forty-one only								-	-	-	141

*Printed by Terence Nunes At
The Gem Printing Works
Marine Chambers
Marine Lines
Bombay 1*

R. B. Sapre
Author & Publisher
40, Picket Road
Bombay 2