

Personal and confidential

Revered Panditji,

Sastang Pranams.

My cousin the late Pandit Kapil Deo Malaviya's son Sanat Kumar Malaviya's recent death has completely unnerved me. My uncle Pandit Rama Kantji's son Sridhar was ten years younger to me. He would have been the pride of the family only if he could live. Sanat was younger. Very nice and good boy. He too has gone. The next turn may be mine. There seems to be some curse on the family otherwise why should He remove from amongst us only the selected ones?

In this mental strain I am writing this letter to you. It seems the time has come when I must open out my heart completely before one with whom I have always differed and yet never regarded him less than my father or a family member.

I received my training under old guards, as you know, who, though apparently differed and fought each other in active politics yet recognised each other's motive and sincerity and only supplemented each other's efforts in reaching the same goal according to their individual lights.

Gokhley and Tilak, Gandhi and Malaviya, Nehru and Subhas though politically at logger heads on the surface, only complemented and supplemented each other. My reading of the Indian politics is this.

The Hindus never reconciled themselves to the Muslim rule. In spite of the fact that they were physically overpowered yet they carried on their fight for freedom relentlessly for centuries to oust the Muslims, the only foreigners who did not completely merge themselves with the Hindus and thought their religion and culture to be even superior to that of the Hindus. The great Akbar tried to bring the two together but failed. After all the Hindus succeeded in overthrowing the Muslim rule but unfortunately the British intervened and overpowered both of them. They usurped the power from the Hindus and established themselves in power.

Apparently the power was snatched away from the Muslim Kings and naturally they were more agrieved. They kept away from adopting the new Western culture. The Hindus on the other hand began to make use of the new culture and be benefitted by it. The Congress was founded and the question before the Hindus was how to oust the English without reviving the old Muslim rule. The so called extremists led by Tilak and Lajpat Rai believed in revival of Hinduism. Tilak started his movement with Ganeshutsava and Lalaji was a well-known Arya Samajist. The Bengal revolutionaries faced scaffolds with Gita in their hands. There was the other group led by Gokhale

who tried the other way. They were called moderates. Constitutionalists as they were they wanted to win over the Muslims also to their side and reform the Hindu society from within. For Tilak social reform was to follow political independence which was to be achieved on our own strength and not dependent on any one else's cooperation. On the other hand Gokhley thought that independence would follow social reforms. Malaviya was the synthesis of the two, a virtual modern Chanakya. In my opinion no greater politician, statesman and diplomat has been produced by the Hindus during these centuries. He was for social reform yet he would do so only with the willing consent of the society. Antagonise he would none and never. The main political difficulty before the nation was the attitude of the Muslims. Tilak would fight his battles irrespective of the Muslim attitude. Gokhley wanted to win them over and we all know that Jinnah was his creation and a rejoinder to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's policy. Pandit Malaviya wanted to win over the Muslims and work with them and yet strengthen the Hindus at the same time from within. From Hindu Sabha platform he would organise the Hindus and from Congress platform he would act in collaboration with Jinnah.

Gandhiji entered the arena on or about 1919-20. He gave a new slogan altogether. He went a step further than his guru and declared that there can be no SWARAJ without Hindu Muslim unity. That was a blunder. This cry put premium to the Muslim cooperation with the result that Muslim demands began to grow day by day finalising in Pakistan. Their next step is the revival of the Muslim rule on the whole of India.

It is a tragedy of modern Indian political history that two disciples of Gokhley, namely Gandhi and Jinnah, both Bar-at-laws, both Gujrateres and both of them coming from business communities presided over the destinies of the nation and ultimately devided it in to two parts. Gandhi has been succeeded by Nehru who is the least Gandhian and yet his heir-apparent.

When the Muslims began to show teeths, threaten the Hindus and openly with pan-Islamism and over-powering them with outside help the Hindus were in a fix. There was no other Hindu country and the English were ~~were~~ the Middle Eastern and other Muslim countries. They naturally could not be ours. We were fighting them for Swaraj. Pandit Malaviya's reply to this threat was combination of East Asiatic countries with Japan, the most verile nation of the East, as pivot. Subhas added Germany and Italy to it and carried Pandit Malaviya's policy further. So we can divide broadly the Indian politics in two camps. One led by Tilak, Malaviya and Subhas and the other led by Gokhley, Gandhi and Nehru.

After the death of Gokhley, Tilak advised people to follow Gokhley and called him the prince of patriots. Gokhley's disciple Gandhi replaced Tilak as the national leader, though real Tilakites never accepted him as such. I will point out to Dr. Moonje and Loknaik Aney, Kelkar and Jaikar the greatest Tilakites of the day in this connection.

Our grand old man Dr. Bhagwan Dass, in a recent article of his in the 'Organisor' says that Dr. Moonje was greatly honoured in Maharashtra, perhaps next after Lokamanya Tilak. And he is right. He represented Tilak best.

Once during the discussion of the Indian Finance Bill in 1930 while Dr. Moonje was on his legs Pandit Malaviya entered the Assembly Hall and seated himself in back benches behind him. Dr. Moonje said:-

"I wish the Hon'ble member, Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya would come and sit in his usual seat in front of me, for I get inspiration from the reverential Pandit." Pandit Malaviya complied with the request and Dr. Moonje said:- "Now that my Elder has occupied his usual seat, it gives me great inspiration. I have known only two person in all my life before whom my head bowed spontaneously. One was the late Lokemanya Tilak and now Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya."

Needless to go on in this strain. We all know that after Tilak's death most of the Tilakites accepted Pandit Malaviya as their leader. So there remained only two important figures in the contemporary Indian political field Pandit Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi and the late Akbar Allahabadi though inclining more favourably towards Pandit Malaviya than Gandhi as he felt that

"Bhai Gandhi khudsari ki arjoo ke sath hain
Aur Saheb log garebi rango boo ke sath hain
Malaviji sabse behtar hai mere danist main
Yani mandir mai hain aur apani gau ke sath hain"

yet expressed only the reality when he said:

"Gandhi Malvi hain go ek dil
Ikhtilafat kuch hua zahir
Mukhtalif nap ke hai dono sire
Gavdum ho ke rah gai akhir"

And you will be surprised to hear Akbar saying that Gandhi was trying for Hindu Muslim unity at the instance of Pandit Malaviya. He says:-

"Gandhi ne manlee hai
Madan Mohani Salah
Hindi to thai hi ab voh
Madni bhi ho gaye"

In what great esteem the two great leaders held ~~together~~ ^{together}, how they supplemented and ~~comple~~ complemented each other, though apparently vehemently differing ~~from each other~~ is too well known to need recounting here.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is the successor to Mahatma Gandhi. Babu Purushottam Das Tandon was the man to take the place of Pandit Malaviya but unfortunately he failed. Nehruji was also harsh to him I think. In my opinion all the present chaotic conditions in our political field is due to our ignorance of our roles in it. I tried to fix up myself soon after entering politics. I joined hands with Subhas but I never doubted Nehru's sincerity for a minute. I lost my temper if any one did so in my presence. I ~~admired~~ ^{loved}, loved and respected him as my own father. So have I felt towards his colleagues and it was for this feeling of mine that I never felt the least hesitation in my dealings with them though sometimes I did feel little embarrassed because of their behaviour towards me. Anyway, I never mind that. I believe that.

"You will not think any duty small
If you yourself were great."

Nehru is doing his duty wonderfully well. He wants the Forward Bloc to merge with the Congress. Personally I am in a fix. On one hand I feel I must accept the invitation and join Congress to strengthen his hands. On the other hand sometimes I feel that I can strengthen his hands better by remaining in opposition camp.

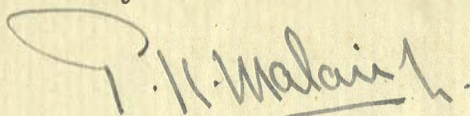
To you I have always looked as an elder of my family as well, as a great man to whom I can look for guidance in times of ~~crisis~~. I have to make a critical decision

of my life and I am in doubts. I solicit your help and guidance. Kindly show me the light and oblige.

In the end I will make only one more request to you. And you alone can do it. I know the weak points in Tandonji. I know he has not got so many great qualities of Pandit Malaviya, yet he is the only man who can represent him to some extent. Can you not remove the misunderstandings between Nehruji and Tandonji and bring them together a little. It is so essential in the interest of the country. And if you cannot do this, you have to replace Babuji yourself and complete the task left uncompleted by him. Barring yourself and Tandonji I do not see any one else who can do that.

With deepest regards,

I am,
Very sincerely yours,



(P.K. Malaviya)

Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabhji Pant,
Home Minister,
Indian Republic,
NEW DELHI.