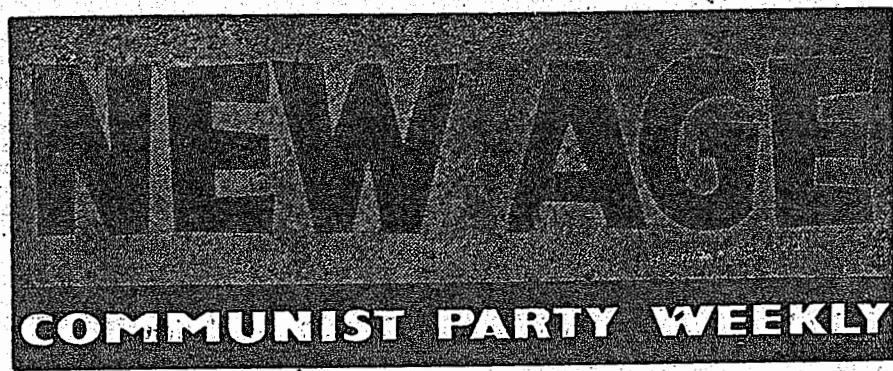


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# PUNJABI STATE : COMMUNIST STAND



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The Punjab Council of the Communist Party of India, in a resolution adopted at its session in Jullundur from June 3 to 6, 1960, has explained the Party's stand on the question of language and reorganisation of the Punjab State on linguistic basis. The text of the resolution reads:

THE States Reorganisation Commission had generally recommended formation of linguistic States elsewhere in India. It rejected the demand, supported by the Communist Party, for Greater Delhi or Haryana Prant and a Punjabi-speaking State in the North.

jabi region and Hindi in the Hindi region. Two Regional Committees of the Assembly were set up, one for each region, to deal with legislative measures pertaining to subjects of development and local self-Government, before the Assembly finally passed them in the light of recommendations made by them.

Following it, the Government of India could get away with summary rejection of the demand because of the absence of a united popular movement to back it. Therefore, with the merger of Pepsu (which in itself was a welcome step), the Punjab was retained as a bilingual State, comprising of two distinct Punjabi and Hindi zones.

The Akali leaders, as a part of this bargain, gave up their slogan of "Punjabi Suba", amended the constitution of the Shiromani Akali Dal to turn it into a non-political cultural-religious organisation and joined the Congress together with their followers en masse. They were given 28 Congress tickets for election to Assembly and some for election to Parliament in the 1957 General Election and later on a seat in the Cabinet.

The Congress High Command and the Government of India, however, struck a deal with the Akali leadership on the basis of the Regional Formula. The State was divided into two regions, the Punjabi and Hindi regions, although Kangra, a Punjabi-speaking district, was arbitrarily attached to the Hindi region with which it had no territorial contiguity either.

The Regional Formula was a step forward, in the sense that it recognised two separate linguistic regions of Punjab and if implemented sincerely, it could be helpful in advancing the cause of the Punjabi language and in unifying the people of Punjab as well.

The Akali leaders were only too willing to become a party to this arbitrary decision, because they were more concerned with communal percentages and positions of advantage over their Hindu counterparts than with the unity of the Punjabi people.

But the Congress Government has failed to implement the Regional Formula. The Regional Committees have been reduced to the status of mere select committees of the Assembly. The Government has failed to take steps to accord proper status to Punjabi as the regional language

Under this formula, Punjabi was to be the language of administration in the Pun-

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REVIEW OF  
POONA  
SESSION OF  
**A I C C**  
Organisational Issues Used To  
Sidetrack Conflicts On Policies  
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★ by E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

The coming event of early 1962—the Third General Elections in the country—has already started casting its shadow over the Congress.

Behind the heated discussions that took place at the Poona Session of the AICC on the democratic election or nomination of the Working Committee, putting an end to bogus primary membership of the Congress, the relation between the parliamentary and organisational wings of the Congress, etc., lay the question as to who in the Centre and in the States will have control over the selection of Congress candidates for the 1962 General Elections.

It has been admitted for some time that what is called jockeying for position and power has been going on at all levels of the Congress. How to end this evil has been under discussion for quite some time.

It was, however, at the recent Poona session of the AICC that the most respected all-India leaders of the Congress were made the targets of criticism on these lines. Hanumanthya, the former Chief Minister of Mysore, went to the extent of accusing Prime Minister Nehru of "perpetuating his own leadership and favouring his own persons." (Free Press Journal, June 5, 1960)

It was left to Prime Minister Nehru not only to recognise the strength of feeling expressed in the AICC (which he did by voting for the opposition resolution that at least one-third of the Working Committee should be elected), but also to make it clear in a speech that the issue involved in the admitted "jockeying for

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**RELEASE OR TRY TARA SINGH**  
Communist Protest Against Punjab Repression  
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THE 75-member Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India has characterised the arrests of Master Tara Singh and other Akali leaders as unjustified and unwarranted and has demanded their release, the lifting of the bans under Section 144 and freedom to resume publication of the newspapers whose presses have been sealed. The Council's resolution reads:

The Communist Party, with a glorious record of struggle against communalism, has consistently disapproved of all communal movements in the State, over the question of language and linguistic State. For they divide the Punjabi masses on religious-communal basis and

disrupt the unity of Punjab for a national scientific solution of the question. Such movements impede the unity of the common masses for a better life and thereby indirectly strengthen the hands of the Congress Government.

Nevertheless, the Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India considers the action of the Punjab Government in arresting Master Tara Singh under the Preventive Detention Act, rounding up a large number of Akali leaders, workers and others under Section 107/151 and imposition of Section 144 in many districts as unwarranted and unjustified.

Promulgation of Section 144 to ban all public meet-

ings, processions and demonstrations in the entire districts of Bhatinda, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ambala and the towns of Patiala District, not only of a communal character but, of all political parties and mass organisations, under cover of meeting the Akali movement, is a reprehensible attack against the democratic movement. The State Council vigorously condemns this blanket ban on all political activity and normal functioning of mass organisations under cover of meeting the Akali movement.

It further condemns restrictions imposed on Pratap and Hind Samachar and the virtual ban on publication of Akali and Prabhat

dallies and the arrest of their entire staff as a vicious attack on the freedom of the Press and the civil liberties of the people.

The State Council demands that: (1) Master Tara Singh be released or put on trial in a regular court of law; (2) Akali leaders, and other arrested workers be released; (3) the blanket ban on public meetings and processions under Section 144 be lifted forthwith; (4) the newspapers banned from publication through sealing of their presses be allowed to resume publication and working journalists be released forthwith and restrictions imposed on Pratap and Hind Samachar be removed.

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# LINGUISTIC DIVISION OF PUNJAB

● FROM FRONT PAGE

in the Punjabi region—mainly due to the pressure of Hindu communalists. The latter, instead of making constructive suggestions for an interim arrangement to facilitate the smooth transition to the use of Punjabi, have invented the atrocious and dangerous theory that Punjabi is not the mother-tongue of the Hindus of the Punjabi region.

They make out that the two religious communities, Hindus and Sikhs are two linguistic groups. They mislead large sections of the Hindu masses by raising the bogey that once the Hindus of the Punjabi region accept Punjabi as their mother-tongue, the Punjabi Suba of the Akali Party's conception would come into being.

The Congress Government has never taken a principled stand with regard to the issue of language and formation of linguistic provinces and has always compromised, on the basis of communal concessions, with one or the other group of communalists on this issue.

But the issue of language and formation of a linguistic State cannot be shelved by making unprincipled compromise with one communal group against the other. For building a lasting unity of the Punjabi people and advancing the democratic movement, the same principles regarding language and formation of linguistic States have to be followed in this region which have been followed in the rest of the country: formation of Haryana Prant and a Punjabi-speaking State are as much a democratic demand of the people here as elsewhere in India.

In this connection, it has to be noted that large sections of Punjabi-speaking masses, not necessarily under the communal influence of the Akali Party, are dissatisfied with the policy of the Congress Government. So far as Haryana Prant is concerned, although the movement is still weak, there is unity on this demand: The bifurcation of Maharashtra, and Gujarat on May 1, 1960, has rekindled the demand in favour of linguistic State in Punjab and the Haryana regions.



However, the disunity of the Punjabi-speaking people on the lines of Hindus and Sikhs and the misleading propaganda of Hindu communalists among Hindu masses against the mother-tongue itself, further strengthen the disruptive policy of the Congress Government, which is already against the demand for formation of linguistic States.

On the other hand, communal mobilisation by the Akali Party of the Sikhs alone in support of the Punjabi language and the Punjabi State, further complicates the matter and strengthens the hands of Hindu communalists and the Government.

In this situation, the Communist Party faces a very

difficult and complex task in the Punjab. But it is clear that in the interest of unity of the Punjabi people and advancement of the democratic movement, the Communist Party cannot evade or bypass the issue of language and linguistic States. The Party has to intervene actively in this situation with correct slogans for building unity on the issue of language and formation of a scientific linguistic State and wrest the initiative from the hands of the communal elements.

## ON THE ISSUE OF LANGUAGE

On the language question, the Communist Party puts forward and will campaign for the following solution:

1 In Haryana Region, remove compulsion on the teaching of Punjabi, while making adequate provision for its teaching to those who wish to learn it.

2 In the Punjabi region, introduce Punjabi in Gurmukhi script as the medium of instruction.

3 Hindi, as Rashtra Bhasha, be introduced from fourth primary class. By mutual consultations, however, some other compromise formula may be introduced.

4 Punjabi be introduced forthwith as language of administration below the State level in the Punjabi region and Hindi in the Hindi region.

Pending bifurcation of the State into unilingual States, both Hindi and Punjabi be introduced at the State level.

While mobilising the masses in support of the above solution, the Party has to expose the disruptionist tactics of the communalists, especially the Hindu communalists, who deny the very fact that Punjabi is the mother-tongue of the Hindu masses in the Punjabi region.

## ON THE ISSUE OF LINGUISTIC STATES

The Communist Party puts forward and campaigns for a scientific linguistic, i.e. a correct national solution of the problem.

● We demand Haryana Prant or Greater Delhi comprising the Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab, Delhi and the contiguous area of U. P. and Rajasthan.

● We demand the creation of a Punjabi-speaking State comprising of the Punjabi-speaking area of existing Punjab including Kangra District, the boundary to be demarcated on the basis of contiguity with village as the unit through a Boundary Commission. But the Communist Party rejects the proposal to include certain areas in the Punjabi State such as Ganganagar District and some parts of Hissar, Karnal and Ambala Districts, where the majority of the population is admittedly non-Punjabi-speaking.

However the district of Kangra is a Punjabi-speaking area and it should be included as part of the Punjabi region and not the Hindi region, and in view of the backwardness of this district, the

Communist Party will demand special attention for its economic development.

The Pahari language of the majority of the Himachal people is a dialect of the Punjabi language. But the people of the region have suffered from extreme economic - political and social backwardness. For some years the people of Himachal have enjoyed the status of a separate Class "C" State and are now demanding the same democratic set-up as in other States. The Communist Party supports this demand and also demands more effective steps to do away with its backwardness. On the borders of Punjab and Himachal Pradesh there are some enclaves that should be adjusted in line with the wishes of the people.

Such a Punjabi-speaking State will be based on the common national consciousness of the Punjabi people and will be achieved as a result of a strong united movement. In the concrete peculiar situation of our State such a movement can grow only in sharp struggle against the forces of communalism and under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Communist Party will differentiate its slogans and approach from the communal objective and movement of the Akali Party which scare away the Hindu masses into the arms of the Hindu communalists, who are diehard opponents of the Punjabi language and a genuine Punjabi State, too. The Party will conduct an intensive ideological-political campaign against

the slogans of the Akali Party among the Sikh masses in particular and oppose its threat of a morcha.

But on the question of language and linguistic State, the main task of the Communist Party is to campaign for winning over the Hindu masses from the misleading propaganda and influence of the Hindu communalists who oppose the very principle of a Punjabi-speaking State and disown Punjabi as the mother-tongue of the Hindus of the Punjabi region.

The Central and State Governments have so far not taken a principled stand on the question of language. Nor have they accepted the principle of formation of linguistic States but have, on the contrary, always opposed this principle. This undemocratic attitude of the Government has further worsened the situation. Hence the Communist Party will mobilise the people on the basis of the principle of linguistic States against this undemocratic attitude of the Congress Government.

The situation that faces us is highly complex. There is no short-cut to the solution of the problem of language and linguistic States. A hard painstaking effort is needed to build the unity of the masses for its solution. Only the Party of the proletariat through sustained work and protracted struggle against the forces of communalism and the reactionary policies of the Congress can unify the masses and lead them for the achievement of linguistic States.

## Insurance Employees Observe Successful Demands Day

● From AJOY DAS GUPTA

AT the call of the All-India Insurance Employees' Association, insurance employees of both the wings—nationalised life insurance and general insurance, mainly in the private sector—observed Demands Day on June 1, 1960.

Great enthusiasm prevailed and the attendance in meetings and demonstrations was almost hundred per cent everywhere from snow-capped Srinagar in the north to Trivandrum in the South, from Ahmedabad in the West to Gauhati in the East.

The decision for observing the Demands Day was taken by the General Council of the AIEA at its meeting held in Bombay in early April this year. That meeting of the General Council had also finalised the Charter of Demands for the LIC employees, which was submitted to the Chairman of the LIC on April 14.

The Chairman called the representatives of the AIEA for preliminary talks on May 11 where he expressed his inability to fulfil the Charter in view of the short time which

had elapsed since the fixing of the present pay structure in May 1957 and in view of the pay structure in the analogous companies and the necessity of keeping the expense ratio within the limits prescribed by the Insurance Act.

But he agreed with the representatives of the AIEA that the May 1957 settlement was interim in nature, meant primarily for standardisation and not for overall upward revision of pay structure, that the cost of living had risen steeply during the intervening period causing a fall in real wages; that the LIC had made rapid progress during the period and the future of the LIC was very bright.

The Chairman while asking the AIEA to ponder over the matter expressed his desire to continue the negotiations. A subsequent meeting was arranged from June 2 onwards.

The Bombay session of the General Council of the AIEA also considered the situation in the general insurance industry and expressed its regret at the unreasonable stand of the Government on

the question of nationalisation of the industry. Pointing out the malpractices prevalent in the industry and the consequent closure of establishments and the large-scale retrenchment of staff, while there was overall growth of the industry both inside and outside India, the General Council had demanded that a thorough enquiry be held with the participation of the employees to go into the working of the industry.

The General Council had also demanded setting up of a wage fixing machinery for bringing about standardisation of wages and benefits in the industry. The Council had directed all insurance employees to observe a General Insurance Demands Week from May 25 to June 1 on the above demands.

In pursuance of this directive meetings and demonstrations were held all over India.

In BOMBAY, a packed Sunderbal Hall meeting presided over by Rajni Patel, President of the AIEA, was preceded by a mammoth demonstration. Prabhat Kar, M. P., General Secretary of the All-India

Bank Employees' Association and Sushil Kavlekar addressed the meeting.

In CALCUTTA, over six thousand employees participated in the demonstration and the meeting held in the University Institute Hall was addressed by Sunil Moitra, Ajoy Das Gupta, Prafulla Chakravarty and Jatin Bhattacharya of the Dalhousie Coordination Committee.

The MADRAS rally was addressed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad, Acting General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, who exhorted the employees to build a broad united front of all wage-earners to fight for wage increase.

The AIEA central office at Calcutta has already received reports from more than 50 centres, including Delhi, Kanpur, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Trivandrum, Masulipatam, Gauhati, Jammu, etc., on the successful observance of the day. From all the meetings, resolutions were passed urging the LIC authorities to immediately fulfil the demands and demanding nationalisation of general insurance.