

4919

SATYASAMACHAR

(Official Bulletin of the Lok Sangarsh Samiti)

No.1

June 12, 1976

A MESSAGE FROM J.P.

"June 26, 1975 will be remembered as the blackest day in Indian history since Independence. Until June 25, 1975, India was a working democracy and overnight it was converted into a personal dictatorship.

"The dictator, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, continues to claim India is a democracy and that she is its best defender. I suggest that the people, particularly the youth, put Mrs. Gandhi to the test, this coming 26th of June, by holding public meetings and taking out processions in assertion of their liberties.

"Along with meetings, I suggest that published material of all kinds, from leaflets to pamphlets, be distributed in the languages of the country as widely as possible. The 26th of June should be a day for mass education in the meaning and value of civil liberties as the foundation, not only of democracy but of human civilisation itself. This, to my mind, would be the best way to observe the day.

-- Jayaprakash Narayan "

NEHRU ON JAYAPRAKASH

It is astonishing to find to what depth of vulgarity our rulers have descended. So wanting in mental equilibrium are they, so obsessed by fear of Jayaprakash and the National Movement he represents that their wishes become thoughts, then thoughts inferences and their inferences facts, solemnly stated in official publications on which the majesty of the present government rests; and people are kept in prisons and detention camps without charge or trial. All criticism hurts the sensitive skin of the Government and its reactions are quick and far-reaching. But this does not prevent it from indulging in reckless allegations.

-- Jawaharlal Nehru.

WHY SATYASAMACHAR

Ever since press censorship has been imposed in this country, news, except what the Government approves or invents has ceased to travel; even false news cannot be contradicted. Sufferings of people in one mohalla or one village cannot be known in another. Arrests of friends get known only when they are continually missed. Gandhiji's concept of a walking newspaper has not succeeded: the atmosphere of apprehension and mutual distrust and suspicion is so pervasive. Mouths remain sealed though hearts may be seared with anger and sorrow. Like Jawaharlal Nehru, we have watched the process of moral and intellectual decay settling in and have realised how autocratic power corrupts and degrades and vulgarises.

As a partial remedy for this situation, we are bringing out this fortnightly - Satyasamachar - giving news and such other matter as may help our readers to assess and understand the changing situation. In this venture the emphasis will always be on truth. Our self-imposed code will forbid incitement to violence, to communal passions and to anti-social behaviour; we will scrupulously avoid

character-assassination and tendentious writing. Our constant endeavour will be to remind people that a personal dictatorship is working to perpetuate itself and that they have to fight it. Today's fighters will command tomorrow - not for power, but for justice; not for politics but for ethics; not for the domination of India but for her grandeur.

June 12 and June 26 have in the past twelve months assumed great significance. If events which took place on June 12, 1975 had been different and favourable to Indira Gandhi, June 26 could have come and gone like any other day in the calendar. But on that fateful June 12 the Allahabad High Court held Indira Gandhi guilty of corrupt electoral practices, the citizens of Gujarat rejected her and the rumblings within her own party became ominously audible - all this within a span of twelve hours. Satyasamachar has chosen to appear on June 12 to commemorate the elation of that day, however short-lived.

GANDHIJI ON LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS CAN BE SAID TO BE TRULY RESPECTED WHEN THE PRESS CAN COMMENT IN THE SEVEREST TERMS UPON AND EVEN MISREPRESENTED MATTERS THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IS NOW SEEKING TO CRUSH THE POWERFUL VEHICLE OF EXPRESSING AND CULTIVATING PUBLIC OPINION AND IS PROVING ITS TOTALLY ARBITRARY AND DESPOTIC CHARACTER. TODAY ALL CRITICISM IS HUSHED. LET US USE THE PRINTING MACHINE AND THE TYPE WHILST WE CAN TO GIVE UNFETTERED EXPRESSION TO OUR THOUGHTS. BUT LET US NOT FEEL HELPLESS WHEN THEY ARE TAKEN AWAY BY A PATERNAL GOVERNMENT

- MAHATMA GANDHI

Roll Call of Martyrs

We salute the memory of over 100 martyrs who have laid down their lives for the sacred cause of restoration of democracy in our country since June 26, 1975. The following are some of the latest names added to the Roll Call of Martyrs :-

Shri Bhairab Bharati : who died in Madhya Pradesh Jail
(A prominent trade union leader)

Shri Mohanlal Jatav : Vice President of Delhi State BLD, MISA detenu was released on parole on May 5 for ill health. But he was harassed at home and called to the C.I.D. office on the 8th floor where he died on May 17,

Shri Tilak Raj Narula : a former Jana Sangh Councillor and Chairman of Delhi Transport Undertakings, died in Tihar Jail in the month of May. He was a MISA detenu.

Shri Vaid Baijnath Kapila, President Shahadara District Jana Sangh a MISA detenu, died in Tihar Jail in the month of January 1976. The police took a photograph of those attending his cremation at the cremation Ghat.

We also salute our brave brothers and sisters who have challenged the Dictator and are suffering behind the bars. We appeal to every citizen to contribute to the Fund for the needy families of these patriots.

OPPOSITION LEDERS CALL TO THE NATION

Bombay, May 23, 1976

Having regard to the developments that have taken place since the proclamation of emergency on June 26, 1975 developments which showed only too clearly that the constitution itself was being utilised to transform our democracy into a totalitarian regime, at our last meeting in Bombay we came to the conclusion that the need for establishing a single democratic national alternative was urgent and imperative and appointed a Steering Committee. Drawn up a policy and programme for such a party and to ascertain the reactions of the democratic opposition parties. After giving careful thought to the report of the steering committee we have decided to request Shri Jayaprakash Narayan to launch a new party whose basic objective will be the restoration of civil liberties, of the freedom of the press, of the independence and dignity of the judiciary, the establishment of a genuine egalitarian order, and the formulation and implementation of an economic policy designed to eliminate unemployment and maximise production, agricultural and industrial while safeguarding the just and fair claims of small and marginal farmers, of agricultural labour, of industrial worker and of the weaker sections generally. We are glad to state that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan has acceded to our request and will take such steps as are necessary, consequent upon the decision to form a New party.

Following are some of the persons who are party to this decision :

Shri Charan Singh, Shri S.K. Patil, Shri N.G. Coray, Shri H.M. Patel, Shri C.P. Tyagi, Shri Shanti Bhushan, Shri S.M. Joshi, Shri Uttamrao Patil, Shri Erasmo de Sequeira, Shri Bhanupratap Singh and Shri Digvijaya Narain Singh.

CHARAN SINGH TO SMT. INDIRA GANDHI

The National Executive of the BID has taken note of the Prime Minister's speech in which she has asked the Opposition to clarify their intentions. In this regard, the Executive has the following to say:

(i) that the need for clarification is as much - if not more from the side of the ruling party, as from the Opposition. If the Prime Minister is willing to restore the freedom of the people and the press, and the system of judicial review, there would be no difficulty in evolving a code of conduct applicable to all political parties.

(ii) that it would be more helpful in restoring normalcy in Indian politics, if the Prime Minister, instead of talking about the Opposition parties, talked to them.

(iii) And that more the repression of healthy opposition, the greater the chances of extremist elements getting at the top both in the ruling party as well as in the Opposition.

Therefore, if the Prime Minister is interested in putting democracy again on the rails, she should take the initiative to bring about the much-needed national reconciliation. This, however, will not be possible so long as the emergency continues and powers under it are misused to deny to the people the freedom guaranteed to them in the Constitution and to extend the term of Parliament without the sanction of the people.

ASHOKA MEHTA TO J.P.

New Delhi, May 16, 1976

I am clear in my mind that the basic demand in India today is the restoration of democratic rights and liberties of the people.

I have had the opportunity in jail of re-reading the writings of Gandhiji and Panditji. They confirmed me on a number of points: (i) under no circumstances can we have any truck with violence; (ii) the morale and strength of the people was once built round nationalism/independence; today that lodestar has to be democratic rights; (iii) as a satyagrahi I cannot be averse to a dialogue with the government; but the dialogue has to be between equals. The dialogue can be only for principled solution of the crisis provoked in the country.

BHARATIYA JANA SANGH TO GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

New Delhi, May 16 : The Working Committee demands that the Government should immediately (i) revoke the emergency, (ii) restore the fundamental rights and the fundamental freedoms; (iii) release all political prisoners who have been detained or sentenced under the pretext of emergency, (iv) accept that no organisation should be banned except through due process of law and the verdict of a court (v) withdraw the ban imposed on all organisations and appoint a judicial commission to scrutinise whatever evidence the Govt. may have to warrant the banning of any organisation (vi) restore the dignity and jurisdiction of the judiciary and (vii) restore the freedom of the press.

POLIT BUREAU OF CPI(M) TO PRIME MINISTER

Calcutta, April 9 : You have repeatedly stated that the Opposition should learn to behave as a condition for lifting emergency. We are unable to understand what this means. The role of the Opposition is very important in Parliamentary Democracy. The right of dissent is fundamental. Even if Parliament has passed a measure by a majority, the minority has the inherent and inviolable right to mobilise public opinion against the measure, get the majority converted into a minority and get the measure reversed or suitably changed.

We would urge the Government to immediately revoke the Emergency; repeal the MISA; remove pre-censorship; repeal the 36th Amendment to the Constitution; remove all those legislations that do not pertain to socio-economic changes from the 9th schedule; release all leaders and workers of political parties and mass organisations who are under detention; withdraw all pending warrants; restore civil liberties and democratic and trade union right existing before the imposition of Emergency.

BHUPESH GUPTA'S LAMENT

New Delhi, May 28 : Yesterday, the Minister, Mr. Shukla made a statement in this House and he should have corrected it today. When I said that many peoples had not attended the (Editors') meeting, including Mr. Ghalapathi Rau, he denied it and he said, perhaps he was not well. That is not so; he was very well. And out of the seventeen members only six attended the meeting at Calcutta which finalised the code. Mr. Shukla should not have said here that those who attended it unanimously finalised this thing. That is wrong. And I can produce all the papers. Mr. Ghalapathi Rau had made it known that he would not go to Calcutta; he would not give his views without consulting other editors. Every fact is an unchallengeable fact. And let Mr. Shukla come here and deny them.

Now we are talking about the ethics of the journalists and the Minister in charge of this subject does not care for ethics at all; this is a very strange way of formulating the ethics of the country. Yesterday the Indian Express was told by the censor not to publish anything about the code which figured in parliament. What is the use of shouting about the supremacy of Parliament? The supremacy of Parliament is not in keeping the people in the dark and in blacking out news. Supremacy of Parliament will be there when Parliament acts as the channel of communication between the Government and the people. I am very sorry that our statements are censored in this manner. If anybody thinks that we are going to be cowed down and behave like sycophants, we would rather be dead than assume this practice of flattery.

- Bhupesh Gupta in Rajya Sabha on 26/5/76.

THE SPEAKERS RESIST ISSUE OF ORDINANCES

Simla, June 3 : Presiding Officers of State legislatures have expressed grave concern over the frequent use by the Government of the parallel power of the issuance of ordinances and stressed that the Governments should use this power only under special and pressing circumstances. He also suggested that the right to property be deleted from the Fundamental Rights and be, hereafter, regulated by statute.

- B. R. Bhagat, Speaker, Lok Sabha

Aftermath of Geeton-bhari-sham

New Delhi, May 2 : Kishore Kumar, the wellknown playback singer has been punished by the All India Radio by his music being banned from its programme. Kishore Kumar had refused to participate in the Geeton-bhari-sham, a musical extravaganza organised by Sanjay Gandhi's youth Congress to collect funds ostensibly for the family planning campaign. He would not yield even to threats. Recently the All India Radio received instructions from high quarters to punish him. Pictures like Garam Hawa, made famous by his voice are no longer being shown in Delhi; 12 year old pictures have replaced them.

SHEIKH ABDULLAH PROPHECIES EXPLOSION

New Delhi, May 7 : After his visit to the recently devastated Turkman Gate area and the resettlement colonies where the people whose homes are being demolished are being sent, Sheikh Abdullah addressed a group of Congress MPs at the residence of Shri Radha Raman, Chief Executive Councillor. He said that he had seen for himself these new 'colonies'. 'They are unlivable. They have no arrangement even for drinking water. The Government has got no right to demolish people's homes in the name of beautifying the city without providing alternative accommodation with living conditions of the minimum standards.' Of the Turkman Gate incidents he stated, "The whole trouble began when young, old and even invalid people were dragged to the sterilization camps. Nobody has any quarrel with the economic policies of the Prime Minister, but then the way in which they are being implemented, I am sure, will lead to an explosion. You know I am a controversial figure. I was in jail as well for 22 years. But I have made it a point to speak freely what I feel."

Naxalites Kept in fetters

Patna, May 8 : Superintendents of Central and District jails in Bihar have been putting all Naxalite prisoners in bar-fetters all the 24 hours since April. Under the Bihar Jail code, Jail Superintendents have full and final discretion in ordering a recalcitrant prisoner into fetters; such orders, however, are rarely issued. But in March last the State Government under the direction of the Central Government instructed all jail Superintendents to put all Naxalite prisoners into bar-fetters.

Deoband Fatwa Bans Sterilisation

Delhi, May 8 : The Dar-u-ulum of Deoband has issued a fatwa declaring human sterilisation, voluntary or otherwise, as contrary to Islamic injunctions. The fatwa has been issued in response to anxious inquiries from a section of the Delhi population harassed by the Administration's drive for compulsory sterilisation.

Hostile Reception to Indira

Patna, May 1 (Delayed) : People of Patna gave Mrs. Gandhi a very unpleasant reception today, when she visited the city for the first time since the declaration of emergency. Thronging both sides of the streets she passed along, they shouted 'Indira Gandhi Murdabad' and also that she might soon have the same fate as Mujibur Rehman. The police looked helplessly on. An angry Mrs. Gandhi remarked that she was 'pained to note that in spite of the emergency Bihar was beset with many evils'. The administration, however, had done its best to make her journey through Patna safe. To detect mines grenades or bombs, they had even rolled with heavy rollers the road along which she was to travel.

Naxalite Prisoners Butchered

Bhagalpur (Bihar) May 12: Six Naxalite prisoners who attempted to escape from the Bhagalpur Special Central Jail on May 4 were captured, beaten up and then brought to the jail gate where they were barbarously shot down.

That forenoon it was discovered that the extra security electric fence around the third sector where the Naxalite detainees were kept had been disconnected. Electricians began their repair work using a ladder to scale the wall. As the day got hotter, the warder on sentry duty dozed off and the workmen also went out for a while. With the obvious connivance of someone on the jail staff, twenty Naxalite prisoners detained under the MISA freed themselves from the bar-fetters and came out of their cells. They then stabbed the sleeping warder and climbed up the ladder to jump to freedom. The warders on sentry duty in the gunties noticed them and shot down the last two on the ladder itself. They also shot down three more of the fleeing prisoners. The rest were given a chase; six of them were captured; severely beaten up and then taken to the jail gate where they were shot dead in cold blood.

Rajghat Samadi case held false, fabricated

New Delhi, May 19 : All the seven accused - Sarvashri H.V. Kamath, Vishnu Dutta Sharma, A.B. Bhardwaj, Ravi Nayar, Narendra Nath Coundhur, Ishwar Chandra Patil and P.H.Mittal who had been arrested on October 2, 1975 at the prayer meeting in the Gandhi samadhi grounds on a charge of shouting objectionable, anti-government slogans were acquitted this afternoon by the Judicial Magistrate in the Tis Hazari Court. The Delhi Administration's permission being necessary even for holding a prayer meeting to pay homage to the Father of the Nation, such permission had been obtained. When after recitation from the scriptures, Acharya Kripalani began his pravachan, the police entered the grounds in force, stopped the Acharya from speaking, ordered the people to disperse and arrested nine persons on the spot; the Acharya, however, was not arrested. Two of the arrested persons, Shri Rajmohan Gandhi and Shri Ram Chandra Gandhi were released later when the police discovered that they were grand sons of Mahatma Gandhi.

In acquitting the accused, the Magistrate observed, "Out of seven witnesses examined by the prosecution, two independent witnesses and even PW 4, police constable Malkiat Singh have been declared hostile by the prosecuting agency for not supporting the prosecution story. On a careful perusal of the statements of the official witnesses, I find them full of contradictions and none of these supports the FIR. Their subsequent statements to different effect in the court, therefore, seem to be an after-thought and give rise to suspicion in the mind of the court that the case has been fabricated. . . The defence version produced by the accused person is wellfounded, well reasoned and believable... For merely participating in the permitted prayer meeting of Rajghat and hearing the pravachan which is a part of the Gandhian prayer, the accused cannot be held to have committed a crime."

Movement to Continue

Bombay, 20th May : Some of the elderly Gandhians who had kept themselves meticulously aloof from the national movement led by Shri Jayaprakash Narayan have started a whispering campaign intended to create an impression in the minds of the people that JP is soon going to call off the movement and 'admit his error' in ever having launched it. Inquiries in authoritative quarters indicate that neither is JP repentant, nor does he intend to call off the movement. It has been and is a people's movement and will continue till its goal is reached.

Prime Minister's donation returned

Bombay, May 20 : The Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal has decided to close the Jayaprakash Swasthya Sahaya Nidhi as the collections have already exceeded two and a half lakh rupees. The collection was mainly from small donations collected from all over the country. Acharya Vinoba Bhave gave one rupee. It is understood that he also sent an emissary to Mrs. Gandhi to suggest that she also might make a contribution. Thereupon she made inquiries about the cost of a dialyser and sanctioned Rs. 90,000 from the Prime Minister's National relief Fund. As JP did not need any relief and the Nidhi had exceeded the target, JP has instructed the Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal to retain only a token amount and return the balance to the Prime Minister.

When Elections are not rigged

New Delhi, May 29

1. Shri Lakshmi Sahani Saxena, a MISA detenu won the UP Council election from the Graduates' Constituency, Allahabad, securing 4595 votes against the 2594 votes secured by the sitting member Shri J.P. Srivastava (Congress(R)).
2. Shri P.N. Lekhi, another MISA detenu was elected President of the Delhi High Court Bar Association defeating the Congress candidate by 50 votes.
3. Shri Lakhanpal, another MISA detenu was elected President of the Punjab and Haryana High Court Bar Association defeating his Congress rival.
4. Shri Kanwarlal Sharma, President Delhi Lawyers' Sangharsha samiti was elected President of the Delhi District Bar Association defeating his Congress rival by 85 votes.
5. Shri O.P. Sharma, non-party man has been elected Chairman, Delhi District Bar Council in place of Shri Lalit Bhasin the erstwhile Chairman who had to resign as he failed to have the support of his colleagues on the Council.

Service Chief Protest

New Delhi, June 2 : Sanjay Gandhi recently barged into the Defence Minister's room when Mr. Bansilal was having a secret discussion with the three service chiefs. Seeing him enter the room, the Chiefs fell silent and sat on in stony silence in spite of Bansilal's expressed desire to continue the discussion.

As others see us

Fading Hope in India

If India ever finds its way back to freedom and democracy that were the proud hall marks of its first 18 years as an independent nation some one will surely erect a monument to Justice H.R. Khanna of the Supreme Court. It was Mr. Justice Khanna who spoke out fearlessly and eloquently for freedom this week in dissenting from the court's decision upholding the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Government to imprison political opponents at will and without court hearings.

Indian democrats are likely to remember only in infamy the four Judges who obediently overturned the decisions of half a dozen lower courts scattered across India which had ruled in defiance of the Government that the right of Habeas Corpus could not be suspended. even during the emergency, that Mrs. Gandhi declared last June. But they will long cherish the lonely judge who said, in words reminiscent of other enduring declarations for freedom: "The power of the courts to issue a writ of habeas corpus is regarded as one of the most important characteristics of democratic states under the rule of law. The principle that no one shall be deprived of his life or liberty without the authority of law is rooted in the consideration that life and liberty are precious possession."

For his colleagues who held the Government's actions in jailing thousands of its political opponents without trial or even detailed charges to be 'Legal' under the sweeping emergency powers granted by the 'Constitution', Mr. Justice Khanna had a tart and haunting reminder: "In a purely legal sense, even the organised mass murders of the Nazi regime qualify as law."

It is a reminder that ought somehow to force its way into the consciousness and thence on the conscience of this stubborn woman who, in the last ten months, has behaved more in the manner of an Empress or a Viceroy than like a daughter of Jawaharlal Nehru. The submission of an independent judiciary to an absolutised government is virtually the last step in the destruction of a democratic society; and Indian Supreme Court's decision appears close to utter surrender.

A defeated lawyer was close to the truth when he said after that decision: "This case was our last hope and now that hope is gone."

(Editorial, The new York Times, April 30)

The Son also Rises

When Mrs. Gandhi closed down the world's biggest democracy last June the key question was: Why? Was it, as she claimed, to defeat a conspiracy of reactionaries, Hindu nationalists and criminals poised to tear India apart? Or was it merely an expedient means of saving Mrs. Gandhi's own political skin? It looks as if self-preservation was her main motive. The remarkable ascent of a 30 year old young leader named Sanjay Gandhi has revived the same question in another form. Did Mrs. Gandhi put many thousand people in jail, remove freedom of speech and habeas corpus and muzzle the press not just to preserve a throne but to build a dynasty? The answer, after 11 months of one mother one son rule, seems to be, yes.

Sanjay's ever increasing authority during the past 11 months has not been based on any formal position; his only official job is on the executive of the Congress Party's youth wing. But his magic name and the control of his mother has delegated to him over appointment has allowed him to extend his influence in an unpredictable and fear-inducing way - right through the Congress party and the bureaucracy. He has also used his patronage-powers to build up the beginning of an independent political base, in the States nearest the capital. Ironically, however, it was in Delhi itself, where control over the local administration is strongest, that his aggressive political style caused the first major explosion of anger since last June.

The seeds of what is now known as the Turkman Gate incident were sown last autumn, when Sanjay embarked on a campaign to clear out Delhi's slums. Not only did the abrupt removals damage a functioning community, they imposed punitive transport costs on subsistence workers and often landed them in worse sanitary conditions than those they had left behind. Still none of the grievances stirred people to action until the clearness coincided with Sanjay's other favourite campaign, compulsory sterilisation.

Sterilization vans moved into the Moslem quarter of old Delhi near the Turkman Gate in early April, accompanied by bejewelled members of Sanjay's youthful entourage. Reports that young boys, newly married and old men were being hauled in for instant vasectomy raised tempers. In this atmosphere on April 19 bulldozers arrived. Like most stories in censor-bound Delhi, what happened next comes in several different versions. One account has that the spark was lit when women, defending their homes were attacked and carried off by the police. In another it was the demand that displaced residents show proof of sterilisation before being granted a suburban plot as promised that set the people. What is certain is that several hours of fighting followed in which hundreds of people were injured and killed.

Mrs. Gandhi faces two new and potentially ominous threats; first, that the sterilisation campaign provide the focus for widespread popular resistance a la Turkman Gate; and, second, that Sanjay's brusque style and dynastic pretensions could push unhappy members of the power-elite including the Congress Party, into the arms of the Opposition. Service chiefs recently criticised him, indirectly, by protesting against the highhanded behaviour of his crony-in-arms, the Defence Minister Mr. Bansilal. Yet, the most optimistic of Mrs. Gandhi's opponents see no channel for bringing about any real political change in the near future.

It is because they know that all the safety valves have been shut that the Gandhis have become obsessed with the possibility of assassination. The security surrounding the Prime Minister is more massive than ever before. So are the queues of astrologers at her Delhi Bungalow - the stars are said to be inauspicious for her this month and next. But what she has not yet grasped is that the true danger to the Nehru Dynasty lies not in their stars but in themselves.

(The Economist, London May 29)

SOLDMAN PLEDGE BROKEN
WITH REGARD TO THE APPLICATION OF THE MISA
WE WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT IT IS NOT MEANT
TO BE USED AGAINST LEGITIMATE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

-Smt. Indira Gandhi's assurance to Shri Moraraji Phai when he undertook indefinite fast in Delhi on April 12, 1975 for immediate holding of Gujarat elections and against the use of MISA for political activities.

PROGRAMME FOR STRUGGLE

The Judgement of the Supreme Court on the Habeas Corpus has extinguished the last flickering hope of the common man. He knew that he no longer enjoyed the freedom of speech and of association; his grievances remained unheard as the press was muzzled and Parliament made ineffective; his only hope was the judiciary. Now he knows that as long as the Emergency, continues, no judiciary will guard his rights and liberty.

But there is no indication that the Emergency will soon be over. On the contrary, the Prime Minister has threatened, "The worst is not yet over". And there are fresh waves of arrests and repression. In this situation, then, the only way is to steel one's spirit; and the only task for all lovers of democracy is to help to keep the spirit of resistance burning in the people. They must realise that they have to confront forces of fascism with hope and unflinching courage.

Confrontation can never be violent. For we believe, that a tyrannical regime, if overthrown by violence can be succeeded only by another tyrannical regime.

The Opposition parties have failed in their repeated search for a dialogue, leading to an honourable settlement. Even appeal by Acharyas evoked no response from the Government. Dialogue is possible only between equals, not between the jailor and his prisoner. The other accepted method of changing the Government democratically is through elections; of late, some supporters of the ruling party have been saying that elections are not incompatible with the continuation of emergency. But elections to be meaningful must be free and fair. With a censored press, curbs on holding meetings, curtailment of civil liberties, with the detention in jails of political workers and their leaders, with the constant threat of MISA being used can there be elections, excepting as known in Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany?

Lately, the Opposition parties have realised that for their own as well as for the country's survival they must all come together, forget their differences and form a unified party. No doubt, if ever elections are held such a unified front with one agreed programme will be accepted by the people; and the democratic ways of life will again return. But even for such unification, a free press is a must; open meetings have to be held unhampered for educating and informing the people; and dissent must be permitted. Since none of these is possible and no party of such dimensions can function secretly, another organised body has to be found to carry on this work; and it is there that the Lok Sangarsh Samiti comes in. Not only must it continue to function, but it has to function more effectively. Obviously, it will work with due precautions, with the greatest discipline and dedication. Unlike other resistance movements in other parts of the world, the Lok Sangarsh Samiti has to work non violently; educating the people and preparing them for a long and relentless struggle will be its supreme task. To that end pamphleteering, disseminating news, creating cells of professional people, of youth wings, of village workers, of factory hands, of the landless will be essential. The way ahead is long, but the Lok Sangarsh Samiti will not fail the people.

PEACEFUL RESISTANCE IS OUR MOTTO

Published and distributed by Central
Lok Sangarsh Samiti.

Please duplicate and circulate, in your regional languages.