CHAPTER V

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY IN THE SHORT STORIES OF

SAADAT HASAN MANTO

“An ideology is the collection of the ideas and views that explains and justifies the economic and governmental order of society, reflecting the needs and aspiration of an individual, class or culture.”

Saadat Hasan Manto (11th May 1912 to 18th January 1955) born in the happening century, but it is very strange and awkward to see that critics never took his stories out of the critical triangle of ‘Odors’, ‘A Women’s life’, ‘A Believer’s Version’, etc. If we see there are around 250 short stories he wrote which includes the themes of social, political, sexual, and psychological, at the same time film industry (that was earlier known as Filmistan).


These stories are an evidence of his keen observation of Indian politics. Three stories, ‘It happened in 1919’, ‘Tamasha’, ‘Price of Freedom’, belonged, and are based on the events that happened in Amritsar directly, where Saadat Hasan Manto, had spent around 20 years of his life.

In ‘Tamasha’ he presented the tragic happenings of Jallianwala Baugh from the view of an eight old Khalid. Khalid was so young that he could not understand the happenings, but then too he was in a state of fear that something will happen and when in
front of his own eyes, a child, of his own age died because of a police bullet, in his inner self hatred, opposition and anger against the British Raj arose furiously. Khalid seems to be a role of Saadat Hasan Manto himself, as even Manto, at that time, was of eight years old.

A free thinker by choice, he looked at issues in different ways, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote:

‘I have never had any interest in politics and consider politicians and pharmacist to be one and the same.’

Elaborating his points in his deep thoughts He wrote:
‘Leadership and pharmacy are two professions whose practitioners use other people’s prescriptions. What I mean to say is that I have as much interest in politics as Gandhiji has in cinema. Gandhiji does not see cinema, and I do not read newspaper. Actually, both of us are wrong. Gandhiji should see films and I ought to read newspapers.’

‘New Constitution’ is a story in which he opposed the British Raj and their political nature. In the character of Mangu Kochwan, the tongawala, he depicted the anger of people on the political set up of then India. In the story we could see his broad and aware views on politics, as he talks about the Russian King, Red Shirt Movement of Peshawar, war in Spain, etc. Mangu was so happy and confident about the new constitution, which he heard about while dropping customers, who were very hopeful for the new constitution, that in anger, he beat up the British Tommy. After which he went to jail, as there was no new constitution and everything was the same. The story clearly depicts Saadat Hasan Manto’s impatience for freedom and anger on the British rule.

Mangu Kochwan is one illiterate tongawala. He is famous for his different type of the personality among his co-workers. Though he was illiterate but had much interest in politics. Manto depicts the people of India. He is very well aware of his slavery and as a result has lots of disgust and hatred towards British people. Because of his interest in
politics, he used to listen very carefully to his passengers communications to gain some important knowledge or news, which he afterwards announced at his Tonga stand. He was very much interested in local, national and international news and happenings and when he used to speak about the news among his co fellows, they praised him for his knowledge. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote on his poor knowledge as:

“Recently when he learnt from one of his fares about a rumor that a war is about to break out in Spain, he patted Gama Choudhry across his broad shoulder and predicted in a state man like manner, ‘You will see, Chaudhry, a war is going to break out in Spain in a few days.’ And when Gama Chaudhry asked him where Spain was, Ustad Mangu had replied very soberly, ‘In vilayat, where else?’”  

He hated ‘Goras’ (British) and use to treat them worse than a dog. When he had an argument with a drunken ‘gora’, he remained depressed all day long. When he heard about the ‘New Constitution’ that is going to come from 1 April, he was very happy for it, and thinks that now after this new constitution, which will bring a change and will prove as boiling hot water for bed bugs, who suck the blood of Indians. Though Mangu was considered as a man of great wisdom among his friends, he was a simple man. On hearing the news of the new constitution he behaved foolishly and did many stupid things in the outburst of his happiness, for the new constitution. And this happiness reached to the temperament level when he beats up an English man and screams on him saying:

“The same cockiness even on 1 April well, sonny boy, it is our Raj now.”  

This one sentence is the complete sum of the character of Mangu who is simple, innocent and loyal to his country. He considered the worst condition of India, is a result of the rule of goras. Because of his stupidity he was being arrested and all his dreams and hopes for the new constitution reach to an end.
‘Dog of Titwal’\textsuperscript{162} is another story of Saadat Hasan Manto which represents the conflict of Kashmir between India and Pakistan and its war regarding getting the state under their control. The story presents the ongoing personal agony and disapproval in a very interesting and pathetic way. In between two rivals a dog is being stuck. Indian soldiers consider it as Indian dog and Pakistani soldiers consider it as theirs. But the dog is only one. One sign, one mark or an emblem which is hung between two countries. If we will consider it a bit seriously and to consider the dog as Kashmir and its people we could make out excellent depictions of the political ups and downs and the behaviour of the politicians towards Kashmir. People of Kashmir were suffering because of the pulling from both the sides at that time and now too. They were like a dog running here to there to find solace.

Saadat Hasan Manto is impartial in this story. He has not taken the side of any country or the political structure. In the story he talked about soldiers and common people, who were suffering out of it, their emotions and problems.

‘The Last Salute’ is the first attempt by any writer to bring into the forefront the politics and agony of the people as soldiers, who fight to safe guard their country. It’s the story of two childhood friends, Rab Nawaz and Ram Singh, who were friends before partition. They have studied and played together. At the same time they join the military service together. Before they were fighting for the same country but now they were to safe guard their own different countries, India and Pakistan. The story bears a background of Kashmir war, where both the friends were appointed against each other, because of partition Rab Nawaz became a Pakistani solder and Ram Singh Indian, on the basis of their religion. Now both are fighting to get Kashmir, under their country’s rule. When Rab Nawaz thinks on the war he becomes confused on his loyalty, which Saadat Hasan Manto presented as:

“They had been told: we are placing a gun in your hands so that you can go and fight for a country which you have yet to know, where you do not even
have a roof over your head, where even the air and water are strange to you. Go and fight for it.”

But these minute and complicated points were quite away from the understanding of Rab Nawaz. On the other side it was Ram Singh and his troop. Along with the bullets people from either side were shouting abuses on each other and in the middle of the shootings Rab Nawaz and Ram Singh were happy and talking to each other. In one round of firing Ram Singh got injured and was dying and Rab Nawaz reached to his help. The firings were still going on from both the sides but they were at that time not the soldiers of different countries but friends who studied, played, lived and fought together. Rab Nawaz tried his best to save his friend’s life by sending an emergency message to Major Aslam on the wireless to bring a doctor. The whole time both the friends talked and discussed their lives and mischievous things they had done together. In the morning when Major reached with the news that there was no doctor, Ram Singh opened his eyes, gets into attention, salutes Rab Nawaz and died looking towards him.

In the story Saadat Hasan Manto had not talked about the limited national faithfulness, but about the politicians and their politics that it could just divide the countries, lands, rivers and mountains and hills but cannot divide love, faithfulness, sincerity and intimacy of people. Rab Nawaz is a loyal soldier of Pakistan but didn’t fire when his friend Ram Singh asked him not to do it and Ram Singh while dying speaks about his school days, British regiment and other love affairs they had shared. The story is a big question to the people who talk about religion and have divided the country and its people. In the character of Rab Nawaz, Saadat Hasan Manto depicted the confusion of the soldiers as for what exactly they are fighting the war for? Whether it is for Kashmir or for the Muslims, which Saadat Hasan Manto narrated in the thoughts of Rab Nawaz as:

“Were the Pakistani soldiers fighting for Kashmir or for the Muslims in Kashmir? If they were being asked to fight in defence of the Muslims of Kashmir, why had they not been asked to fight for the Muslims of the princely states of Junagarh and Hyderabad? And if this was an Islamic war, then why were other Muslim
countries of the world not fighting shoulder to shoulder
with them?"164

On the incident of Jallianwala Baugh massacre, Amritsar, one story 'The Price of
Freedom'165 was written by Saadat Hasan Manto. This story have a large canvas which
begins with the life of a common man, Gulam Ali, to whom Saadat Hasan Manto
ironically called Shehzada, who was very active in the freedom struggle campaign, and
ends on his personal life.

In the story, Punjab became the hub of many different political activities, in which
people participated with full enthusiasm. In the Jallianwala Baugh youngsters, old people,
workers, women, students, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs all used to participate for the struggle
to make India free from the hands of the cruel Raj. In the same Baugh many tents were
placed and in the bigger tent used to live the 'Dictator'. Dictator will be the person who
will guide all the people, in the Baugh, for their roles in the freedom struggle. This
particular aspect of the story showed Manto's wide range of knowledge which was not
limited to India, but throughout the world with all its aspects. As that was the time of
Hitler, the dictator of Italy, Shehzada Gulam Ali was the 41st dictator who falls in love
with Nigar, who was also a freedom fighter.

After this the story takes a very different turn when Gulam Ali and Nigar get
married, as announced by Babaji; in the same event that they both take the pledge to live
as friends even after their wedding and not as the husband and wife till India will achieve
its freedom. The decision is quite illogical as for the human needs and psychology. When
the spirit of the people came to a halt they, Gulam Ali and Nigar, realized their mistake
and took up normal life.

In this story Saadat Hasan Manto raised the question on Gandhian philosophy 'to
quit' something which is needful and necessary. Was that possible for Nigar and
Shehzada to live a life ignoring each other and their psychological needs to have a child,
to live a normal life as a married couple? Though the character of Shehezada is somehow
following the Gandhian philosophy but he was not great as him, who had the charm and
was ready to quit anything that could come in his way to attain his goal.
In the story Saadat Hasan Manto somehow supported the Gandhian philosophy but at the same time showed disagreement with some of the ideologies.

The third story to be discussed on freedom struggle and politics in Amritsar is ‘It Happened in 1919’, in which Saadat Hasan Manto talked about the scenes and happenings before the blood shedding event of Jallianwala Baugh. The story begins with the lines:

“It happened in 1919. The whole of Punjab was up in arms against the Rowlett Act. Sir Michael Dwyer had banned Gandhiji’s entry into the province under the Defense of India rules. He had been stopped at Pulwal, took into custody and sent to Bombay. I believe if the British had not made this blunder, the Jallianwala Baug incident would not have added a bloody page to the black history of their rule in India.”

With the central character of the story, Thalia Kanjar, Saadat Hasan Manto showed his disagreement and anger on the arrest of Gandhiji and different events. He boldly rejects the political ideology of Britishers to stop a person, like Gandhiji, the national hero, to do something good for the society.

Thalia Kanjar does not have any specialty. He was the son of a prostitute and brother to two beautiful prostitutes. When people want to destroy the Statue of the Queen, he directed them to do something better to teach a lesson to the whites. And in the influence they marched towards the British soldiers. In response the soldiers opened fire and bullets hits Thalia, but he didn’t stop and died killing a British Tommy, by grabbing him by his neck.

Without any looseness in the plot of the story, he talks about the political degradation in skillfull manner.
‘Khuni Thook’ is another story of Saadat Hasan Manto, in which he protested against the British Raj. The incident in the story took place at a railway station. People were standing on the platform in the hot sun, waiting for the train; where as an English man was sitting comfortably smoking in the refreshment room, of the station, waiting for the arrival of the train. Poor porters were waiting for the train and passengers to whom they will help for alighting or boarding the train with their luggage and could earn one anna so as to arrange for their livelihood.

When the train arrived, the English man boards the train and became angry on one of the porters, who was carrying his luggage and was a little bit late to get it. He insulted him in front of the people but nobody spoke anything. The porter became restless when he called him a thief, but he remained quiet as he was an Indian, a slave. But when the English man goes on humiliating him, he proceeds towards him in anger. On watching this, the English man hits him on his chest with his sharp nailed shoes. The porter falls on the platform and becomes unconscious. On watching this, two youngsters, Khalid and Masood, move towards the English man in anger. By understanding the attitude of both the youngsters and the crowd and the complex situation, he immediately gives a ten rupees note in the hand of Masood, considering money as the price for his mistake. When the porter heard that, he became restless, a reservoir of blood was running from his mouth, in anger he spits on the face of the English man and died. Afterwards, police arrested that English man, a case being filed and in the hearing, the judge releases him with minimum fine as a punishment.

In this story Saadat Hasan Manto had portrayed the harsh attitude and behaviour of the foreigner towards an Indian. By the incident of a porter, spitting on the face of a British, Saadat Hasan Manto not only gave instruction to Indians to take revenge but also pushes them to stand against the British Raj and to protest against them.

In another story ‘Co-operation’ Saadat Hasan Manto rejected the Gandhian Philosophy and political ideologies of co-operating with the Britishers, in the First World War and protesting the violence and injustice in a non-violent way which he considers as futile. He being the revolutionary in thinking and sprit supports violent way of Bhagat Singh to get his country free from the Raj.
The story begins with people attempting to loot a big residential house. The person presents in the house guided people as to how to take the things without fighting and destroying the surroundings. What and how to carry different precious things, showing concern for each of them in the house. And when suddenly a dog emerged from nowhere he screamed and instructed it to be away from the rioters and helping people to go around with their looting. When asked by a rioter, about his identity, he calmly says that he owns that house.

This story we could consider as a political satire on the ideology of the people who were wrongly and famously involved in the freedom struggle.

Assuming the rioters to be Britishers, we could see that how hungry they were for the prosperity and wealth of India, the big residential house. And the thin, slim middle aged man to be the politician, who wanted to get rid of these Britishers with cooperation and non-violence. The irony of a dog, appearing and reaching to the neck of the rioters, depicts the anger among common people, for the looting and insults by the Britishers. But were being asked to keep quiet and the rioters do their work, is the taunt on the people who in any circumstance don’t want to join violence.

Saadat Hasan Manto opposed the politicians and their politics, on the basis of religion for their own glorification. He firmly rejected hypocrisy and deception. He was not worried for the failures in his life but was much concerned about the deteriorating communal relationship between the two major communities of India. He wrote:

“The Muslim League is a mosque; Congress is a temple, he discovered, 'This is what people think and that is what the newspaper says as well. The congress wanted Sawraj and so did the Muslim League. But both have separate ways and do not work together because temple and mosque have nothing in common.” 169

The same disagreement, between All India Muslim League and Congress, was shown and mocked by him in his short story ‘Three simple Statements’ in which he
talked about the urinal, which was not far from the Congress House and Jinnah Hall. He in some manner compared the urinal to the politics in the name of religion.

The way a public urinal is free for all, to come and answer their nature’s call, a place to dump all the rubbishes, political parties were dumping their hatful thoughts by their political statements and actions. As in the story he depicts that the first time when he used that urinal he saw the statement written on the wall which said:

“'ram Pakistan up the you-know-what of the Muslims.'"\(^ {170} \)

Hurriedly in fear he left the place. The second time when he visited the same place he saw a line written below the first one, which said:

'ram Akhand Bharat up the you-know-what of the Hindus."\(^ {171} \)

The third time he saw the third statement was added in those two:

'ram Mother India up the you-know-what of both Muslims and Hindus."\(^ {172} \)

In very ironical words he passed his real and cruel judgments on the political conditions and situations along with the politician’s behaviour, signifying the urinal to politics. In a sarcastic manner he talked about the politicians, who, in day light talked about the freedom struggle, religion and equality to all, whereas oppose to their travel in car or tonga, protecting their religions and beliefs, putting everything aside. Saadat Hasan Manto never supported any particular ideology. He was in favor of the government which will be equal to all irrespective of religion and faith. If Saadat Hasan Manto was against the British Rule in India he was rejecting a Republic ideology for the nation too. Because he was well aware about the fact that if this will happen, if India becomes the Republic nation, one party which is in power will try to suppress the one who could be in minority. He was against leaderism, where people follow a person as a leader to achieve something. Regarding this hatred he penned down his story called ‘Motri’ which reflects his disbelief on political parties.
‘The Great Divide’ is a short story of Saadat Hasan Manto in which he talks about the life of the people after partition. Kareem Dad and Jeena are the central characters of the story. Kareem Dad believed that:

“Whatever happened was because of our own mistake.”

After everything settled down he got married to Jeena, who lost her brother in the mayhem. They were expecting the birth of their first child. When the month of Muharram came she expressed her desire to Karim that she wants to see Muharram procession.

The news of India Pakistan war was in the air. People were talking about the war and were afraid with its disaster. Frustrated with the news that India is going to divert the river water that waters their fields, he angrily replied when being asked for his opinion:

“How can I answer this? It’s not I alone who am involved, but hundreds upon thousands of others”.

When he gets the news of the birth of his waited child and asked on name he said fearlessly, that he will name his new born baby boy as Yazid. Jeena shows her disagreement of naming her child with an evil personality. But the last sentence makes our blood freeze when Karim said:

“That Yazid dammed water; this one will make them flow again.”

In this story he actually shows the brutality of politics to dam and reduce the water supply of the river, to the other nation and people. Till now we see the issue related to the rivers like Sutluj, Jhelam, etc. Thus, making the reader wait and feel the problem on day to day life of the people who suffered the partition and were the victims of politics of some very few people, who wanted to gain powers.

Human history or the history of mankind is the story of evaluation from the savage culture and constitution, to the cultured constitution, in which we live today. The savage constitution has the basic rule of power i.e. on the base of your power win and
relish. In today’s modernized culture we call it injustice. On this power Italy encountered a war in Tripoli, in the year 1912. Meanwhile the State of Balkan got united and declared war against Turkey. As the fight was ongoing First World War broke out, in the civilized countries. On this issue Wajahat Masood wrote as:

“Ye aalami jung ek siyasi katal se shuru hoi aur mutharib farik mukhtalif makasid ke saat is jung me sharik hoai. Kisi ko aalami mandiyoon par ajara da rker tha to kisi ko jamhoriyat ka faroog aziz that to kisi ko naye jungi hatyaro ki azmaish matloob thi.”

(The First World War, started with a political murder and many other powers of the world participated in it, with different aims. Some wanted to get their hold over the international markets, few wanted to protect their colonies, whereas, others wanted to promote democracy and few others wanted to test their war arms and ammunition).

20th century holds importance in the history of mankind. It is the century which is full of good and bitter happenings. India and its subcontinents were under the rule of British. Hindus and Muslims both tried to be honest with the British Raj as thinking of their rule over India and its subcontinent. But when Japan won over Russia, in 1905, the magic or western supremacy broke with a loud noise which resulted in the political consciousness among its people. Both sides of people tried to prove their loyalty to the British Raj, thus, in the First War of independence 1857, we lost completely to them. To discuss this issue Sayed Hasan Riyaz writes:

“Hakikat ye hai ke angreezo ne bade zahanat se Hindustan me apne tajroba istamal kiye. Muslamano ko unki tahzeeb, tamaddumn, illm or siyasi iqtadar ke buland maqam se girakar un par maash ke tamam darwaze band kar ke, hukomat ke tahzeer se dara kar ataat par amjboor kiya to Hindu ko ye yaken dilaya ke Britain ki takat war sanginiyon ki himayat me un ko
(Reality is that Britishers have used their earlier experiences, with intelligence in getting power over India. They got Muslims down, from their highest point of education, power and respect. With power, pressure of government and unemployment they make Muslims to obey them, and with the assurance to rule over India bought the support of the Hindus).

Though, Russia was the most powerful nation among the Europeans, but in 1905, after getting defeated by Japan, its hold over the European politics shattered. To which Saadat Hasan Manto wrote as:

"1905 me he mazduroon ne apne mutalbat ke haq me ek muzahara kiya. Jis par mazduroon ke is guraho par hukumat ki taraf se gooliya chalayai gai aur sekdo mazdoor mashal-e-aazadi par pawarna war fida ho gaye."179

(In the year 1905, when labourers/ employers demonstrated against the government for their rights, the government answered them with bullets and hundreds of labourers, with the hope of achieving freedom have sacrificed their lives.)

In India, at the end of the First World War, under the presidency of Sir Sidney Rowlett, British government formed a committee in the year 1919. The aim of the committee was to investigate the revolutionary planning against British Raj and to look for ways to overcome. The report was presented in 1919, which formed the base for the Government of India Act,180 which gave powers to the government to arrest without hearing or a jury. People of India protested against the Act and at the peak of the protest was the incident and massacre of Jallianwala Baugh, where on the command of General Dwyer, police opened fire, on the unarmed and innocent people, who gathered to celebrate Baisakhi. This massacre led to the feeling of hatred against the Raj. On the Government of India Act, Syed Razi Wasti wrote:
“During the war, the government by passing ‘Defence of India Act 1915’ armed itself with extensive powers to suppress the revolutionary activities.”

When the Khilafat Movement started in Turkey, in India, Muslims formed the Khilafat Committee, to support the movement. Gandhiji headed the committee and announced the Non-Cooperation movement against the government. Maulana Mohammad Ali Johar and Maulana Shaukat Ali, agitated for the movement, with their speeches and processions, to demonstrate Hindu Muslim unity. On which Chaudhary Mohammed Ali wrote:

“Gandhiji ne apni siyasi basarat se Muslim awam me Tehreek-e-Khilafat se wabasta josh-o-khrosh ko Hindustan ki aazadi ke liye istamal karne ka faisla kiya. Ahl-e-Hind ne sarkari khatabat wapas kiye aur gairmulki masnwaat ka mukammal mukataa kiya”.

(With his political awareness Gandhiji decided to use the Khilafat Movement for the independence struggle in India. Indians returned the titles, given by the British Raj and people boycotted foreign goods).

This was the background in which Saadat Hasan Manto emerged as a writer. The situations in which he grew up are reflected in his stories, sketches, dramas and letters. Saadat Hasan Manto represented the ill, bad and ridiculous society to which he belonged in a sharp and sensitive way. He was completely connected and engrossed with the age he belonged. The reason for this could be his consciousness, which was far better and clear than a nationalist or a common sensitive human being. The age and time in which Saadat Hasan Manto grew up, was the age of rebellion as a result it became one unseparable part of his nature, thinking and writing. The number of the human lives and human blood wasted in the twentieth century, was unmatchable with the past history of decades of any country in the world. The development of arms and ammunitions were on the vast scale, and the use of those arms and ammunitions were the highest in number in history of world. So how come Saadat Hasan Manto will not pay any attention to these
things. Because a writer is the one, who brings out the original face of the time, apart from others who juxtapose things as per their thinking or for favors.

With serious and sharp conciseness, Saadat Hasan Manto saw his age, the political happenings and presented them in front of his readers in the form of short stories. He had mastery to portray the truth in a few words or sentences, sometimes in more than a paragraph. With less but sharp words he reflected things or thoughts in a cruel manner. The First World War started when Saadat Hasan Manto, was only 2 years old (1914). But this World War left remarkable and long lasting impact on India and its subcontinent, even though it had nothing to do with it. The awareness about self and the need of independence was a much talked issue. The victory of Japan over Russia was the seed for rebellion. Japan proved its bravery and war strategies as superior on the other western countries of the world. At the same time the image and rule of ‘Whites’ on Asia was in deteriorating condition. The talk for independence was very common among the young generation of India at that time and they were getting ready to revolt against the British Raj. Saadat Hasan Manto was much impressed with the thoughts of Russo and the French Revolution, was a favorite issue of his talk. On this Ayesha Jalal, who supposed to be his niece, wrote:

“Inspired by Bhagat Singh’s sacrifice for the nationalist cause, Saadat Hasan Manto and Hasan Abbas began fantasizing about becoming revolutionaries and driving the British out of India. Instead of doing their work in class ten, they spread out a map of the world and plotted their overland escape route to Moscow. Amritsar was Moscow for them and its streets the venue where they wanted to see autocratic and oppressive rulers brought down and made to eat a humble pie.”

All the youngsters belonging to the age group of Saadat Hasan Manto were with same feelings, to which Saadat Hasan Manto writes as:
“Baug main jutne phool the sab ke sab bagi ho gai. Gulab ke seene me bagawat ke aag bhadak rhai thi. Us ne apne kantoon bhari garden uthai aur gaur-o-fikar ko balai thak rakhte hoi apne sathiyon se … “kise ko koi haq nahi ke hamare pasine se apne aish ka saman muhayya kare. Hamari zindage ki bahare hamare liye hai aur hum us main kisi ke shirkat gawara nahi karegain.”\textsuperscript{184}

(All the flowers in the garden became rebellious. Everyone in the garden was in complete favor of the revolt. The rose, by raising his head full of thorns and speaks to its co flowers that it’s no one’s right to relish on our hard work. The spring of our lives is for us and we will never allow anyone to interfere with it).

The youngsters of India were rebellious and were ready and were planning to revolt against the British rule. But they lacked leadership. There was no one who could guide them as a group. All the struggle and disobedience were individual attempts. Though they were creating problems for the Britishers, but they were alone and without proper guidance, whereas to win us freedom, joint efforts and leadership was need of the time. Nobody or nothing can act as a hindrance to achieve freedom from the clutches of England, if Indian people came together to do so. But this unity was absent in our efforts. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote regarding this in the same story:

“Katra katra mil kar darya banta hai. Go hum natwa phool hai laikin agar hum sab mil gai to koi wajah nahi ke hum apni jaan ke dushman ko pis kar na rakh de. Hamari pattiya agar khushboi paida kar sakti hai to zahraili gas bhi tayyar kar sakti hai.”\textsuperscript{185}

(Drop by drop forms a river. Even though we are weak flowers, if we all will be together there is no reason that we cannot crash the opponent. If our weak petals can turn into beautiful fragrances and perfumes it is no doubt that it will turn into poisonous gas?)
The issue of Gallipoli\textsuperscript{186} was the hottest talk of the First World War. The attacks of England and France on Gallipoli (1916) were, with the view to overtake or to win over Constantinople and to win over the sea route to Russia. It was a suggestion of Sir Churchill, who was then the Prime Minister of United Kingdom. But strong resistance of the Turkish soldiers and their attempt to stop them from doing so was the result of England returning defeated from there. The credit for Turkish win went to Ghazi Mustafa Kamal. Saadat Hasan Manto, was quite aware of the political happenings of the world, which can be evident by his short story under the title ‘Kali Shalwar’.

\begin{quote}
\indent \textit{“Jab tak tarikh me Gallipoli ka wakiyan maujood hai bartaniya ki garden Turk ke samne hamesha kalam rah egi. Jab ye alfaz jalsagah me boland hoi to inquilab zindabad ke naare mutwatir paanch minute tak buland hote rahe.”}\textsuperscript{187}
\end{quote}

(Till the time the incident and name of Gallipoli is alive in history, England will always be dishonored before Turkey, because it was only Trukese, who competed with England and it was the warrior Mustafa Kamal, who, like the warrior Salhahuddin Ayyubi, was fighting against them. He, on the point of his sword made European nations realize his powers. When those words were being spoken in the procession ground, the slogan of ‘Inquilab Zindabad’ continued for five minutes).

Indian muslims were seeing their independence with Mustafa Kamal. As they were the slaves of the British rule they dream and consider Mustafa Kamal as the hero, who will get those Britishers out of their nation and considered him, the one, who will bring independence to them. With regards to Mustafa Kamal, Saadat Hasan Manto, wrote in one of his collection of short stories which named as ‘Dhuan’. He wrote:

\begin{quote}
\indent \textit{“Mustafa Kamal ki azmat mukhtasar alfazme bayan nahi ho sakti. Us ne Turkey se jhalat ka divaliya nikal diya. Talima am kar di, naye roshni ki shuaao ko phelaya. Us ne deen ko ilm se alhada kiya to bahut se kadamat pasando ne us ki mukhalifat ki magar woh sar-e-bazaar phanse par latka diye gai. Us ne jab ye farman jari kiya}
\end{quote}
ke koi Turk Roomy topi na pehne to bahut se jahil logo
ne us ke khilaf uthana chaha, magar ye awaz un ke gale
me hi daba di gai. Us ne jab ye hukm diya kea azan
Turkey zaban me hu to bahut se mullao ne hukmadoli ke
magar who katal kar diye gai.”

(It is impossible to narrate the magnificence of Mustafa Kamal in few words. He
bankrupted the ignorance, publicized the education and spreads the light of new thinking.
He separated religion from education, but many conservative people protested against it.
Those people were executed in the market. When he announced that no Turk will put a
Rummy cap, many raised voice against this, but they were killed. When he ordered to call
Aazan (prayer call) in Turkish language, preachers who violated the order were
killed).

When Mustafa Kamal, introduced some changes in the pattern of Khilafat
structure, the religious leaders were against it and there was hue and cry in their circle.
But in the story, in the procession hall people were not ready to listen to anything against
him, because it is our custom that once, when we develop loyalty for someone or
something we reject every word that comes against him. In his short stories Saadat Hasan
Manto also pinpointed the weakness of Indian politics, that the people belonging to this
nation are very fond of assemblies and processions and never entertain any thought
against their beliefs. On this issue Dr. Anwar Ahmed wirts as:

“Matami Jalsa waise to barsagir ke auami aur siyasi
mizaj ka mazhar hai ta ham ye Musalmano ki umimi
nafsiyat aur siyasi jazbat ka aks-e-sadik hai.”

(Though ‘Matami Jalsa’ is a reflection of political temperament of the people of
India and its subcontinent, but it is more a true source to understand the common
psychology and political passion of Muslims).

In reply to the help, by force, Indian provided to the British Government, in the
First World War (manpower, money and resources), the government agitated a
committee under the guidance of Sir Sydney Rowlett to keep a check on the revolutionary activities and criminal on goings. On his suggestion in 1919 the government introduced the Rowlett Act\textsuperscript{190} and the complete nation was under shock. On this Act and its effect Saadat Hasan Manto wrote in one of his story which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“It happened in 1919. The whole of Punjab was up in arms against the Rowlett Act. Sir Michael O’Dwyer had banned Gandhiji’s entry into the province under the Defence of India Rules. He had been stopped at Pulwal, taken into custody and sent to Bombay. I believe if the British had not made this blunder, the Jallianwala Baugh incident would not have added a bloody page to the black history of their rule in India.”\textsuperscript{191}

Lieutenant Governor Sir Michael O’ Dwyer was so particular and rigid about this Act that he did not tolerated even a single disobedience against it. To suppress this political awareness he used the arms and ammunition in Punjab, because Punjab was the hub of revolutionary activities. He feared that the agitation would spread to other places and cities. On this injustice Saadat Hasan Manto writes in the same story as:

“I was a witness to a procession taken out to celebrate a Hindu festival, and I can assure you it was the most peaceful thing I ever saw. It faithfully kept to the route marked out by the officials, but this Sir Michael was half mad. They said he refused to follow the deputy commoner’s advice because he was convinced that Kitchlew and Satyapal were in Amritsar waiting for a signal from Gandhiji before proceeding to topple the government. In his view the protest meeting and processions were all part of this grand conspiracy.” \textsuperscript{192}
Dr. Gulam Ahmed Zulfikar wrote regarding this in his book named ‘Jallianwala Baugh ka Kattleam aur Mazallim Punjab’ that Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Mazhur-al-Haq and Pandit Madan Mohan, resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council, protesting against the Rowlett Act. The whole nation was under shock and was angry which at last resulted as a steam against the British Raj and the foundation of the government was shaken. But Saadat Hasan Manto thinks that it is the disloyalty of few people belonging to our circle, only helped Britishers in their cruel action. Saadat Hasan Manto, wrote on this in one of his short story called ‘Yazid’ in which he made a person in the crowd say:

“Is mukadas shaher me jo kuch aaj se panch baras phene hoa us ke zimmedar bhi angreez hai. Bhaijaan!
Par sach poocheiye to us lahoo me jo waha baha hai hamare apne hi hath range hoi nazar aate hai.”

To which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“Whatever happened was because of our own mistake.”

Deputy Commissioner Mr. Erwin arrested Dr. Saifuddin Kachlo and Dr. Satyapal, which gave rise to frustration among the Indian people. People were angry and marched towards the bungalow of Deputy Commissioner. Near bridge few people died and few others got injured in police firing. On this incident the feeling of unrest spread among the people of Amritsar and they came out in the form of a procession. On this Governor called Brigadier General Dwyer and announced restriction on all assemblies and processions.

As discussing this issue Gulam Hasan Zulfikar wrote that on 12 April, after noon time, people participated in a meeting arranged by Hansraj at Hindu Maha Sabah High School, where he announced a procession on 13 April at the Jallianwala Baug.
On receiving the news of the assembly, General Dwyer reached the place and people heard the noise of airplanes on their heads. Here Saadat Hasan Manto, with the mouth of seven year old Khalid speaks as:

“In jahazwalo ke pass bahut se gole hai. Agar unhone is kisam ki koi shararat ki to yaad rakhye mere pass bhi ek bandook hai.”

(These people who own airplanes have bombs in abundance. But father you remember if they are going to play such tricks then even I have a gun.)

Rubina Yasmin, quotes the words of Gulam Hasan Zulfikar, who narrates this incident in words as when the airplane, passes over the assembly ground they took a down way and a small flag was shown from the cockpit to which Hansraj responded by showing his handkerchief. After that suddenly the platoon of soldiers entered the Baug and on the order of General Dwyer started firing on people, present on the ground. All these happenings are interred connected which reflect the consciousness of Saadat Hasan Manto. On seeing soldiers, few people stood up to leave the place. But Hansraj calmed them by saying that Government will never shoot, and when they heard firing noise he said it is only fire. So according to Saadat Hasan Manto, it was us only, who helped and encouraged General to do so. With the battalion on the exit gate and the order of General, soldiers fired on the unarmed and innocent people. Many died and others were injured. Soldiers were firing till they finished all their bullets. And so the incident of Jallianwala Baugh became a black page of British Rule.

The political awareness of Saadat Hasan Manto, understood the fact that the lust for power is blind and to achieve it treachery and the disloyalty is the basic weapon. In this incident Hansraj was the trencher who after words turns as the witness for the government.

The story ‘1919 ki ek Baat’ written by Saadat Hasan Manto, which Khalid Hasan translated as ‘It Happened in 1919’, in which he wrote:
“But my friend, believe me, the times were out of joint. That this extremely reasonable request would be even heard was out of the question. Sir Michael was like a Pharaoh and we were not surprised when he declared the gathering itself unlawful.”¹⁹⁸

Injured people were running out for safety and medical help and in that succumbed to their injuries and died on the road. To describe the insensitivity of the government Saadat Hasan Manto wrote:

“Be saaz-o-barg afrac ko uthane ke liye hukumat ke arbab-e-hal-o-akad ne aahani gadiyan muhayya kar rakhi thi. Magar us...zyada khufnak aur bhayanak hai.”¹⁹⁹

(To clear the death and unclaimed bodies off the road, government has arranged the vehicles... but death is more horrible).

The oppression didn’t end here; the government imposes martial law in Punjab and oppression reached to its height. Compelled to this Saadat Hasan Manto, in the voice of Khalid, speaks the thoughts of Indian people:

“Allahmiyan! Main dua karta ho ke tu is master ko jis ne is ladke to pita hai aachi tarah saaza de aur iski chadi cheen le jis ke istamaal se khoon nikal aata hai.”²⁰⁰

(Oh God! I pray to you that please punish the teacher who beats that boy and along with it take away the stick from him, which cause bloody wounds, when used).

Here the ‘Stick’ resembles ‘power’ and ‘Master’ resembles ‘British Government’, who at the height of power fired till end, on the innocent and unarmed Indians, and
created a bloody history, which the young generation cannot overlook, the massacre, thousands of youngsters with agony, hate the incident. The attack of Udham Singh on Michael O’ Dwyer was proof of people’s distress and hate for the killer. Udham Singh was around fifteen years and was present in the procession. He managed to save himself by hiding behind the dead bodies. After 21 years of the massacre on 12 March 1940, he shoots Dwyer to death when he was leaving, after a public talk at Keaston Hall, London. Michal died on the spot. Udham Singh reported his name as Mohammed Singh to the police and was hanged to death on 31st July 1940, by a court judgment.

By self, Saadat Hasan Manto, respected the martyr and was against the oppression. Saadat Hasan Manto supported the extremist ideology for achieving freedom, which demands sacrifice. He knew that obscurity will end but when? Saadat Hasan Manto had the ideology in which he reflected as:

“Inqualabi wo hai jo har na insafe aur galti par chilla utte… Inqalabi wo hai jo sab zamino, sab aasmano aur sab takato ka mujasssam geet ho… inqalabe ek thos hakikat hai. Ye yahan maujood hai es ki lahreen badh rahi hai. Kaun hai jo is ko rook sakta hai? Ye bandh bandhne par naruk sakegi.”

(A revolutionary is the one who protests each injustice… A revolutionary is the one song of complete earth, sky and all the powers. Revolution is a reality and its waves are rising and who can stop it? Even if it is being dammed it will not stop).

The wounds of the Jallianwala Baugh Massacre were still souring, when the Indian Muslims were facing a new trouble. This was a united conspiracy to divide Turkey in parts because it was a country that supported Germans, in the First World War. As Germany was defeated in the war so according to the Treaty of Versailles of June 1919, Turkey had to dissolve its military forces. All the war equipment, jet crafts and rail roads went under the control of the United winners, whereas the internal affairs remained and were to be managed by the Turkey Government. On this the Muslim community of India started the Khilafat movement to save the Usmani Khilafat in
Turkey. Gandhiji as a leader guided the movement as he realized that if this power which is generated to safeguard the Khilafat can bring Hindu Muslim unity and the way for achieving Sawraj will be faster and easier. Gandhiji announced a complete boycott of the foreign goods and in the movement, got the title as Mahatma. Gandhiji convinced people that if the non-cooperation movement and proper way will be followed by all within a year we could win our freedom, because Jallianwala Baugh massacre was new and have left an unforgettable impact on the mind and psychology of the common people, they were very active and were ready to get arrested and were shouting the slogan ‘Inquilab Zindabad’.202

Manto writes in one of his story named ‘Namrood ki Khudai’:

“log angreezo aur angrizi masnuaat ki khilaf muzahere karte aur aise me mera ji chahta ke kahi se pistol hath aajai to ek dhashatpasand party bana li jayee.”203

Which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“There was a boycott of all imported cloth in effect. Every street had its own bonfire. People would walk up, take off every imported piece of clothing they were wearing and chuck it into the fire.”204

For Saadat Hasan Manto, revolution and freedom, these two thoughts were so powerful that he wanted to see the characters like Hitler and Mussolini happening in India. Saadat Hasan Manto, writes in the same story ‘Namrood ki Khudai’ which Khalid Hasan translated as the ‘Price of Freedom’. He writes:

“In those days, the German and Italian dictatorships were the new thing in Europe, which is what had perhaps inspired the Indian National Congress to designate certain party worker as ‘dictator’.”205
Saadat Hasan Manto wanted to achieve freedom and self-reliance and thinks and relates every activity as a struggle for achieving it. When the young extremist reached Turkey to help them to win over they realized that they are here fighting for Turkey to win freedom whereas their own nation is dominated and ruled by foreigners. Saadat Hasan Manto realized the deception of politics. People were turning their ear from the threats given by the British Government. At the same time when the Non Cooperation Movement was on its peak, Gandhiji announced to stop it and withdrew the movement. On this Saadat Hasan Manto wrote:

“Firangi siyasatdano ne is tahreek ka doodh ubalne diya aur jab Hindustan ke bade leadron ke saath koi samjhota ho to ye tehreek tandi lassi me tabdil ho gai.”

(Foreign politicians allowed the milk of this movement to get to boil and when negotiated with the national leaders the hot milk of the movement turned into the cold buttermilk.)

Regarding the Non Cooperation Movement, Chaudhry Mohammad Ali writes that the decision of Gandhiji to withdraw the movement had spread distress and disappointment among the leaders and common people of India. If this Movement would have been continued, the British had to accept our demands. Saadat Hasan Manto felt sad for the people of India, who were fighting for Independence since 1857, but politicians and other name sake leaders were not letting them to get united and work for it. Saadat Hasan Manto’s consciousness understood politics and politicians and their role in the freedom struggle. On this issue regarding politics and politicians Manto wrote:

“Hindustan ko sawraj is liye nahi mil raha hai ke yahan madari zyada hai aur leader kam ... aur jo hai wo kawaneen-e-fitrat ke khilaf chal rahe hai. Iman aur saafdili ka birth control karne ke liye un logo ne siyasat aijad kar li hai aur yahi siyasat hai jis ne aazadi ke raham ka moo band kar diya hai.”
India is unable to achieve freedom because here leaders are less in number, where as the conjurers are in abundance. And the leaders are acting against law of wisdom. To control the birth of faith, open heartiness they discovered politics and it is this politics which has closed the mouth of the womb of freedom.

Saadat Hasan Manto supported the relationship of behaviour and society. Saadat Hasan Manto was much influenced by the French philosopher, Russo and supported his rights and beliefs and was a big voice for him in India. As discussing this Dr. Raush Nadeem wrote that the resentment between behaviour and society was an indication of the search of balance which can get political as well as social scenario of the colony to a level and to bring satisfaction.

Saadat Hasan Manto had a deep understanding of the politics, political issues and leaders of India and thus, correctly believed that freedom is for away for the people of India. Once, when the Khilafat Movement got over, riots between Hindus and Muslims started. Riots were on their peak in the years from 1923 to 1927. But the British Government was not at all worried, where as they by themselves were giving rise to the riots, as following their policy of ‘Divide and Rule’, and for doing so Hindus and Muslims were easy targets.

In this scenario and situation of riots and unbelievable happenings the young generation, like Bhagat Singh and others, were fighting for the cause of freedom. Britishers, after realizing the danger from Bhagat Singh, charged him life term for the bomb blast in the court and later on 23rd March, 1913 executed him under the charge of killing a British Officer. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote on it as he was against the execution of Bhagat Singh. He was a great fan of Bhagat Singh and had his photo pasted in his room where he used to live in Amritsar. As wrote down by Ayesha Jalal:

“The wall of Dar-ul-Ahmar reflected the primary tension in Manto’s life. Opposite a wall decorated with posters of Joan Crawford, Marlene Dietrich, and Bhagat Singh was a photograph of his father…looked on disapprovingly at what was going on in the room.”
The period between 1930 and 1935 was full of distress for the people of India. There was no proper leader to guide the tumult of the people. In the situation people were hopeful that the new constitution will bring some change, which will be favorable for the Indians. This new constitution for which they were full of hope was the Government of India Act 1935. But, politically aware people, like Saadat Hasan Manto, were completely aware of the deception behind it. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote regarding this act in one of his stories named as “Naya Kanoon”, \(^{210}\) Which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“These congressites want to win India its freedom. Well, you take my words; they will get nowhere even if they keep bashing their heads against the wall for a thousand years.

At the most, the Angrez will leave, but then you will get may be the Italywala or the Russiawala. I have heard that the Russiawala is one tough fellow. But Hindustan will always remain enslaved. Yes, I forgot to tell you that part of the saint’s curse on Akbar, which said that India will always be ruled by foreigners.”\(^{211}\)

Saadat Hasan Manto’s consciousness realized the truth that even if England leaves India, it will be occupied by some other power. And it happened too, when India won its freedom in 1947, the main benefit went to the capitalists of both the sides. Common people were in distress and problem is same at that time and now too in the 21\(^{st}\) century. By the end of 1935 people of India and its subcontinent were realizing the bitter truth that these European masters rule them and at the same time have contempt and treat them as low. They realized the fact that British treat them with hatred and unlawfully rule over them. For this Saadat Hasan Manto, gave the voice to Mangu Kochwan, the central character of his story ‘Naya Kanoon’, who speaks:
“Look at them, came to the door to borrow a light and the next thing you knew they owned the whole house. I am sick and tired of these offshoots of monkeys.

The way they order us around, you would think we were their father’s servants.”\textsuperscript{212}

Saadat Hasan Manto was sincerely in favor of the Russian Revolution and used to think after the revolution here in India even we will get a federation type of government. In the thoughts of Mangu Kochwan, Saadat Hasan Manto reflects the truth that what common people needed from the government. As, according to Mangu Tongawala, new constitution is one new and bright morning which will put an end to all their misery and after all that the problems will get over. But the new constitution was not as per the expectations of the people. It was actually a trick by the government which Mangu Kochwan considered as the whole truth and in that thought he beats up the British Tommy who once humiliated him. Saadat Hasan Manto writes:

“He was thrashing the gora to his heart’s content while shouting, “The same cockiness even on 1\textsuperscript{st} April! Well, sonny boy, it is our Raj now.”\textsuperscript{213}

Regarding the story ‘New Constitution’ Abu Alaes Siddiqui in his book ‘Manto Kya Tha’, wrote that this is a story which reflects our desire, supplication and failure. Saadat Hasan Manto, wanted to convey with this story that whatever constitution, new or old, it is only meant to empower the British Raj in India and was not of any benefit for the people of India and its subcontinent.

Saadat Hasan Manto was well aware about the politicians and their tricks to get the favor of people. He hated fake promises and fruitless dreams of the political leaders. To bring into the forefront the reality and hidden aim of a few politicians, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote, in one of his essay ‘Hindustan ko Leader se Bachao’, which is translated by Aakar Patel as ‘Save India from its Leaders’. Saadat Hasan Manto writes in the essay which is translated as:
“We’ve been hearing this for some time now – Save India from this, save India from that. The fact is that India needs to be saved from the people who say it should be saved.”

In the same essay he convicts the politicians for their aims and the choice of way for achieving those. He writes:

“Their concerns are personal, not national, and so occupied are they with this that there’s actually no space for us. These people, who can’t even run their homes efficiently, and whose character is lowly, wants to straighten out the country and lectures us on what is right.”

He blames leaders for mixing politics with religion and faith. He explains this in his same essay, that how these people, politicians, exploit the common people on the name of religion. He writes:

“These people – ‘leaders’ – see religion and politics as same lame, crippled man. …When these leaders shed tears and wail, “Mazhab khatre me hai” (religion is in danger). It is all rubbish. Faith isn’t the sort of the thing that came into danger in the first place. If anything is danger, it’s these leaders who want to be saved by claiming religion a peril.

Save India from its leaders, who are poisoning our atmosphere?”

He asks question to the people in the same essay:

“They raise and make huge sum of money for themselves as you have seen, but have they told you how unemployment will end? They scream ‘religion’ all the
time but when did they last follow the teaching of the faith.”

He wanted to see leaders or politicians as persons who will guide them till the end of achieving freedom. For this he writes in the same essay:

“India doesn’t need many leaders each singing a different tune from others, but those who sing together using the same words. We need only one, as wise as the Calipha Umar and as brave as Ataturk.”

The consciousness of Saadat Hasan Manto, has realized the difference in between the talk and act of the politicians of India and because of this he was annoyed and upset with them. It is strange to understand and recognize the fact, what Saadat Hasan Manto realized seventy years before, that these people who call themselves as the politicians and the well-wishers of the nation and people are of the same nature and behaviour as they were at the time which Saadat Hasan Manto belonged, who think self-first and after that something else. While writing on the same issue, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote in the same essay as:

“At the head of enormous processions, weighed down by fat garlands, delivering unending speeches full of empty words; they make a path to power for themselves, a path to luxury. They raise and make huge sums of money for themselves as you have seen, but have they told you … These fellows - who lives in houses given to them, who live on the money they raise from others – how can they make us self-sufficient.”

Saadat Hasan Manto, through the curtains of the veil and brings out the politician’s actual and naked claims and demands in their speeches and processions. He very correctly brings out the argument, that with hollow shouting and processions no community can progress, at the same time it will not fill the empty stomach of a person. But these politicians, with the labyrinth and words, entangle the common people and
fill their pockets which was the basic aim of those people at that time and the same we see now too. Saadat Hasan Manto called these people as bed bugs, who are sucking blood of the nation and the common man too. He writes:

“They are bed bugs who creep inside the crevices and emerge only to suck our blood.

They should be forced out with heat of our dispise.”

These thieves and robbers, who wear the veil of politics, business on national virtues and national issues. In all our decades of history the same kind of bluffers were our fortune, who preferred their personal gain over the national loss. Not only Saadat Hasan Manto shows the real and odious face of the politicians but also brings to our notice the way to overcome from these bluffers, he has suggested:

‘What’s needed is for young men, who may be clothed in tatters but are strong and broad chested, to stand up and toss them aside from the pedestals they’ve occupied without our permission.”

Saadat Hasan Manto was aware of the fact that there is no other way than a revolution which could free us from these robbers of the nation, as because these robbers are looting national wealth and we, the common people, are getting poor to poorer. Saadat Hasan Manto considers the leaders as a disabled person to guide a particular community or the nation, who by themselves are not efficient in their personal or political issue at the same time their hearts empty of sincerity towards the common people and the nation. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote in the same essay ‘Hindustan ko Leader se Bachao’ which Aakar Patel translate as:

“These people, who can’t even run their homes efficiently and whose character is low, want to straighten out the country and lectures us on what is right.”
Saadat Hasan Manto had a conscious personality which was well aware about the ongoing political issues and its effect on society of the time he belonged. With his consciousness he crafted the characters of common people specially Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. The hold on characters and the plot is amazing in his writings. One of the reasons for his awareness of the Sikhs, as being a Muslim, could be his stay at Amritsar. During his childhood it was the place where his grandfather and father lived after migrating from Kashmir. These two communities and society, in which he grew, were known to be friends for many centuries. But during partition the killing, cruel behaviour, rape and other wrong doings from both the sides are pointed out by Saadat Hasan Manto, in such a manner which bring complete understanding to his readers and forced us to think that whether humanity can fall to this depth? Whether the people who lived together for the centuries can be thirsty of blood, women, and money of the known and nearby people? Saadat Hasan Manto feels politics as the main source for these riots, because their politics fuels the flame of communal riots. The faith and belief were so corrupted that they lost their importance and awareness for providing safety to the people who are old, females and the children, who are incapable for securing them from danger.

No learned person is away from the time and society he belongs and the ideology and consciousness of Saadat Hasan Manto was very sharp and real which depicts the truth of politics. It was this consciousness only which forced Saadat Hasan Manto to write the “Siyah Hashiya” (Black Margin), while discussing politics, politicians, partition, riots and common man. It was he who raised his voice against the communal riots and tried to bring the consciousness in people who were blindly following the instinct in order to take revenge. 1947 is the year which was so disturbing and happening that humanity had no other escape other than to wait and mourn. Booty, robbery, and philander were so very common along with killing and rape. Saadat Hasan Manto, wrote in one of the short stories called ‘Wages’, which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“There was looting and rioting everywhere and to them had now been added whispered arson. Quite unmindful of it all, a man was waltzing down the street, a
harmonium strung around his neck …soon a crowd gathered and people began to help themselves to the unexpected prize.”

Behind those communal riots Saadat Hasan Manto sees the uncivil characters of politics and society, because of them our political structure has gone too weak, that even a small jerk can dismantle its structure. The economical problems, death and famine were the other causes for looting and the war was the outcome of it. On one side if Britishers were dividing and playing with sentiments of the people of India, Hindus and Muslims both supported them by harassing each other repeatedly and in this struggle the common man became the victim of politics. No religion on earth supports killing and loot. Behind all these, it was the politics and political people, who were using religion as a shield to do unfaithful deeds. On this issue Saadat Hasan Manto wrote, a story called ‘Sahaye’, which Khalid Hasan translated under the title ‘A Tale of 1947’ in which Saadat Hasan Manto speaks in the voice of Mumtaz as:

“Mumtaz was speaking with great passion. Don’t tell me a hundred thousand Hindus and the same numbers of Muslims have been massacred. The great tragedy is not that two hundred thousand people have been killed, but that this enormous loss of life has been futile. The Muslims who killed a hundred thousand Hindus must have believed that they had exterminated the Hindu religion. But the Hindu religion is alive and will remain alive and well. And after putting away the hundred thousand Muslims, the Hindus must have celebrated liquidation of Islam; but the fact is that Islam has not been affected in the least. Only the naïve can believe that religion can be eliminated with a gun. Why can’t they understand the faith, believe devotion, call it what you will, is a thing of spirit, it is not physical. Guns and knives are powerless to destroy it.”
Saadat Hasan Manto reflected, the pain of the people who were with force and not by will, leaving the place where they lived for decades and centuries. They were friends, neighbours, partners and loved and dear ones but the decision of dividing the subcontinent according or on bases of religion has changed the complete scenario. Friends were seeing each other as enemies, which are portrayed by Saadat Hasan Manto in the character of Mumtaz who asked his friend Jugal what he will do if the Hindu – Muslim killings will start in their area. To this Jugal replied as:

“I don’t know. May be I’ll kill you.”\textsuperscript{225}

The way Saadat Hasan Manto narrated the departure of Mumtaz in the story seems to be his own departure from Bombay; its wide avenue, his friends, and to migrate to Pakistan, which was a very strange land where he was supposed to live for the rest of the life. A place where for life he would be called as ‘Muhajir’,\textsuperscript{226} Which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“All Mumtaz was looking out of the window, silently saying goodbye to Bombay, its wide avenues, its magnificent buildings. The port was crowded with refugees, mostly poor, trying to leave for Pakistan. But as far as I was concerned, only one man was leaving today, going to a country where no matter how long he lived he would always be a stranger.”\textsuperscript{227}

When India got divided and the problem of ‘refugees’ were still souring, the problem of Kashmir took the main focus. Saadat Hasan Manto, with his political awareness and ideology understood this issue very clearly and in a very sharp manner he reflected on this in one of his letters, which he wrote to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In which regarding the issue of Kashmir he writes:

“All Red Cliff ne Hindustan ko double roti ke do toos bana
kar rakh diye. Laikeen afsoos hai ke abhi tak who saikey
nahi gaye hai. Udhar aap seek rahe hai aur idhar hum laiken aap ke hamar eangediyo me aag bahar se aa rahi hai.”

(Red cliff has divided the bread of India into two pieces of bread. But alas till now we are unable to toast those breads. There you are trying to toast and here we but the flame, alas, we are borrowing it from foreigners).

Saadat Hasan Manto wrote nearly 9 letters to Uncle Sam. He used the name ‘Sam’ sarcastically to denote his anger for foreign countries, especially America. In his First Letter to Uncle Sam, Saadat Hasan Manto introduces himself as:

“My name is Saadat Hasan Manto and I was born in a place that is now in India.

My mother is buried there. My father is buried there. My first born is also resting in that bit of earth. However, that place is no longer my country. My country is Pakistan, which I had only seen five or six times before, as a British subject.”

Showing his annoyance on the issue of partition and his migration to Pakistan, as a result of it, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote in the same letter, depicting his hatred for the decision, annoyance on the court trials and the anger of forced migration as:

“I used to be All India’s Great short story writer. Now I am Pakistan’s Great Short story writer. Several collections of my stories have been published and people respect me. In undivided India, I was tried thrice, in Pakistan so far once. But Pakistan is still young.”

Saadat Hasan Manto, depicted the interference of international political powers in the issue of Kashmir. Both India and Pakistan wanted to get that piece of land for their country and the intervention of the Red Cliff and United Nations organization
worsened the matter. Other than Saadat Hasan Manto the ex Governor of Kashmir, Mr. Jagmohan, wrote on the same issue in his work, ‘Kashmir Chingari se Sholo Tak’\textsuperscript{231} that the second mistake was to take this issue (Kashmir) to UNO, because of the issue of Kashmir, India and Pakistan got entangled in a political trap in international powers and influences. Till date the issue is unresolved and problematic for both the nations. And thus because of all these politics it became the issue of bread between two cats. Saadat Hasan Manto’s subconscious was aware of the American and UNO politics behind this.

To support the view of Saadat Hasan Manto, Ali Javed Naqvi writes:

\begin{quote}
“Kudhmukhtar Kashmir America ke mafad me hai aur us ki planning is ne bahot arsa pehle hi kar li thi. America khud mukhtar Kashmir ki shakal me ek aisa khitta chahta tha jo China, Bharat, Pakistan, Afganistan, Iran aur vasti riyasatoo par bhi nazaar rakh sake, mehfooz bhi ho aur europi kudrati mausam aur kudrati mahul se bhi kareeb ho.”\textsuperscript{232}
\end{quote}

(Self-ruled and maintained Kashmir is the confederacy of America for which it had planned quite before the time came. In the guise of self-ruled Kashmir, America wanted a type of land which could keep a watch on China, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran and other eastern countries; at the same time a beneficial place which could be protected and as per the environmental conditions of Europe).

Indians won their freedom but the mountain of problems was standing in front which demanded solutions. Saadat Hasan Manto explained the figurative gait of the world power under the democratic mold of view. Saadat Hasan Manto had sharp vision for the problems that India and its people were facing. The problems like settling the migrants, Kashmir, river water and other situations demanded a complete and through attention. Saadat Hasan Manto was quite aware of the fact and happenings and showing his annoyance on all those happening he wrote in his first letter to Uncle Sam which holds the date and address as:
In which he wrote which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“Like my country, I too have become independent and in exactly the same way. Uncle I will not labour the point since an all known seer like you can well imagine the freedom of a bird whose wings have been clipped, can enjoy.”

With this very touching example Saadat Hasan Manto reflects, his sadness over the political happening of 1947. The great Mohammed Ali Jinnah died within short period of time after partition and Pakistan was under problems and scarcity of leadership, stood alone in the need of help. Saadat Hasan Manto, by that time migrated to Pakistan as his family already did, as being living in Punjab. He was then in Bombay and did not want to leave his favorite city. He knew that the people of both the nations are backward in matters of education, society, powers, money, etc. He knew that illiteracy and poverty are the problems, which come one after another, without invitation; behind this Saadat Hasan Manto saw the unlawful gains of the other powerful countries, of the world specially America. In the same letter he wrote:

“My country is poor, but why is it ignorant? I am sure, Uncle, you know why? Because you and your brother John Bull together are a subject I do not want to touch, because it will not be exactly music to your ears.”

Bull is the traditional and Uncle Sam is the sarcastic name of America, which Saadat Hasan Manto used to comment on the interference of the world powers in the internal affairs of his country. Like other independent countries of the world, even we started to form the associations and clubs which Saadat Hasan Manto, ridicules by forming a fake club in one of his writings and giving it the name as ‘Anjuman-e- Insade Patakhaat’, and along with it propagated that this association will soon have its
branches in many other European countries like Russia, America and England, because to make fireworks, crackers and the use of those in the work of delight for those countries. Japan was the place where the first atom bomb in the form of cracker was exploded by America, to prove its supremacy over all other countries of the world. Saadat Hasan Manto considers, the war between India and Pakistan as the result of interference of the world powers and he said that we, as the result of a new revolution made attempt to destroy each other, but in this attempt we are damaging our own selves, our new generation and future. These wars continue and we were fighting within ourselves.

In the second letter, Saadat Hasan Manto talks about a gentleman, who meets him, he was from the American Consulate, who wanted him to write a story in Urdu, when asked about the need of an Urdu writing author. He replied that they need it because they have one Urdu magazine being published in their country. Saadat Hasan Manto sarcastically commented on the American way of living and demanded in the letter a Packard and pipe which he can wear and carry in the local market. And in response, he puts his one demand to America that they will buy oil from them, as the payment of his story which he will write with the title, ‘Iran’s Mounds of Oil and Radha.’

He writes in the letter:

“Believe me, the moment the story is printed, all this trouble about Iranian oil will end and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, who is still alive, will have to amend that couplet he once wrote about the Lloyd George and oil.”

(Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, is a prolific poet, writer and journalist, who founded the Urdu daily ‘Zamindar’ from Lahore. He died in early 1950).

But the Uncle who sees only his gains and for getting it, is ready to push back anything and everything comes in between. On the growing popularity of American goods in the local market Saadat Hasan Manto sarcastically commented and at the same time demanded a wish in his letter, ridiculing and writing as:

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“All I need is an announcement from you that your country (which may it please God to protect till the end of time) will only help my country (May God blight the distilleries of this land) acquire arms if Saadat Hasan Manto is sent over to you.’ Overnight my value will go up after … a typical American grin which I will glue to my face so that I can receive them properly.”  

Saadat Hasan Manto explained the double policy of America with this letter. In the same, as while commenting on Iran and oil issue, he talks about the injustice and the unjust behaviour and act of the powerful nations of the world specially America getting in the issue of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He wrote:

“You have done many good deeds yourself and continue to do them. You decimated Hiroshima; you turned Nagasaki into smoke and dust and caused several thousand children to born in Japan.”

Here the attack and assault of America over Japan, is evident with these lines. As Pakistan, after its formation, became friendly with America in a way it became a slave to it. Saadat Hasan Manto commented on the American treaty with Pakistan for providing military help and when Pakistan signed a treaty under SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organisation), which included other nations as Australia, France, New Zealand, Philippine, Thailand, England and America, invited the wrath of Russia and China. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote this treaty as:

“As for you military pact with us, it is remarkable and should be maintained. You should sign something similar with India. Sell all your condemned arms to the two of us, the ones you used in the last war. This will thus be off your hands and your armament factories will no longer remain idle.”
Here it will be unjust if we are not praising Saadat Hasan Manto, for his political awareness. Starting the discussion on partition, internal politics he slowly moved and commented on world politics. As with the trick of providing grain Saadat Hasan Manto talks about the treaty of Pakistan with America which resulted in immediate technical help of five lakh dollars. So in the words of Saadat Hasan Manto, this treaty is itself a big fraud as from that day of treaty till now the country never overcame from the favour made in the past. Along with it, Saadat Hasan Manto commented, on the interference of America in the internal politics of both the new born nations and he wrote in the same literature:

“One more thing. We can’t seem to be able to draft a constitution. Do kindly ship us some experts because while a nation can manage without a national anthem, it cannot do without a constitution, unless such is your wish.”

Because Saadat Hasan Manto was very receptive and was the master of getting all experiment and expression in the living life. Hasan Askari calls him a machine of feelings, which works automatically. Regarding an essay, Patras Bukhari with title ‘Lahore ka Geography’, Saadat Hasan Manto requested Uncle in his letter, who is famous, according to him, for using a gait as a shield and a shield as gait, that even he should get the geographical map of America written and drawn by Patras. After getting it done should translate it in the Russian language and must send it to Uncle Malakoff, so that along with the entire world, even he should be aware of the powers and boundaries of Uncle. He writes:

“While only God knows what lies in the future, I for one have faith in you because I have eaten your wheat and, additionally, I am your nephew. Young people should listen to their elders. For this lasting peace to be established, how many countries will need to be removed from the face of the earth? That’s all I want to know. My niece who is at school wanted me to draw her
a map of the world yesterday but I told her she would have to wait because I first had to talk to my uncle to find out the name of the countries that were going to survive. I promised to draw her a map after I had spoken to you.”

It is evident that Saadat Hasan Manto was neither a fortune teller nor a very learned man at the same time the hyperlink networks or the news cable networks like wiki leaks or BBC networks were not under his control. Whatever he wrote was with the base of his feelings which he felt with his political subconscious. He had the feelings to understand the danger and was consciousness about the in-depth knowledge of the political happenings, in his newly adopted country Pakistan, is not the result of the distilled whisky, which he used to consume but his power of creation, honesty and the venture of morality, which made him so bitter about truth and political happening in his country as well as in the world. Already in the disguise of partition the wolf of politicians became the prime source for political happenings. Saadat Hasan Manto was realizing about it in his subconscious and without any hesitation, he was sharing it with people too. Sometimes with point blank on ear, and sometimes sarcastically Saadat Hasan Manto tried, to bring to our understanding the political happenings and in a way was giving us the warning that if we will not pay attention now the results will be very horrorfull in future.

From the beginning of its creation the newly created nation was in complete favour to maintain healthy relationship with America. And Uncle Sam was not spending million dollars, as help on the country or humanity without any reason. Saadat Hasan Manto, with his awareness about politics, was getting injustice of the external policy regardless the government and the constitution, thus pointing the beginning of a horrible end. To see his awareness we can consider the third letter, which, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote to Uncle Sam. He writes:

"All I want you to do is to dispatch me some dry cleaners. It is like this. Out here, many mullah types after urinating pick up a stone and with one hand
inside their untied shalwar use the stone to absorb the after drops of urine. This they do in full public view.

All I want is that the moment such a person appears I should be able to pull out that atom bomb you will send me and lob it at the mullah so that he turns into smoke along with the stone he was holding” 243

Holding one end of an open trouser in one hand and performing the purification process with the other, Saadat Hasan Manto is correct to call these people as the ‘ass of stupid fellow’ which he did with the character of Qasim in the story ‘Ullu ka Patha’. But unlike Qasim, who tried many a time to do so but could not succeed, Saadat Hasan Manto shouted the sentence in public, making it audible to the government too. Here the fake religious manners are contained into a lump of earth. Saadat Hasan Manto showed his will to end those people who perform it, with the bomb that he asked his Uncle to provide. It is very strange to see that people who accused Saadat Hasan Manto for his shallowness and many ongoing court trials, have never paid attention to these masterpieces of writings. On the shalwar (trouser) of Sultana and trouser string of Sakina the newspapers were flooded with protests but somehow this shalwar (trouser) remained unattended or unrecognized by the class of people who perform the purification or the government or the holders of the manners.

How happy and contented Uncle Sam was that could be known by God or Uncle Sam only, but the nephew with his letters shows his disagreement on the social and political happenings and issues. Without investigation regarding the migrants and non-migrants people were endeavoring for allotments and permits. Along with it the market of loot, robbery, relations, opportunity seekers and deceivers were active and in this situation the poor were getting poorer and the land of God was getting thinner on them. Against all these happenings Saadat Hasan Manto noted down his anger and as the voice of inner self recorded his responses in a horrible and silent humanity. The nephew of this Uncle, with his absurd wishes, writes to his Uncle and asks why isn’t he fulfilling his wishes? Under the false fold of affection, faith, belief and approval Saadat Hasan Manto reflects his intense anger against Uncle Sam and played a role of a writer, who
made his reader aware, about the political happenings. Even though Manto was quite different from his all other social circles and society; he never left his humanity and his way of writing. On the stream on which he was living, gets him on the shore where any human depravity, spitefulness or malignity could bring him surprise. His power of creative writing brings in words, his anger and disagreement in the literary words as:

“Uncle, what is this hydrogen bomb anyway? In the eighth grade we were taught that hydrogen was lighter than air. Can you please tell me what country’s weight do you want the earth to be relieved of, Russia? I have heard that Russia is making a nitrogen bomb. In the eighth grade we were told that nitrogen was a gas human beings could not breathe and not die. I think your answer to the nitrogen bomb would be an oxygen bomb. We were taught in the eighth grade that when nitrogen and oxygen meet, they turn into water. Won’t the world have fun with all that water when the Russians lob their nitrogen bomb and you throw your oxygen bomb?”

In very simple words Saadat Hasan Manto pointed the European agenda to have their supremacy over the complete world. With all these discussions regarding politics to Uncle Sam, my only motive is to make clear that Saadat Hasan Manto was using Uncle Sam, just as a punching bag and the real aim behind all his punches were the owners of the political system. That’s the reason he, the nephew of Uncle Sam, holds close collars of the politicians and one after another slaps his questions and miseries on their faces. All these nine letters, of his minute examination of the national and international politics, pre and post-independence we feel melancholy throughout. At one place he writes:

“My country is poor. It has no art paper, nor proper printing presses. I am living evidence of this poverty. You will not believe it, Uncle but despite being the author of twenty two books, I do not have my own house to live in.
And you will be astonished to know that I have no means of getting myself from one place to the other. I neither have a Packard nor a dodge; I do not even have a used car."

These letters according to the form are ones, which cannot be considered as an essay, not the stories nor the diction at the same time not the actual letters. Saadat Hasan Manto wrote all these in a very peculiar relaxed manner. Because of this it seems touching to many political boundaries of different countries. There is no central point for worries, anxieties and perplexions which never leads to a central thought of relaxation in the letters written by Saadat Hasan Manto to Uncle Sam. Against the loose religious beliefs we see social, political, cultural and moral crocked, desirous experiences being written by Saadat Hasan Manto in these letters, which move from hostility to entanglement; from beliefs to disbeliefs; from hope to disappointments. It is neither joke nor humour, which reflects in the letters, it is the pinnacle of critical and scariest remark which denies taking a pose of humorous vision. He writes:

“Uncle, I swear by your venerable beard that my life is hard. I am passing through such bad times that I have forgotten how to pray for good times. One cannot keep oneself properly clothed here. Cloth is so expensive here that the poor cannot afford to be shrouded for burial. Those who are alive are in tatters. I have, therefore, decided to open a nudist club. The only question is . . . though that couldn’t taste very nice. Life here is desolate, bare and harsh . . . Please quickly send that goodwill delegation of sweet-voiced pretty girls and we will manage to live through our hardship.”

Starting from the self-conflict and ending on the imprints of social and national conflicts and confrontation, we see Saadat Hasan Manto, who is run over by partition and politics, dislocated from the earth and tired of the attacks trying to give some meaning
to the depressed life. These letters acts as the screen on which we could see different pictures, which by itself, reflect age as it was. Even though these letters bring a deep insight and worries, which acts as a representative agent of the omni directional traveler. Many of the sentences of this nephew, in these letters brings us back to the depressed and agitated ‘no man’s land of Toba Tek Singh’, where on one side of the barbed wire lies India and on the other side lays Pakistan.

Saadat Hasan Manto openly narrates international politics and the role of America in his letters that even a common reader could understand the real motive of the superpower, behind providing aid to different countries specially Pakistan. He writes which, Rubina Yasmin quotes as:

“Agar Columbus ne America daryafat nahi kiya hota to kya hota? Ford ki motor careen na hoti, angreezon ka tambacoo se taaruf na hota aur na Irestan me aaloo ke kasht hoti.”

(If Columbus had not discovered America what would have happened? There would be no Ford cars, no League of Nations, tobacco will be unknown to Europeans and there would be no farming of potatoes in Ireland).

In one sentence, only, Saadat Hasan Manto gives explanation regarding the discovery of America and its motto behind getting to superpower with the example of potatoes as it is the food for the low caste or the poor people of South America.

These letters were not written for injustice but for Saadat Hasan Manto, it was unjust that for attracting attention of the government towards these vital issues Saadat Hasan Manto went on writing letters to Uncle Sam but nobody paid attention at that time. Whatever was happening during his era, he wrote about it, as being a common nationalist of the country and the pity is, that all these got entangled between social, political, cultural and intellectual criticism.

These letters seem to be a scream in the dark, which embrace and envelop many different seen and unseen faces, many spoken and unspoken facts and words. It has been
criticized frequently that in the fiction of Saadat Hasan Manto, there is no vision of a new society but by reading these letters with a different perspective we could see a blur vision of a system of living, in which he demanded equality for all, no discrimination on the bases of caste, religion, customs, country and powers.

The other short stories like ‘Dekh Kabira Roya’, ‘Dadhi, Moonch, Burqa Unlimited’, ‘Karchi aur Karchiya’ and ‘Allah ka Bada fazal Hai’ are among the ones which reflect the awareness of Saadat Hasan Manto, on the national and international politics.

The story ‘Dekh Kabira Roya’ begins with the announcement in the village that if somebody will beg, will get arrested. After hearing this announcement, Kabira started crying. When people asked him the reason for crying he replied that to make a living he has to beg and as it will stop, he will starve. Regarding the injustice on the allotments, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote in the same story that when an M.A. L.L.B. gets two hundred hand looms, Kabira started crying thinking of people who earn by working in handlooms. When Kabira saw the envelopes being prepared of the printed copies of a book he starts crying by reading the printed material, when people asked about his grief, he explains that these pages hold the poetry, written by Bhagat Surdas and you are disrespecting it, by making envelopes out of it. When people covered the statue of goddess Laxmi, in an office, Kabira cries, when people inquired about his problem, he said it is because of the beautiful statue, which is being covered under a canvas because beauty is being spoiled, thinking of the religion, which does not allow it.

When a General of the Army speaks in a speech that as food is scares they will fight with empty stomachs. This brings grief to Kabira, when the General asked him why he is crying. He answers and asks the General that who will fight with hunger as they have to fight with the enemy. At one place in the market, when he hears a person shouting the announcement, and asking people to cut their moustache, wears a legal trouper, women to cover themselves and avoid makeup, he cries, when asked why he is crying. He asked the person that if so then why he dyed his white beard into black.
At another place a discussion was taking place, regarding art, which says ‘Art for Art Sake’ after listening to it he wept. People asked the reason, so Kabira reasons out and asks, whether ‘Art is for Art sake’ or ‘Art for life sake?’ When Kabira hears an order regarding all women in the city should get married and start living an honorable life, Kabira starts crying. When asked the reason, he replies by asking the question as to who will marry those prostitutes. When a person was giving a speech and advice to the people that if they are thinking of marriage of their brother, son or self they must first think of the women who are being deserted, raped or left alone. Hearing this Kabira wept; when people ask him the reason why so, he asked the person who was giving advice that if so, he preaches so what is the reason that he is still a bachelor waiting for a wealthy alliance? When Kabira saw a shoe house, with many black garments tied to it for decoration he cried when asked why so, he is crying? He replied with grief that the cloth materials could have covered some body’s nudity. Hearing this, people start beating him shouting him as a communist and a fifth calmest. At last Kabira laughs and ask the people that you people are calling me a communist, whereas I don’t bear any colour batch on my hand or arm.

The complete story is a satire on the social and political happenings. As people without thinking busy in getting allotments, humanity cries. When the literature of the country got divided humanities cries. When the issue of deserted women arises, demanding solution for prostitution and the owners of the culture keeps mum and humanity cries. When people were jobless and reached to starvation and the owner of the country thinks about war, humanity cries. When art being considered as the way of living, rather than art, it brings grief to humanity. When people start disrespecting the symbols of other religion, showing religious intolerance, humanity cries. In the complete story Saadat Hasan Manto brings out the happenings and tried to awake namesake owners of justice as ‘Kabira’ being the representative of the humanity asking for justice.

‘Toba Tek Singh’ is another story of Saadat Hasan Manto, in which he talks about politics. Throughout his life Saadat Hasan Manto denied any support or commitment towards any political party or ideology. At the same time he rejected to propagate any
school of political thinking. He always adopted a way, which rose against the present political system and by way of doing so throughout his life, wrote something which depends on observation rather than practical and overall view being presented by the system. Famous Marxist writer Tarik Ali has considered the short story of ‘Toba Tek Singh’ as a voice against creation of Pakistan. In his book ‘The Clash of Fundamentalism’ Tarik Ali writes:

“‘The price of separation was high. Saadat Hasan Manto, one of the most gifted Urdu writers of the subcontinent, wrote a four-page masterpiece entitled ‘Toba Tek Singh’, set in the lunatic asylum in Lahore at the time of partition. When whole cities are being ethnically cleansed, how can the asylum escape? The Hindus and Sikh lunatics are told that they will be transferred to institutions in India. The inmates rebel. They hug each other and weep. They have to be forced into the trucks waiting to transport them to India. When the real world is overcome by insanity normality only exist in the asylum. The lunatics have a better understanding of the crime that is being perpetrated then the politicians who agreed to it.’

Partition was not a forced judgment or the order of the British government. It was the result of our intellectual minds who voted for it. It was not the partition of land but it was the partition of two large communities, who were living in the subcontinent of India. The sub-continent of India was like the Austere Hungarian Empire of the British government. When that empire got divided many different individual states came in existence. For the people of the empire divided, was time to celebrate as they were getting released from the Empire rule and forming their own separate independent states. Few decades ago when the Soviet Socialist Empire broke, it formed many different independent countries giving a reason to celebrate to the people. Whereas when India got divided people saw only hatred and bloodshed.
Professor Fathe Mohammad Malik quotes the words written by Waris Alve, on the story of ‘Toba Tek Singh’, in which he wrote that as the country got divided, the asylum where Bhushan Singh used to live, a new asylum got created in the world outside its boundaries. And the creators of that asylum was the well cultured and wisdom owners politicians. In one night the complete geography has changed. Relations and belonging had changed and the people in their complete consciousness, start migrating from one nation to another. This was the collective insanity, which resulted in horrible riots, which depict the pain of uprooting. When the jungles of human got deserted, the cry of uprooting seems useless.

This story of Saadat Hasan Manto is a masterpiece on the issue of politics. It is reasonable to discuss the story in detail, before moving forward with the discussion. The difference, which appears in the story, can be categorized into five different patterns:

1) Not all inmates were mad. Some were perfectly normal, except that they were murderers. To spare them the hangman’s noose, their families had managed to get them committed after bribing officials down the line. They probably had a vague idea, why India was being divided and what Pakistan was, but, as for the present situation they were equally clueless.

2) A Sikh lunatic asked another Sikh, ‘Sardarji, why are we being sent to India? We don’t even know the language they speak in that country.

   The man smiled. “I know the language of Hindostoras. These devils always strut about as if they were the lords of the earth.”

3) One inmate had got so badly caught up in this India- Pakistan, Pakistan- India rigmarole that one day, while sweeping the floor, he dropped everything, climbed the nearest tree and installed himself on a branch …. declared “I wish to live neither in India nor in Pakistan. I wish to live in this tree.”

4) A Muslim lunatic from Chaniot, who used to be one of the most devoted workers of All India Muslim League and obsessed with bathing himself fifteen or
sixteen times a day, had suddenly stopped doing that and announced his name was Mohammad Ali that he was Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. This had led a Sikh inmate to declare himself Master Tara Singh, the leader of the Sikhs. Apprehending serious communal troubles, the authorities declared them dangerous and shut them up in different cells.\textsuperscript{253}

5) One of the inmates had declared himself God. Bushan Singh asked him one day if Toba Tek Singh was in India or Pakistan. The man chuckled. “Neither in India nor in Pakistan, because so far, we have issued no orders in this respects.”

Bushan Singh begged ‘God’ to issue the necessary orders, so that his problem could be solved, but he was disappointed, as ‘God’ appeared to be preoccupied and busy with more pressing matters. What he wanted to say was, ‘You don’t answer my prayers because you are Muslim god. Had you been a Sikh god, you would have been more of a sport. \textsuperscript{254}

The senseless inmates of the lunatic asylum, of the category four and five are the ones who can understand their religion even though they had lost their mental abilities. They understood that God of Muslims and the God of Sikhs are different and they both are biased. The situation becomes much serious when the lunatic of the category number four declares himself as Jinnah and the other as Master Tara Singh. The concept and formation of Pakistan can only be understood by the lunatics of the category number one, who were actually well just to avoid the penalty of death were living in it. They can understand what Pakistan is and where it is? In the same story the central character is Bhushan Singh who is a Sikh. Saadat Hasan Manto writes which Khalid Hasan translated as:

“There was another inmate, a Sikh, who had been confined for the last fifteen years… Guards said he had not slept a wink in fifteen years. Occasionally, he could be observed leaning against a wall, but the rest of the time, he was always to be found standing. Because of this, his legs were permanently swollen … the old man’s
hair was almost gone and what little was left had become a part of his beard, giving him a strange, even frightening appearance. However, he was confined; he had left an infant daughter behind, now a pretty young girl of fifteen. She would come occasionally and sit in front of him with tears rolling down her checks. »255

One another story by Saadat Hasan Manto, titled as ‘Mrs. D’Silva’ is one which relates to the politics of partition. The story moves as Mrs. D’Silva and the narrator of the story are living in flats, facing each other in the same building. She was pregnant and was expecting the birth, within a short time. It seems to be the rule of her mother that she was following i.e. to have a baby after five years gap. Mrs. D’Silva had noted down the date, time of the delivery. At the same time in the same diary she noted the date of birth of the third child. The narrator of the story seems to be astonished to think and see Mrs. D’Silva and her counting. She used to think that whether God has fitted any machine in her that as five years will get completed she will conceive. Narrator gives the complete happening in the story as narrating the condition of Mrs. D’Silva.

When the labor pains started to her, her husband took her to the hospital. Being a very prudent person he had already booked a place in the hospital, in advance. One day when the narrator was taking a bath, she heard the cries of Mrs. D’Silva and saw her leaving for the hospital. Being a good neighbor, she gave good wishes to her, and expected good news soon, but was shocked to see her back home with her belly. When inquired about it, she said that for delivery there is still the time, as told by the nurses in the hospital.

On the sixth day of the last visit, the home servant of Mrs. D’Silva asked the narrator for some change as he informed that Sir is taking his wife to the hospital. The narrator again wishes husband and wife and was waiting for the news, but to her amazement Mrs. D’Silva returned again from the hospital empty handed. This time she was very nervous and ashamed, as again doctors send her back saying there is still much
time. It was very perpetual to both husband and wife, for husband as he took leave twice from his office and for Mrs. D’Silva to answer the women in the neighbourhood.

On the seventh day from the first visit of Mrs. D’Silva to the hospital, when the narrator was taking rest after lunch, she heard the cry of a new born. On getting alarmed she reached the door and saw the servant of Mrs. D’Silva approaching her. He informed the narrator that Mrs. D’Silva gave birth to the baby in the house itself. When the narrator reaches her, she saw her lying in a semi conscious state in a pool of blood.

The story seems to be written on the issue of partition and the freedom struggle. As the narrator, while speaking to her mother, speaks about a woman who is expecting and has completed nearly fifteen months rather than the normal months of pregnancy. This somehow depicts the uncommon struggle of Indian freedom fighters. Since the First War of Independence in 1857, till the date of achieving it, every time when the politicians approach the government, they return with admonition by the British government as there is still time. Just like Mrs. D’Silva approaching the hospital again and again and being turned hopelessly. At the end as Mrs. D’Silva gives birth to the baby at time, in the same manner British declared independence for India but with a pool of blood as it got divided. And the politicians were out of mind, as to what to do and were very confused and agitated to take any decision like the house servant who knocks on somebody else’s door rather than dealing by himself or calling Mr. D’Silva.

The old idols got ruined and destroyed in the era of Saadat Hasan Manto and began the new era. Saadat Hasan Manto was born in the second decade of the twentieth century. The decade marks the end of well considered world powers. Many countries got divided and many new appeared on the world map, during the First World War, which was fought from 1914 to 1918. The Great Russian Revolution took placed in 1917, which gave new meaning to the writings and new revolutions. The thought of revolution and independence is the gift of Russian Revolution to Saadat Hasan Manto. He loved and adored many different written works of the Russian writers. Maxim Gorgy was his favorite writer. Saadat Hasan Manto began his career by translating his masterpiece. The time in which Saadat Hasan Manto began his writings that were suitable, as India was struggling to achieve freedom. Almost all the writers belonging to the age and decade of
Saadat Hasan Manto, wrote on the same issues but Saadat Hasan Manto is quite ahead of them all. In his pen instead of ink we see the revolution and love for independence. He was well aware of using his pen as a sword. His pen was fiery and the situations nourished it with all the happenings and it turned the writing of Saadat Hasan Manto, as a volcano, very hot and quick. Saadat Hasan Manto was rebellious and his writhing too, which left the marks to follow behind. The way Saadat Hasan Manto used his political understanding in his short stories, sketches, dramas and essays we cannot make out any way out after reading it. He wrote whatever he felt and by this, his writings became immortal. Saadat Hasan Manto is a writer who saw the freedom struggle of India, the voyage of Independence and the after effects of Independence with close encounters.

The best skill of Saadat Hasan Manto was the way of mixing the reality into the story that it uses to seem as real. ‘Matami Jalsa’, ‘Bi Zamani Begum’, ‘New Constitution’, ‘Toba Tek Singh’, ‘The Return’, ‘Yazid’, ‘The Last Salute’ are few among the best written masterpieces of Saadat Hasan Manto, on politics of the sub-continent of India, pre and post partition. With complete skill and hold, Saadat Hasan Manto created the characters of the story, which seem to be real, living and walking around us. But it doesn’t mean that he was completely unaware of our living future. The God gifted insight to Saadat Hasan Manto helped him to see the coming years, which he included in his writings. The letters to Uncle Sam are the example of his prudence of the world politics. Saadat Hasan Manto saw both the World Wars, the international markets and has witnessed the great miraculous happening of Russian Revolution where the working class overruled the Russian power and broke the Soviet nation. Quite much before the happening of the revolution in one of the story called ‘Badtamiz’ Saadat Hasan Manto wrote about the depreciation with time even partnership will come over by selfish personal aims and objectives, which actually happened, word to word that the personal objectives of the rulers resulted in the scattered Soviet Union. Saadat Hasan Manto’s forecast regarding America too, seems to be true as he wrote in one of his letters to Uncle Sam that all the countries in the world are just wasting their time and it is the right of America to rule the complete world irrespective of any partnerships.
The stories written soon after partition 1947, by Saadat Hasan Manto, are the stories, which are slanderous and bitterly true but ironic. The events and happenings of the said time is the terrifying chronicles of the anger and distress, which located itself in the middle of crime, judgment and madness and continues a repeated cycle of random violence in which anyone can be a criminal and a beast to destroy and loot everything. Saadat Hasan Manto, in his stories shows people, who by self or force became predators or victims at the same time, for no reason as strong to do so. People in the stories of Saadat Hasan Manto are the ones who participated with will in murders, in the loots and the other who could not do anything other than to just scream with pain, when being stabbed, burnt or raped again and again. Saadat Hasan Manto, while writing, never puts one side up and the other down, humiliated and punished. He accuses or blames it to the politics which took that decision of 1947; he offers no solace or forgiveness to the ones who were the actual owners of the catalyst event. Saadat Hasan Manto himself considered and accepted that each written literature, his short story, is borne for a special cause in special circumstances and holds a special effect on the readers and if these specialties are missing it just becomes a dead body of art.

A sharp critic of the progressive ornamental and the silly pointless fact and information from the both sub continental nations, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote some of his finest pieces of writings for the respective international patrons specially the Soviet Union and the United State of America. Along with national politics he commented and wrote on international politics too. He joked and ridiculed the super powers for their quest to overcome each other and to win over the world dominance. His humorously written anthology under the title ‘Talkh, Tursk aur Shireen’ (Bitter, Acrimonious and Sweet) published under ‘Imaan –o- Iqaan’ (Peace and Certainty) actually written in the form of announcement on Radio, opens with the United Nations, announcing the resolution of the dispute between the worlds super powers. Saadat Hasan Manto talks about the use of uranium, plutonium and nuclear bomb, which, both the powers wanted to use to prove their supremacy over each other. As a believer of setting the issue without war, who strongly disapproved the religious hypocrisies with strong emotion and great enthusiasm, Saadat Hasan Manto had come a long and rusty way, from the days when he along with his friends imagined driving the British out of India, with the hand and
homemade bombs. He questions the ethics of the super powers and other nations of possessing and owning weapons of mass destruction, indeed militarization itself, when the question of food, potable water and other basic life amenities are the questions, standing in front of millions of people of the world. He could not stop asking questions about the availability of food to the people, the hunger and the development of arms and ammunition for the future. How could these help humanity and safeguard, the weaker nations?

The injustice, humiliation, dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki sadden him. Fighting the court cases against obscenity were costing him emotionally as well as financially. With all these discussions it is evident that Saadat Hasan Manto hated slavery and wanted to achieve freedom from the Raj. At the same time he rejected the Gandhian philosophy and ideology to achieve freedom with ‘Ahimsa’. He was against Britishers, who captured India, at the same time he rejected the hypocrisy and supported Bhagat Singh and his ideology to win the freedom from the Britishers, with war spirit and bang.

Whatever he wrote; a story or a letter, everything includes his political awareness. At the national level the stories are bringing out true picture of our politics and political leaders. His letters to Uncle Sam, are a mirror to international politics. Along with politics Saadat Hasan Manto wrote much on both the world wars, their effects and after effects and the destruction and the politics of arms and ammunition. He cleared the motive of interference of religion in Indian politics, in his short stories and essays. He wrote about religion, intolerance and along with it he propagated humanity. He rejected politics on the base of religion. Saadat Hasan Manto has an adoring view point that humans are related with each other by relationship of humanity and not of religion. When he saw the hypocrisy and treacherousness of political leaders he wrote against it in his essays like ‘Save India from its Leaders’, ‘A Question is Produced’, etc. The horizon of thoughts of Saadat Hasan Manto was very vast. With skillful narration in few words, he produced large impacts. On issues like partition, Saadat Hasan Manto wrote stories which were too short, many in four to five lines, but giving complete reality, which, a complete book is unable to do so. That
shortness is the life of the story. Almost all writers of India and its subcontinent wrote on the issue, but Saadat Hasan Manto gave a different image to the politics and writings.

Saadat Hasan Manto is the creation of the decade, which was deceitful. Religious leaders, political holders and their cunning conjurer attitudes were using the common man as a dice on the board. Saadat Hasan Manto talked about the same political culture and his anger for politics, comes in front of us, in characters like Mangu Kochwan, Hawaldar Rab Nawaz, Thaila Kanjar and sometimes as Santosh Singh. Saadat Hasan Manto considers politics as knotty and a twisted affair, as it is very difficult to understand it. When the fire of World War II cooled down, the ashes gave rise to the Cold War, in which to overpower each others, countries get into the arms and ammunition business and production.

Saadat Hasan Manto brings down the false veil of our politicians, along with it he talked openly regarding America and its interference into the world politics. Saadat Hasan Manto wanted to see humans according to nature and not to deceive one. He subdues humanity and tries to find humanity in all. He never showed ways out for the handicapped politics, in any of his writings; he just pointed them out as he was a writer not the leader.

In short, we could say that Saadat Hasan Manto wrote on the political issues, with the same commitment, the way on psychology, society, religion, etc., ironically and sarcastically, commenting on politics and giving his judgments. With a heavy heart he shifted to Pakistan and died over there on 18th January 1955, which clearly shows that he could not bear the sorrow of leaving his motherland and living in a new country.