

Radical Thought 2

~~10~~ May 2007

Bhagat Singh



Bhagat Singh

This letter was written to a close personal friend by Bhagat Singh or a post card in English. It has the stamp of Lahore post office of February 24, 1930.

No. 103  
Central Jail  
condemned cell, Lahore

My Dear Jai Deo!

I hope you would have heard of our abandoning the fast after 16 days, and you can guess how greatly do we feel the necessity of your help at this stage. We received a few oranges yesterday but no interview was held. Our case has been adjourned for a fortnight. Therefore, kindly arrange to send a tin of 'Craven Cigarettes — A' and a tin of *ghee* immediately. And a few oranges along with a few *rasgullas* will also be welcomed. Mr Dutta is facing hard times without cigarettes. Now you can understand the urgent nature of our needs.

Thanking you in advance,  
yours sincerely

Bhagat Singh

Address — To, Mr Jai Deo Prasad Gupta,  
c/o The provincial Congress committee  
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore

## Love For Wife

When Prophet Moham-  
med after eleven years of exile  
in Medina returned in triumph  
to Mecca, he quickly did the  
rounds of the *Kaaba* (The black  
stone consctruted over 4000  
years years ago by Abraham,  
first of the Hebrew patriarchs  
and a figure revered by  
Judaism, Christianity and Is-  
lam) and asked to be left alone.  
He spent the night weeping by  
the grave of his first wife,  
Khadija.

---

# He breathed and lived Gurbani

by Reema Anand



**Bhagat Puran Singh**

**L**OOK at his picture and time stops. It has been years since his death, but he lives on! Bhagat Puran Singh, whose birth anniversary falls tomorrow, was humility personified. He breathed and lived Gurbani!

Inspired very early in life by Mahatma Gandhi, he lived like a true Gandhian. He was born a Hindu, but lived like a true Khalsa and died a Gurmukh. Having made him my idol very early in life, it is very difficult to trace his steps, but still one can try!

He brought an awareness to Punjabis and just anyone who would listen to him on issues like environment, pollution, female foeticide, sensitive caring of mentally and physically challenged kids and women. He gave to Punjab a home for the homeless. Called Pingalwara, it is a heritage which the Punjab Government and every Punjabi should be proud of and promote.

When I see Sikh clergy fighting over issues which could best be ignored, I remember Babaji sitting on the steps outside the Golden Temple begging for humans in his Pingalwara. What a study in contrast! He was epitome of nobility and humility, a true Sikh of Guru Gobind Singh, with no sword in his hand, just a *kalam* and a begging bowl. Yet the Sikh community world over bows to his memory in reverence.

Without the aid of any 'Takht diktat', he achieved a stature, where intellectuals, politicians and social workers stopped and listened to him. How many of our modern-day Sants, look down while walking and see to it that they don't step on an ant and kill it accidentally? Babaji did and I am a witness to it. He was an endless crusader for issues which concerned humans, animals and environment. His pen never stopped scrawling, even when his eyes were dimming.

He kept away from politics even during the height of terrorism, and even then was concerned about humanitarian issues and environment.

He practiced what he taught and that earned him immense respect within and outside Sikh community. I can only pray that our politicians and so-called office bearers of highest temporal seats remember this great man who once sat at their doorstep but could not inspire them to imbibe Sikhism.

He never gave himself any name, except a *sewadar*, *gurughar da sewadar* for he saw his *guru* in all! Do any hyped about Sikh personalities fit in this category? ■

# Astrologers out for a duck

Lalit Mohan

It was not for nothing that George Bernard Shaw described cricket as a game that 22 fools played and 22,000 fools paid to watch. TV has added several zeroes to his audience figure. The game has the propensity of making a lot of people look very silly because of what the aficionados call its "glorious uncertainties".

In cricket, in relative terms, form and fitness count for less than luck and chance do. That tempts punters. Winning or losing against overwhelming odds can be wagered on. It may be a gamble, but would not be impossible. While on one

would, for example, hazard a prediction of an Indian win against Brazil in soccer, and none will even attempt to fix such a match, people may still bet on Ireland beating Pakistan in cricket, equally bizarre on form and ratings though it may be.

Fortune tellers, too, have enough leeway to practice their mumbo-jumbo. Bejan Daruwala who operates under the trade name Ganesha said, before the tournament started that, after "taking the charts of all countries participating and the foundation dates of respective boards, alongwith all the available of their captain and coach," both India and

Pakistan would be among the Super Eight qualifiers. For the semifinals, South Africa, New Zealand and West Indies were certainties, with the fourth spot to be contested in the planetary oval by Australia, Sri Lanka and India. The higher one goes in the tournament, the more woolly his predictions become. In a review of 'Today's Strengths', he places Matthew Hayden and Sachin Tendulkar at par!

No astrologer could foresee India's or Pakistan's exit from the first round. One Anil Kumar Jain, predicted, "The planetary positions indicate that Pakistan will be in a position to register comfortable win over Ireland. Most of the Pakistan batsmen will excel and their performance will surpass expectations. They will outclass Ireland in batting, bowling as well as fielding."

fraternity, who appears regularly on the website of a national English daily, Anita Nigam, stated on March 23, "India's stars are brighter in comparison to Sri Lanka's," though two days later she was reduced to advising people what colours to wear and how to invoke the Hanuman Chalisa to ensure Bermuda's win over Bangladesh.

But, they need not worry. People will soon forget that all astrologers fell flat on their faces with their World Cup forecasts. Their business is immune to such setbacks. Even the cricketers, though they may have gone into hiding for the present, will be back. Sports fans in India have no choice. In a field of 10 serious players, we will always be in the first 10. In which other game, barring kabaddi, are we so well placed?

*The Tribune*

Archie

Tribune Times 1-7 May 2007



Articles (Not Mine)

Read  
gmp

## China Revisited

### WAY BEHIND, WAKE UP INDIA!

By Poonam I Kaushish

It was a fantastic ten-day revisit to China. A great eye-opener in every sense of the term. Starting with the wholly unexpected feel good send-off one could have got. A lavish dinner out-of-the-blue by the Press section of the Chinese Embassy in an appropriately named restaurant called The Chinese. The surprise was all the more pleasant because one cannot expect the External Publicity Division of the Ministry of External Affairs to do likewise. Namely, go out of their way to invite not just the journalist but also the family, going on a private holiday to the Dragon country. Load them with travelogues and CDs of places to visit, hotels to stay, shopping, food et al. Indeed, the inscrutable Chinamen knew how to hard sell their wares.

Airports are always a precursor of what the country is all about and, importantly, how progressive it is. To say the least, China's airports don't disappoint. Be it Beijing, Xian or Shanghai. All are huge structures of aluminium and glass with shining granite floors. Immigration is business like and fast. All with a smile. Your luggage already awaits you at all destinations. The toilets spanking clean with attendants.

In sharp contrast to India's serpentine queues and grumpy officials in cramped spaces. What to say of stinking toilets. Their duty shops stock anything and everything under the sun. International designer brands, liquor, chocolates, watches, you name it they have it. Are we really in a communist country!!! Notwithstanding the fact, that China initiated economic reforms in 1978, under then-leader-Deng Xiaoping and has now blossomed into a full-fledged market economy.

Unlike their desi counterparts, all airports are over 50 kms away from the cities connected by ring roads, expressways and trains. Shanghai has two international airports. Pudong International airport boasts of the famous Maglev train — the only train in the world that runs on magnetic levitation. Running at a speed of 430 miles per hour. It takes

only seven minutes to reach the city centre. While our polity and policy makers continue to quibble about the kis leeye and kyun of expanding the pathetic present facilities with a recalcitrant Red Brigade playing spoilsport. Talk of true blue Communist, come to India and not go to China.

The latest buzzwords in China are infrastructure and tourism. All in preparation for the Olympics next year. Step out of any of their airports and the first thing that hits you in the face is the amazing infrastructure. We in India have still to learn how to spell that word leave alone understand its meaning. Beijing boasts of six 8-lane ring roads with mind-boggling clover leaves, four subway lines connecting city center stops and the railway station with outlying areas. By 2008, there will be nine routes in Beijing, besides buses and metered taxis. Xian, the eternal city, which in its 3100 years of development was capital of 13 dynasties has two 8-lane ring roads. Each with multiple clover leaves (and we brag about one such in Delhi) which are illuminated like showcasing a piece of art. Another is under construction to be inaugurated next year.

Shanghai, originally a seaside-fishing village is today a multi-cultural international metropolis with the largest population in China, (18.7 million with 2 million floating population) has the world's largest public transportation system handling the largest daily volume of passengers. There is a high-density road network, over five elevated roads one-on-top-of-the-other like a layered sandwich, five subways lines criss-crossing the city, buses and several big taxi companies ready to take you to everywhere. Bridges and various tunnels provide direct links across the Huangpu River and ferries offer convenient shuttle services. Don't the elevated roads spoil Shanghai's beauty? I ask the cab driver, "Spoil, how? Roads are meant to ferry people," he sagaciously replied. Arm-chair environmentalist who rave and rant about the aesthetics of Delhi, please take note.

City roads in all three metropolises too are 8-lane and sans any potholes, car destroying speed-breakers and roadblocks. Metered taxis are freely available anywhere and anytime with a wave of a hand. Talk of discipline and one gets a taste of it when caught in Beijing' peak hour traffic. It took 1 hour to traverse a distance of 200 metres. What was most frustrating was that the taxi driver refused to shift over to the bus and cycle lanes which were empty. Shocked at the suggestion, he emphatically stated, "It is not allowed". If it were Delhi, Mumbai or Jhoomretalaiya even the pavement would have been choked with cars.

Not only infrastructure. If a Best Tourism Award were to be given, China would win hands down over India, even though we have much to boast about. Despite being encumbered by a severe language problem – hardly anyone speaks English except for the guides. Not even the taxi drivers and yet they manage to sell and how! Beijing 2008 shops have mushroomed at all tourist hot spots and shopping malls all over the country. All aggressively selling mementos and knick-knacks centered around the sports event.

Alongside, the Chinese are busy repackaging the Oriental mystique of an ancient civilization for the 21st Century to fit western perceptions and arouse interest. All monuments, temples and gardens that stand testimony to the centuries-old history and unique cultural relics are being given a makeover, whether required or not. Even a non-descript temple or garden with hardly any history to boast of has been packaged as a tourist must-visit. Replete with walkways, restaurants and shops which turn the visit into a picnic or a special treat. Take the Museum of the Terracotta Warriors in Xian. The museum covers an area of 16,300 square meters, divided into three sections. Yet acres surrounding it have been developed as a recreational and cultural centre with an amphi-theatre to host concerts etc.

All three cities are modern and fashionable complete with bubbling vitality. With towering skyscrapers, countless hotels of all stars, razzmatazz shopping malls selling the latest fashion, top international designers and an endless stream of traffic that makes them as international as one can get. Shanghai, known as "the Oriental Paris" is a shopper's paradise. Nanjing Road is considered the

"No. 1 commercial street in China". Here along its 5.5 kms, one will find over 600 shops that on average are visited by some 1.7 million people each day. All this in 'communist China!!!!. It is more capitalist than India can hope to be in the next 50 years.

Reflecting the increasing affluence of the local people, millions of upwardly mobile Chinese have dumped cycles and purchased cars, once a far-fetched dream for most locals. Not many are aware that China is the second largest auto market after the US and the world's fastest growing, up 25.4 per cent, from a year earlier, according to the China Association of Automobile Manufacturers.

The bland Communist tunics have given way to jeans, colourful skirts, shorts and t-shirts. Believe it or not, women can walk the streets alone even past mid-night. Taxis and buses are available any time. For a country once infamous for corruption, there is hardly any crime and English-speaking policemen are courteous to tourist. Like India, China too faces challenges of poverty. But has "walled" its poverty by barricading it from the prying eyes of the tourist. Shanties are making way for neat building to house the poor. The only give-away is the rampant begging. Punctuality is another Chinese hallmark. Take for instance the national carrier Air China. It would take-off on dot without late-comers on board. Never mind that they held boarding passes!

India needs to take a leaf from China family planning policy introduced over 30 years ago. Wherein a married couple was allowed to have only one child. During the early 1990s, the policy evolved into a sophisticated doctrine that offered financial incentives and disincentives. Stipends, roughly 20 per cent of the annual average rural income, are now offered in exchange for couples agreeing to have one child (two are allowed if the first child is a girl and/or disabled in rural areas). But the greatest change has been in Chinese mothers: When they choose to give birth, and how they feel about having children. According to a study, Chinese women would still have fewer than two children even if the government allowed all couples to have a second child.

As our tourist guide asserted, "initially it was very tough to adjust to this new concept, but today everyone has accepted it. In fact not a few couples choose not to have children due to the high costs of raising a child, pursuing their careers, and enjoying



roughly 20 per cent of the annual average rural income, are now offered in exchange for couples agreeing to have one child (two are allowed if the first child is a girl and/ or disabled in rural areas). But the greatest change has been in Chinese mothers: When they choose to give birth, and how they feel about having children. According to a study, Chinese women would still have fewer than two children even if the government allowed all couples to have a second child.

As our tourist guide asserted, "initially it was very tough to adjust to this new concept, but today everyone has accepted it. In fact not a few couples choose not to have children due to the high costs of raising a child, pursuing their careers, and enjoying their lives." Even urban and migrant workers in large cities who are eligible to have a second child, (if a husband and wife are the only children in their families and remarried couples) are preferring to have only one child.

-So successful has been the policy's implementation that the country is busy grappling with the problem of an aging society. That too before the country has fulfilled its industrialization. While it took Britain and some

other developed countries over 80 years to transform to the aging society, China completed the transformation in about 20 years. According to an United Nations report presently elderly people account for 11 per cent of the population and by 2040 it will rise to 28 per cent i.e. 397 million, which will exceed the combined present population of France, Germany, Italy, Britain and Japan. Consequently, it has resulted in a labour shortage. According to a report, by the middle of the 21st century, China is expected to lose 18-35 per cent of its labour force.

All in all, India needs to draw lessons from the rapid growth of Communist China. It showcases that communism and capitalism can co-exist provided the leadership is committed -- to the country and its people. One needs long term vision with no short-cuts. Great nations or super-powers are not built overnight but painstakingly brick-by-brick. Our polity has to quit politicking. At the present rate, it will take India at least 70 years to catch up with its Asian neighbour. Time to wake up! -- INFA

(Copyright India News and Feature Alliance)  
New Delhi, 1 June 2007

## Beijing Diary

by Saeed Naqvi

### Water Cube Etc

The arrangements the Chinese are making for the 2008 Beijing Olympics are an occasion for a delegation of senior athletes, young MPs and officials involved with the 2010 Commonwealth Games in Delhi to visit China. (Here is the sort of stuff Rahul Gandhi should take an interest in). They will first be invited to the riveting 19-floor Beijing Olympics Organising Committee headquarters. What will follow will be a ride on a psychedelic roller-coaster. The Bird's Nest, the main stadium, a Swiss design, will be discussed for decades by architects. It's a magnificent, controversial, awesome space.

Water Cube, the national aquatics centre, is an Australian design, employing solar energy to regulate pool temperature. The basketball stadium, a US design, is an improvement on anything available in the US and so on. How many countries are we involving in the Commonwealth Games?

Sun Weide, deputy director, communications, for the Olympics rattles off in flawless English the measures the state is taking to transform Beijing into a "pollution-free" city by August '08. For instance, 27.8 million new trees will have been planted in Beijing, polluting factories are being relocated and 50,000 taxis and 3,000 buses have

are produced...

In 1974, as a diversion from print-making, he started playing with bits of wax in the company of senior sculpture students such as Chandravinod Pande and Manik Talukdar. He produced some unusual figures covered with wounds. Chandravinod took up the challenge of casting them in bronze. He was successful. Somnath Hore found a new outlet for 'artistic creativity'. The victory of Vietnam against American aggression in 1975 aroused a vision in him—an eternal mother holding her head high in a newborn child cradled against her shattered chest. It took him two-and-a-half years to com-

plete this bronze, which was 40" high and weighed 40 kg. It was only after his retirement in 1983 that he once again began working in bronze.

Somnath Hore started his career as a poster-artist. But, at the end of his career, he expressed his faith in a deeper philosopher of art:

*The aesthetics of a work of art cannot be realised through a political approach. Its excellence is revealed through its own components, not because of any message or polemic... Because political art without rasa can only howl. It cannot make music.* ■

[This essay on Somnath Hore is mainly based on his autobiographical reflections, *Wounds*, published in 1991 on the occasion of exhibition of his works in Calcutta.]

---

---

TRIBUTE

---

---

*On August 29, 2006 passed away in Mumbai Govind Vidyarthi, a veteran figure in the communist movement who later served the Sangeet Natak Akademi with distinction. While offering homage to his memory and conveying our heartfelt condolences to his wife Reba and son Ashish, both distinguished creative artistes, we carry the following tributes by two of his associates. These were read out at a memorial meeting held in the Capital on October 1, 2006.*

## Remembering Govind

SUBRATA BANERJEE

*See next page for article by Ravi Bakaya*

As one approaches the last days of one's life, it is inevitable that one loses old friends one by one. Even so it is an inevitability that is difficult to accept. As the days roll on I am beginning to feel as if I am the only one left of my generation of young people who came into the communist movement through different experiences and from different backgrounds. What welded us together was the dream not only of wresting independence from the hands of the British imperialists, but also of a new world, a humane society, free from poverty and exploitation, the world of socialism. This comradeship was forged on the streets of our country, when together we faced the oppression of the state that even Gandhi had once described as a satanic state.

My friendship with Govind Vidyarthi was forged in such an environment. This was in 1946, when I came to work at the headquarters of the Communist Party of India, at Bombay, on the staff of *People's Age*, the weekly organ of the Central Committee of the Party. This soft-spoken person with a tenderness and warmth in his eyes drew my instant interest. He had come to the Party from the spiritual and social service background of Ramakrishna Mission. I had come from an atheistic family. This difference in backgrounds did not stand in the way of our friendship. I am not an outgoing person. Neither was Govind. But he had a quiet way of drawing people to him. I soon fell

victim to that charm.

In later years, I realised that this character of his was his great strength as an organiser. At the same time he did not draw attention to himself. He did not aspire for office in any organisation, or appear as a leader. All his life he remained a devoted worker of the CPI. He had his early training as a Communist under Comrade P.C. Joshi, who was then the General Secretary of the Party. For quite some time he worked as Comrade Joshi's secretary. He was later associated with the Indian People's Theatre Association. This was understandable. He had a genuine love for the performing arts. No wonder, the woman he married was a dancer and his son became a sensitive screen actor.

◆

THE sectarian period of the Party, during 1948-50, separated us, not on political or ideological grounds, but because of political circumstances. I lost touch with Govind for many years, until I came to Delhi in 1974. We soon found ourselves in the same Party Branch at the headquarters of the CPI. In his quiet way he contributed substantially to our political discussions at the meetings of the branch, consisting mainly of Party intellectuals. He had no intellectual pretensions and yet his responses to different political issues that we debated hotly, were both sensitive



P

and perceptive, as one would expect of a Marxist.

In 1985, the IPTA, which had fallen apart during the sectarian years, was reorganised as a national institution. Govind became its General Secretary. This is when I saw how seriously he took his responsibilities. He travelled to different parts of the country revitalising the IPTA. This he continued even when his health was failing. In those days, while editing the journal of the IPTA, I could count on him for not only reports of activities of the organisation, but also suggestions about how to improve the journal.

After I came back to Calcutta, I lost touch with Govind. He was a good friend, a good comrade, a

good Communist. With his passing away, I have lost another friend with whom, when the opportunity came, I could look forward to live again our old days together, to dream together of that wonderful life for humanity, that we will never live to see. I can understand what Govind's son, Ashish, is feeling. Over the years one outgrows one's dependence on one's father or mother. Yet, when one of them passes away, one feels lost, one feels as if a roof over one's head has crashed. I do not know what to say to Reba. I realise every day how difficult it is to live with this grief, this awful emptiness, which one can share with none, not even one's child. ■

## Govind Vidyarthi as I came to know Him

RAVI BAKAYA

I first came to know Govind Vidyarthi in June 1944 when I joined the People's Publishing House as a sub-editor. I worked under Mohan Kumaramangalam, who was in charge of English PPH publications as a member of the Central Committee of the CPI. I had come to Bombay from distant Lahore after graduation and doing a one-year diploma course in journalism. The editorial staff of the PPH and *People's War*, then the weekly organ of the CPI, sat in the same room on the first floor of Raj Bhavan, adjacent to the room of P.C. Joshi, the then General Secretary of the CPI.

At the end of the corridor on the same floor was the library of which a slim, tall, darkish ever-smiling man was in charge. This was Govind Vidyarthi. He looked so young and agile that I did not then realise that the difference between our age was no less than ten years. I was then 22 and he 32. The Party headquarters or PHQ published a weekly in five languages: English, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and Gujarati, and books too in all these languages. The press was located in a building close by and the PPH bookshop was on the ground floor facing Sandhurst Road. Most of those including Party leaders who worked here were young—in their twenties and thirties. Work began at 9 o'clock or even earlier, after an early morning meal which we ate sitting in rows on the floor in two or three batches. Each one washed his own aluminum plate and bowl. There was a tea-break between 1 and 2. There was no upper time limit for work but the evening meal started at 6 o'clock.

I was young and shy but Govind soon became a close friend. I often visited the library for some reference book or simply to sit for a while to look at new arrivals. I worked in the PHQ for two-and-a-half years until the end of 1946. On September 13 my elder brother Shashi, who was the General Secretary of the Bombay Friends of the Soviet Union, suddenly died, a few weeks after he had donated blood for victims of communal riots which broke out all over India after the Muslim League called for a Direct Action Day on August 16. After Shashi's death I was instructed to shift to work in the All-India FSU office and its monthly organ *Indo-Soviet Journal*, to assist the AIFSU General Secretary, R.M. Jambhekar, who was also the editor of the journal.

The political space the Communists had lost by their opposition to the 'Quit India' movement in 1942 they regained through their sincere work for the victims of the Great Bengal Famine of 1943 and their work in many mass and popular organisations like the IPTA, FSU, Progressive Writers, and their campaign for Hindu-Muslim unity, for the release of national leaders, their work for the release of INA prisoners and their active support during the great Naval Ratings Strike in February 1946. They enthusiastically participated in the Independence Day celebrations on August 15, 1947.

But then suddenly they were told that on August 15 India did not gain freedom and that it was a false freedom—*jhooti azadi*. The Second Congress of the CPI held in Calcutta in early 1948 removed P.C. Joshi not only as the General Secretary but also

R  
A  
V  
I  
B  
A  
K  
A  
Y  
A

from the Central Committee. Govind had worked closely with Joshi for a decade. Joshi was soon expelled as a renegade. The CPI was declared illegal in many provinces and many of its leaders and workers were jailed. Govind had again to go underground. By the beginning of 1950 when this policy began to be corrected, the Party had been reduced to one-fourth of its strength. Govind continued to work in the illegal party but he too was expelled for not denouncing Joshi and keeping contact with him. I took an active part in the formation of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society in March 1952 and then went to Russia for treatment of my chronic TB. After my return in 1954 I started teaching Russian under ISCUS and later joined the IIT and then in 1961 moved to its distant campus at Powai. Most of my Party friends, including Govind, had dispersed to different places in the country and the headquarters had shifted to Delhi by the early fifties.

I joined the Institute of Russian Studies in Delhi in July 1967. It became part of the JNU when the University was opened in 1969. My brother-in-law Satyapal Dang and sister Vimla used to come often to attend meetings at Ajoy Bhavan and I would go to meet them there and then see Dr Adhikari and Comrade Katdare—KR as we called him—an old friend with whom Govind had worked closely in the underground days. After Dr Adhikari's death KR lived on for many years and our meetings continued. We would gather in his room and recall old times. Sardar Prithvi Singh, Rashid, Shafeeq Naqvi and some other old friends also joined us from time to time.

We shifted to Mayur Vihar in 1994 and were delighted to know that Govind and Rebaji had many friends in Kala Vihar where we acquired an apartment. Moreover, they lived not too far away in Lakshmi Nagar and as I had then a two-wheeler, I and Kamal, my wife, drove from time to time to the very green and beautiful house that they had built many years ago, when this was not the crowded area that it became later. Many friends came to their house and they too visited friends. We were always welcomed warmly by both Govind and Rebaji. Govind had a large library full of rare books on all subjects and in several languages. I remember that once when I wanted to write an article as a rejoinder to then Prime Minister A. B. Vajpayee's "Musings" in which he had quoted Iqbal as an admirer of Ram and I could not find the original Iqbal poem (Vajpayee had quoted from an English translation), Govind found in his library an Urdu copy of Iqbal's collection *Bang-e-dara* in which this poem

occurs and gave it to me as a present. I borrowed from him many rare books including Rahul Sankrityayana's *Naye Bharat ke naye neta*, which I had read decades ago and wanted to read again as there were many life sketches in it of people whom I had the good fortune of knowing personally. Govind presented to me some Russian books too.



BUT I came to know the real thrilling story of his life when I read the interviews he gave to the Oral History team of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. The typescript of these interviews runs to over 500 pages. I was familiar with many people and events described in these interviews, but I did not know much about Govind's personal life story. It is not possible to summarise an eventful life that exceeds nine decades briefly, but it is worthwhile to recall some of its less-known facts.

Born in Malabar (Kerala) in village Palayad in Cannanore district on May 17, 1912, the name given to him by his parents was Govindan. He had his higher elementary school education (up to class VIII) in his village. This was in highly Sanskritised Malayalam. Early in life he met and came under the influence of the great social reformer Sri Narayan Guru and his learned disciple Kumaran Asan. He was then influenced by Gandhiji's temple-entry movement. He attended a provincial Congress session in May 1931. All this time he was doing small jobs to earn his living. He came in touch with the Dakshin Bharat Hindi Pracharani Sabha and started learning Hindi and later, writing for some Hindi papers. One of the papers that the Sabha received was *Pratap*, from Kanpur, edited by Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi. Govind was shocked to read one day about his death during a communal riot in Kanpur. He was shot dead while trying to pacify the mob. The day he read the news Govind added "Vidyarthi" to his name and that is how he became Govind Vidyarthi. He was influenced by Vivekanand and Ramakrishna Mission and read Vivekanand's works. As a Hindi *pracharak* he was sent to Madras and then to Allahabad. From there he went to Banaras (Varanasi). He wanted at that time to become a *sanyasi*. He joined the Kashi Vidyapeeth where he passed Hindi Prabhakar, equivalent to BA, and then went on to study for the next degree, that of Shastri. Kashi Vidyapeeth had then many reputed scholars on its staff. Acharya Narendra Dev was the principal and Dr Bhagwan Das the Kulpati or VC. In Banaras he met many



other scholars and famous Indians: Rahul Sankrityayana came to lecture. The famous Buddhist scholar Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi (father of the great mathematician and Marxist historian D. D. Kosambi) also taught there.

Tagore and Gandhiji came to Banaras and Govind heard them both. Banaras Hindu University and also Kashi Vidyapeeth had many young Communist students in those days, including K. Damodaran from Kerala, Rustam Satin and others. Nirmala Joshi, who later became Secretary of the Sangeet Natak Adademi when it was started in Delhi, was doing her MA in History and Economics in BHU. Here Govind met a prominent Communist leader of those days, R.D. Bharadwaj, who used to come and go for his work under the name of Tandon and who influenced him to join the communist movement and move to Allahabad. Allahabad and its university had many prominent Communists of those days, working in close association with the Congress and Jawaharlal Nehru. The CPI was illegal but its work and influence among the youth was spreading. P.C. Joshi had also been a student of Allahabad University before he was arrested as an accused in the famous Meerut Conspiracy Case.

The rest of the story has to be very briefly told. Govind was sent to Calcutta where the illegal CPI had its headquarters. With Dr Adhikari, P.C. Joshi and Sardar Prithvi Singh he became the mainstay of the technical centre which was producing illegal literature. He learnt to type, to run the cyclostyle machine, to dispatch literature to other centres in a way that it reached safely. When Congress ministries were formed the Party Centre was moved to Bombay and he played a key role in the printing and circulation of the legal weekly *National Front*. Then came the Second World War and the Party had again to go underground. With the change of the Party line to "People's War", Govind became involved in organising the headquarters at Raj Bhavan on Sandhurst Road. He played a pivotal role as an organiser of the Central Squad of the IPTA in Andheri where he moved to work. He had learnt photography—not only to take excellent photographs but also to develop, enlarge and print them. P.C. Joshi had attracted to the movement not only political workers, but also writers, artists, intellectuals and others. Sunil Janah, now internationally famous as a photographer, Chittaprosad, the well-known artist, worked in Raj Bhavan. Writers and poets worked on Party weeklies and others came to visit or to work from time to time. In connection with

Party work and later as a journalist, photographer and organiser of the IPTA Govind had been to every nook and corner of the country.

One of the novels written by the well-known Bengali writer Sabitri Ray was dedicated to him. As a character in her novel *Swaralipi* resembled him, Govind was accused of disclosing Party secrets and suspended even after the Party had emerged out of its sectarian past. He appealed to the Control Commission and was finally exonerated. But by now he had made up his mind to be on his own and earn a living by his work. Many friends came to his help. He acquired a camera and photographic equipment.

NIRMALA JOSHI was a cousin of P.C. Joshi. She was the Secretary of the Bharatiya Kala Kendra which organised annual music conferences, dance festivals etc. After her education in BHU she returned to Bharatpur, where her father Dr Joshi was then serving under the Maharaja of Bharatpur. Nirmala learnt classical music from great *ustads* who were patronised by the Maharaja. Dr Joshi later came to Delhi where he opened his hospital in Karol Bagh. Pandit I. N. Haksar was his friend and a great music lover. With music lovers of Delhi Nirmala Joshi started the School of Hindustani Music and Dance in 1937. A large number of students learnt classical music and Kathak dance here.

After Dr Joshi's death in a communal flare-up, the school was closed down. It was restarted by two old students under the name of Sangeet Bharati, which shifted to its new premises at Mandi House. Govind was invited by Ms Joshi to live in her late father's house with her and help her in her work. When the Sangeet-Natak Akademi was started Nirmala Joshi was invited to work in it. Govind helped her and thus came to join the Akademi. He was sent to Manipur to organise a group of Manipuri dancers to come and participate in the Republic Day festivities. He carried out this difficult task brilliantly. The work done by Nirmala Joshi and him was recognised in a circular letter written in 1954 by Jawaharlal Nehru. I believe it was in the Kathak Kendra that he met his future life's companion Rebaji, who was teaching there.

Although he had formally ceased to be in the Party, he never lost any of his friends there. After his retirement many of them including Dr Adhikari frequently visited him. As I have said earlier, we also visited them often from our Mayur Vihar residence, until they shifted to Mumbai.



---

During his long life he travelled all over our land and met and worked not only with all the Party leaders, beginning with the earliest pioneers who built the communist movement in India, but he met also all our national leaders from Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Subhas Bose and others. He also met our great writers and poets like Rabindranath Tagore, Sumitranandan Pant, Vallathol and others. He met and organised programmes for our great singers and musicians and also for our folk dancers and singers.

He was lucky in his family life, with a talented

and devoted wife like Rebaji, a Kathak teacher of repute, and his son Ashish, whom we saw first on the TV in rather villainous roles, but who has been not only a fine and caring son but also a very talented film and theatre actor.

Govind never complained about his long and painful illness which he bore with great patience. He loved his numerous friends and was in turn loved by them. In his death we have lost someone who was a close witness to and a participant in modern India's history for nearly a century. We remember him with great respect and affection. ■

13

To Road De Kerala CPI(M)

# states KERALA

■ By M.G. Radhakrishnan

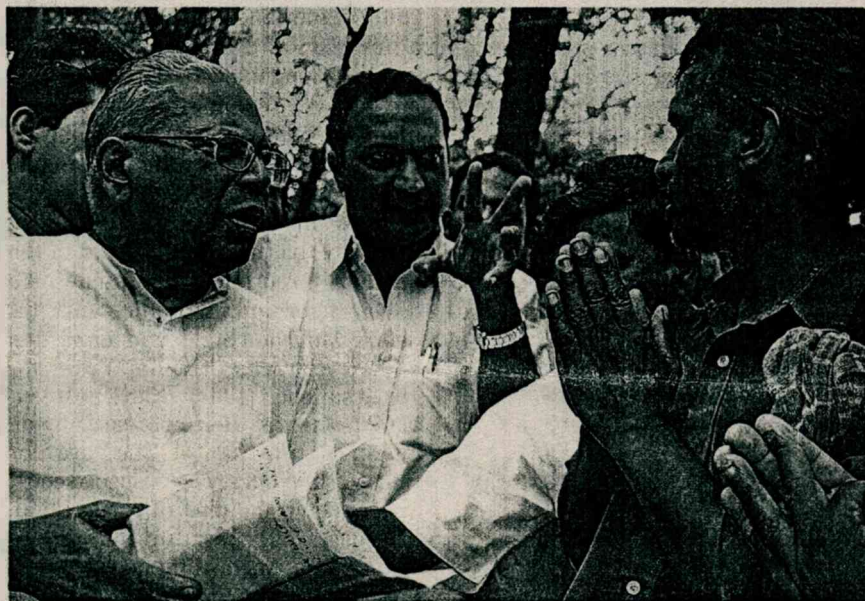
**K** Venugopal had excellent credentials to be a front-ranking member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in Kerala. He is the nephew of late A.K. Gopalan, the legendary communist leader after whom most of the CPI(M) offices in India are named. He is the deputy general manager of *Desabhimani*, the half-a-million-plus circulation mouthpiece of the party, where he has been working for more than two decades. He has been a card-holding member for years and is known to be close to some of the top party leaders in the state.

Last Friday, the CPI(M) expelled Venugopal from the party. Though the terse one-line statement merely attributed his expulsion to "involvement in financial deals which brought ill-repute to the party", the incident is said to be a tip of an iceberg of corruption. Venugopal is seen as a benami for many top leaders of the party for whom corruption has become a way of life. The incident is threatening to prise open a can of worms that could tarnish the reputations of many big names in the state.



# COMRADES IN SLEAZE

The expulsion of a senior CPI(M) member for taking Rs 1 crore as bribe for settling a deal threatens to open a can of worms that could tarnish the reputation of many party bigwigs



M.R. NANDAKUMAR

The issue has suddenly pumped adrenaline into the opposition United Democratic Front (UDF) which has been virtually comatose since its wipe-out in the assembly polls last year. "Venugopal is only a minion. The sleaze money has reached the CPI(M) top leadership. He has been made a scapegoat to save the skins of the top leaders," says Oommen Chandy, opposition leader.

The charge against Venugopal is that he took Rs 1 crore as bribe from LIS, a financial firm which has been facing investigation since 2005 for alleged embezzlement of funds. The money was allegedly taken by Venugopal who promised to freeze these investigations. The charges against LIS are related to acceptance of

**FOLK'S HERO:** Chief Minister Achuthanandan has popular backing





SHANKAR  
**UNREAL ESTATE:**  
 (Left) The Munnar office of CPI(M) doubles up as hotel; party HQ in Thiruvananthapuram

public deposits running into crores of rupees with the promise of doubling the money in violation of the RBI rules. Allegedly, Venugopal failed to keep his promise after taking the money, prompting the company owners to file a complaint to the party local committee. Though the CPI(M) claims that Venugopal is the only accused in the case, there are charges that the Government has derailed the investigation, started when UDF was in power.

For a party that prides itself on its working class ethics, the CPI(M) has been going through a rough patch in recent times. The last two months have been particularly embarrassing for the party which is now seen as among the biggest violators in the large-scale land encroachment in Munnar. Last week, fresh revelations revealed that the CPI(M) had been running a multi-storey budget hotel on the upper floors of its party office constructed on the encroached land in Munnar. This considerably slowed the much trumpeted demolition drive at the behest of Chief Minister V.S. Achuthanandan, even forcing him to publicly declare that party offices and religious institutions



SHANKAR  
**Many believe that the corruption scandal is the latest chapter in the fight between Vijayan and the chief minister.**

would be spared from the ongoing demolition drive. The Government later withdrew the order when the high court rapped it on the knuckles and termed it "unlawful". "The CPI(M) is the largest land encroacher in the state. Even A.K.G. Centre, its state headquarters, stands on encroached land," said V.D. Satheesan, a Congress MLA. According to him, the CPI(M) has launched several unauthorised constructions worth hundreds of crore on encroached lands in various parts of the state. "The party should close down its political office and get into the real estate business," says the legislator.

There are those who believe that this incident is only the latest chapter in the unending war between the two factions of the state CPI(M), one led by the powerful, but far from popular, state secretary, Pinarayi Vijayan and the other that owes allegiance to the less dominant but hugely popular chief minister, Venugopal, like many of the other Marxists caught with their fingers in the till, is a Vijayan confidant. It was the opposite faction, rather than the Opposition, that first raked up the issue and demanded action against Venugopal. The state secretariat had sat over the matter and decided to act only when the local committee threatened to refer it to the central committee. The fight between the two state heavyweights has already resulted in the suspension of the chief minister and state secretary from attending the Politburo meetings.

Though party leaders in New Delhi are keen to work out a truce, the rift is only likely to widen with the preliminary state level meetings all set to begin in September, ahead of the state conference which traditionally precedes the All India Party Congress to be held in March at Coimbatore next year. Having learnt his lessons in Marxism from Achuthanandan, who is nearly 20 years older, Vijayan later turned against his mentor and the two have never seen eye to eye since. At the last state conference in 2005, the Vijayan faction had decimated its inner party rivals. Achuthanandan, of course, was not the chief minister then and thus, may have been handicapped. Today, with power in his hands, the 82-year-old is not going to let his age come in the way of giving his opponents a bloody nose. ■



# 30 YEARS OF THE LEFT FRONT GOVERNMENT

30 years are over since the Left Front Government came to power in West Bengal. Seven times in succession the Left Front has been voted to power. Be it also noted that all through these years the Left Front was victorious from the Panchayat level to elections for the Lok Sabha seats in the state.

Left Parties in different states are rightly observing the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary in the history of our parliamentary democracy. This is an occasion not only for pride and satisfaction in the achievement, but also for a serious self-appraisal. How has this been possible? How is this to be carried forward, - not only in West Bengal, but as an example for other areas and states of the country?

Clearly, the Left Front did not come to power in West Bengal all of a sudden. It was the outcome of several decades of struggle by militant sections of the people, - peasants, workers, students, youth, led by the left parties and the mass organisations. These struggles brought the left

tenants, the bargadars, the landless poor, the workers and so forth.

The land reform measures that were carried out, the 'Operation Barga' had far-reaching impact, unlike in other states, where the long-promised land reforms were given the go by under pressure from the landlords and the big landowners. The countryside underwent a change. In economic terms the state's agriculture turned from a deficit to a surplus state and a substantial section of rural mass improved its economic condition.

The Left Front did not halt there. A most radical democratic step was the real introduction and implementation of the panchayat raj system. It was a step which took democracy to the grass-roots and empowered the rural masses. These two measures among several others established the Left Front among the masses of the state. Inevitably, the left parties also spread out in the state.

Seven times in succession the people voted the Left Front back to power.

Why did not the famous 'anti-incumbency factor'

**By A. B. Bardhan**

interrupted rule of 30 years, - we must also pause and ponder over the future of the Left Front. There is no reason to be 'dizzy with success', to become arrogant, or to think that nothing can come in the way of its forward march. The leadership of the Front has to soberly sum up the successes, and also anticipate the pitfalls while planning for further advance.

Have the land reform measures taken so far exhausted their potential? What is the next step, the future perspective?

Industrialization has to take place, if the state has to advance, and address the issue of unemployment. After all, West Bengal was the second-most-industrial state in the country after Independence - with its jute, engineering, tea plantations etc. These are vital industries, and can by no means be dubbed as 'sunset industries'. But that brings us to the question: How do we set about industrializing the state? Is the path indicated by the neo-liberal reformers who are at present in power at the Centre and in other

There is a powerful school of thought which while desiring industrialization as much as anybody else, does not think that setting up Special Economic Zones (SEZ), is the way to industrialization. This school of thought, opposing SEZ, is not only among the enemies of the Left Front, but is also to be found among several sections of the Left. This cannot be ignored.

But let us stop here. This article is not meant to be an essay on the path to industrialization, but on 30 years of the Left Front, and the future. Therefore, to return to the theme:

The unity of the Left Parties is the foundation of the Left Front. This unity requires to be strengthened in the coming days, because the challenges are mounting up. The consolidation of the Left is also being countered by a consolidation of all the anti-left, rightist and reactionary forces at the other pole. It is a reflection of the old experience, 'Revolution organises Counter revolution'.

In undertaking massive changes in agriculture, industry and infrastruc-

levels are sorted out. This in no way will undermine the leadership of the Front, and those who are exercising this leadership. Rather, this will strengthen it.

We must also face the question: why is it that with the existence of the Left Front government for 30 years, and with all the salutary examples that it sets, even the adjoining areas, not to speak of the adjoining states as a whole, viz. Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa have not moved towards the Left. The apparent reasons, particularly the weakness of the left parties in these states, are known. But by now, the Left Parties in the adjoining areas should have gained from the example. What is being said here is that this question must be on the agenda of the Left Parties.

If the Left Front in West Bengal itself is to be sustained and strengthened, then it is essential that the example is taken up by a couple or two states more. The Left Front in West Bengal cannot continue to advance in isolation. At least after 30 years the Left has to address itself to this question.



parties together despite their differences, and forged them into a front.

In a way, the victory of the Communist Party in Kerala in 1957 and the installation of the first Communist Ministry under EMS Namboodiripad was the precursor of the Left Front victory in West Bengal. Kerala in 1957 showed that it is possible. West Bengal showed that is practicable and long-sustaining.

The repeated victories of the Left Front in West Bengal has been due to the pro-people measures the Government took from the first day. Working people saw that the promises made in the election manifestoes were not merely for getting votes, but for actual implementation and for changing the life of the people. The states have limited powers under the Constitution. But such powers as they do have were fully utilized in favour of the

operate in the state? We hear often in relation to elections in other states about this so-called 'anti-incumbency factor'. In effect this boils down to the fact that governments which come to power on the basis of tall promises (and opportunist combinations of castes and so forth) and fail to carry out the promises, instead indulge in anti-people measures, are repudiated by the people when they next face the polls. Winning on the basis of negative votes, these governments are themselves negated by the voters, the next time coming. A fine example of the 'negation of the negation'!

But where a government implements its promises and takes pro-people measures, such an 'anti-incumbency factor' ceases to operate.

While we rejoice at the repeated victories of the Left Front, and its unin-

the centre and in other states, the only and inevitable path of industrialization? Undoubtedly, there are certain hard facts which have to be taken into account. These are for instance, the need of capital for investment, the prevalence of the capitalist system and the market economy. Factored into these, is the advance that West Bengal has made in agriculture. We have to go forward from that basis.

Industries require land. They require infrastructure. But that still keeps open the question: where do we start? Which industries should we prefer to begin with? What land do we make available for the upcoming industries? Granted that those who bring the capital have an important say in the matter. But surely the final say rests with the Government which has the mandate from the people, and enjoys their confidence?

ture, there are bound to be certain mistakes. No one is insured against committing mistakes and blunders especially while undertaking such massive socio-economic measures. But one has to learn from one's mistakes. That requires a certain degree of humility, especially among those who have been placed in a position of leadership of the Front. If this is lacking it can only lead to misunderstandings and tension among constituents and friends of the Front themselves. There is no alternative to greater and mutual discussions among the partners of the Front, in deciding and implementing various policies and decisions. In brief, the functioning of the Left Front has to improve qualitatively. It is worthwhile also to see that Left Front committees are set up at the district levels also, so as to ensure that differences, rivalries and conflicts at the lower

For the Left Parties, despite all differences and mutual criticism, there is no alternative than a Left Front or a Left and Democratic Front Government. They must be clear and committed on this point.

There are certain sections in the middle, among them well-meaning intellectuals, and some muddle-headed activists who look to the Left, but march to the Right. Some of them are genuinely concerned and critical of some mistake and blunders, but whose utterances rather than helping the Left to overcome its mistakes, only bring grist to the mill of the Right. They have to rethink their approach.

The 30 years of the Left Front Government is an achievement. It is not only an achievement of the people of West Bengal, but of the Left as a whole in India. We have therefore to hail it. Cherish it. Improve and develop it further.

# Scorpio Readymade Industry

Mfg. Pants, Shirts, T-shirts, Trousers etc.

Address: SCORPIO INDUSTRY PATHANKOT ROAD, SANOURAN CHOWK

GAGGAL

DISTT .KANGRA H.P. Ph: 94181-37504



Scorpio

Scorpio

TOUCH THE PERFECTION  
WITH SCORPIO WEARS



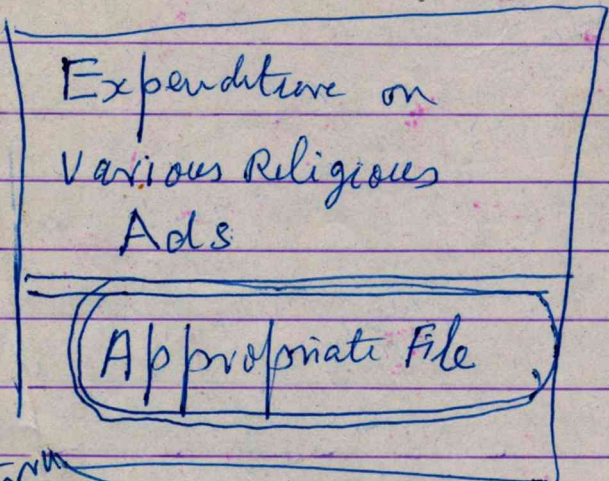
~~APP~~ File

I No clear policy

II During all the 5 years for which information was sought & Not even once any of the following prominent <sup>(religious)</sup> Hindu Festivals included for Ads.

- 1) Ram Navami
- 2) Dussehra
- 3) Deepawali
- 4) Janmashtomi
- 5) Shivratri                      6) Karwa chauth

An article on the basis of this has been written & sent to N Z. Ithra



SPD 25/7/2007 → Parwanaji



gmbst

### ਬਿਨਾਂ ਟਿੱਪਣੀ ਦੇ

## ਮੈਂ ਤਾਂ ਪੂੰਜੀਵਾਦੀ ਰਾਹ 'ਤੇ ਹੀ ਚੱਲਣਾ ਹੈ : ਬੁੱਧਾਦੇਵ

ਪੱਛਮੀ ਬੰਗਾਲ ਦੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਅਤੇ ਸੀ.ਪੀ.ਆਈ. (ਐਮ) ਦੇ ਪੋਲਿਟ ਬਿਓਰੋ ਮੈਂਬਰ ਬੁੱਧਾਦੇਵ ਬੱਟਾਚਾਰੀਆ ਨੇ ਪਿਛਲੇ ਦਿਨੀਂ ਅੰਗਰੇਜ਼ੀ 'ਦੈਨਿਕ ਰਿਵਿਸਤਾਲ ਟਾਈਮਜ਼' ਦੇ ਪੱਤਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣੇ ਦਫਤਰ, ਕਲਕੱਤਾ ਵਿਖੇ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਇਕ-ਦੋ ਘੰਟੇ ਲੰਬੀ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ ਵਿਚ ਆਪਣੇ ਰਾਜਨੀਤਕ ਅਜੰਡੇ ਦਾ ਭਰਪੂਰ ਖੁਲਾਸਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਹੈ; ਜਿਹੜਾ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਅਖਬਾਰ ਦੇ 19 ਜੁਲਾਈ 2007 ਦੇ ਅੰਕ ਵਿਚ ਛਪਿਆ ਹੈ। ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਵਲੋਂ ਇਸ ਇੰਟਰਵਿਊ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਾਏ ਗਏ ਕੁਝ ਇਕ ਵਿਚਾਰਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਅਸੀਂ ਏਥੇ ਟੁਕਾਂ ਦੇ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ, ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਿਸੇ ਟਿੱਪਣੀ ਦੇ, ਛਾਪ ਰਹੇ ਹਾਂ, ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਅਰਥ ਸਵੈ-ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਹਨ ਅਤੇ ਕਿਸੇ ਵਿਆਖਿਆ ਦੇ ਉੱਕਾ ਹੀ ਮੁਥਾਜ ਨਹੀਂ ਹਨ। - ਸੰਪਾਦਕੀ ਮੰਡਲ

“ਮੈਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਮਨੋਂ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਪੱਸ਼ਟ ਹਾਂ। ਇਹ ਪੂੰਜੀਵਾਦ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਭਾਗ ਵਿਚ ਸਮਾਜਵਾਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਉਸਾਰ ਸਕਦਾ। ਉਹ (ਖੱਬੇ ਪੱਖੀ ਆਲੋਚਕ) ਸਿਧਾਂਤਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ। ਅਕਾਦਮਿਕ ਰੂਪ ਵਿਚ ਵੀ ਉਹ ਇਹ ਸਥਿਤੀ ਪਰਵਾਨ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ। ਮੈਂ ਭਾਰਤ ਦੇ ਇਕ ਰਾਜ ਵਿਚ ਸਮਾਜਵਾਦ ਨਹੀਂ ਉਸਾਰ ਸਕਦਾ। ਮੈਂ ਪੂੰਜੀਵਾਦੀ ਰਾਹ 'ਤੇ ਹੀ ਚੱਲਣਾ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਪੂੰਜੀਵਾਦੀ ਸਮਾਜ ਦੇ ਨਕਾਰਾਤਮਕ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਚਾਅ ਕਰਨਾ ਹੋਵੇਗਾ।”

“ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਬਦਲ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਕਮਿਊਨਿਸਟ ਵੀ ਬਦਲ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੇ ਪੁਰਾਣੇ ਸਿਧਾਂਤਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਚਿੰਬੜੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿ ਸਕਦੇ। ਡੈਂਗ ਜ਼ਿਆਂਗ ਪੈਂਗ ਕਿਹਾ ਕਰਦੇ ਸਨ “ਸੱਚਾਈ ਤੱਥਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਸਿੱਖਿ, ਸਿਧਾਂਤਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਨਹੀਂ।”

“ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸੱਨਅਤੀਕਰਨ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਕਿਰਿਆ ਤੇਜ਼ ਕਰਨੀ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ ਕਿਉਂਕਿ ਨਵੀਆਂ ਤਕਵੀਜਾਂ ਆ ਰਹੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਅਸੀਂ ਇਤਯਾਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ। ਕੇਕਰ ਇਸ ਰੁਝਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਗੁਆ ਦਿਆਂਗੇ ਤਾਂ ਅਸੀਂ ਪੱਛੜ ਜਾਵਾਂਗੇ। ਕਿਉਂਕਿ (ਨਿਵੇਸ਼ਕ) ਪੱਛਮੀ ਬੰਗਾਲ ਦਾ ਮਹੀਨਿਆਂ ਬੱਧੀ ਇਤਯਾਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਰ ਸਕਦੇ। ਉਹ ਇਕਦਮ ਕਿਸੇ ਹੋਰ ਸੁਬੇ ਵਿਚ ਚਲੇ ਜਾਣਗੇ। ਗੁਜਰਾਤ, ਮਹਾਰਾਸ਼ਟਰ ਤੇ ਪੱਛਮੀ ਬੰਗਾਲ ਵਰਗੇ ਸੂਬਿਆਂ ਦਰਮਿਆਨ ਇਸ ਪੱਖਿ ਕਾਟੇ ਦੀ ਟੱਕਰ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਲਈ ਸਮਾਂ ਇਕ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰੀ ਹੈ।”

“ਸੱਨਅਤ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਤੁਸੀਂ ਕਿਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਤਰੱਕੀ ਕਰੋਗੇ? ਇਹ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਸਭਿਅਤਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਆਮ ਰੁਝਾਨ ਹੈ--ਪਿੰਡਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਸ਼ਹਿਰਾਂ ਵੱਲ, ਖੇਤੀ ਤੋਂ ਸਨਅੱਤ ਵੱਲ। ਤੁਸੀਂ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਰੋਕ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਕਦੇ, ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਰੋਕਣਾ ਵੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਚਾਹੀਦਾ। ਅਤੇ ਇਸ ਲਈ ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਨਿੱਜੀ ਸਨਅੱਤ ਦੀ, ਨਿੱਜੀ ਪੂੰਜੀ ਦੀ, ਤੁਹਾਨੂੰ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਵੱਡੇ ਵਪਾਰ ਦੀ। ਸਾਨੂੰ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ ਬਹੁਕਮੀ ਕੰਪਨੀਆਂ ਦੀ--ਇਕੋ-ਇਕ ਸਾਡੀ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਅਸੀਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਪ੍ਰਚੁਨ ਖੇਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਦਾਖਲ ਹੋਣ ਦੀ ਇਜਾਜ਼ਤ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇਵਾਂਗੇ। (ਉੱਝ ਕਲਕੱਤੇ ਵਿਚ ਉਹ ਪਹਿਲਾਂ ਹੀ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੇ ਹੱਟ ਖੋਲ੍ਹ ਚੁੱਕੀਆਂ ਹਨ-- ਸੰਪਾਦਕ)

“ਸਾਨੂੰ ਵੱਡੇ ਨਿਵੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਮੈਨੂੰਵੈਕਚਰਿਗ ਸਨਅੱਤ ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ, ਅਸੀਂ ਇਹ ਨਹੀਂ ਕਹਿ ਸਕਦੇ ਕਿ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸਿੱਖਿ ਪੂੰਜੀ ਨਿਵੇਸ਼ (FDI) ਦੀ ਲੋੜ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਅਸੀਂ ਆਪਣੀ ਪਾਰਟੀ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਸਿੱਧਾ ਨਿਵੇਸ਼, ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਆਰਥਕ ਖੇਤਰ, ਸੰਸਾਥ ਬੈਂਕ ਤੋਂ ਕਰਜ਼ੇ ਲੈਣ ਉੱਤੇ ਵਿਚਾਰ-ਵਟਾਂਦਰਾ ਕਰ ਚੁੱਕੇ ਹਾਂ। ਪਰ ਸਾਡੇ ਖੱਬੇ ਭਾਈਵਾਲ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਦੁੱਖਿਤੀ ਵਿਚ ਹਨ।”

“..... ਟਾਟ (ਸਿਗੂਰ ਵਿਚ) 12000 ਕਿਸਾਨਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਲੈਣਾ ਚਾਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ। ਸਿਗੂਰ ਕਾਰ ਵੈਕਟਰੀ 4000 ਨੌਕਰੀਆਂ ਪੈਦਾ ਕਰੇਗੀ ਅਤੇ ਬਹੁਤ ਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਸਹਿਯੋਗੀ ਸਨਅੱਤਾਂ ਖੋਲ੍ਹਣ ਲਈ ਸਹਾਈ ਹੋਵੇਗੀ। ਇਹ ਉਸ ਖੇਤਰ ਦੇ ਸਮੁੱਚੇ ਅਰਥਚਾਰੇ ਨੂੰ ਬਦਲਕੇ ਰੱਖ ਦੇਵੇਗਾ। ਇਹ ਉਸ ਖੇਤਰ ਵਿਚ ਜੀਵਨ ਦੀ ਗੁਣਵੱਤਾ ਵਿਚ ਤਬਦੀਲੀ ਲੈ ਆਵੇਗਾ....

ਇਸ ਲਈ ਸਿਗੂਰ ਸਾਡੇ ਲਈ ਬਹੁਤ ਮਹੱਤਵਪੂਰਨ ਹੈ।”

“ਸਿਰਫ਼ ਬੁੱਧੀ ਜਿਹੀ ਗਿਣਤੀ 'ਚ ਲੋਕ ਹੀ ਅਜੇ ਵੀ ਇਸਦਾ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ, ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਪੱਖ ਵਲੋਂ ਸ਼ਹਿ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਹੈ। ਪਰ ਏਨਾ ਹੀ ਕਾਫੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੈ। ਮੈਂ ਸੋਚਦਾ ਹਾਂ ਸਿਗੂਰ ਹੁਣ ਇਕ ਵੱਡੇ ਅਧਿਆਏ ਹੈ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਸੁਨੇਹਾ ਮਿਲ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੈਂ ਇਸ ਪ੍ਰੋਜੈਕਟ ਨੂੰ ਵਾਪਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਮੰਨ ਸਕਦਾ।”

### ‘ਭਾਰਤੀ ਸੋਧਵਾਦੀ ਨੂੰ’

- ਗੁਰਦਾਸਰਾਮ ਅਸ਼ਮ

ਏਹ ਕੀ ਬੀਉਗੀ, ਤੇ ਕੀ ਏ ਸਿਧਾਂਤ ਤੇਰਾ ?  
ਕਦਮ ਪੁੱਟਣਾ, ਪਿਛੇ ਪ੍ਰਤਾਈ ਜਾਣਾ।  
ਨਿਕਲੀ ਮੋਕ ਤੇ ਗਊ ਦਾ ਜਾਇਆ ਬਣਨਾ,  
ਬੜਕ ਮਾਰ ਕੇ ਸਾਹਨ ਆਲਾਈ ਜਾਣਾ।  
ਚੱਪਾ ਟੁੱਕ ਤੇ ਮੰਜੀ ਦੀ ਥਾਂ ਬਦਲੇ,  
ਆਸਾ ਰਾਗ ਤਿਰਕਾਲਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਗਾਈ ਜਾਣਾ।  
ਨਾਲੇ ਜਿਹਲ ਜੁਗਮਾਨੇ ਤੋਂ ਬਚੇ ਰਹਿਣਾ,  
ਕਮਿਊਨਿਸਟ ਵੀ ਨਾਲੇ ਕਹਾਈ ਜਾਣਾ।  
ਤੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ ਜਾਣਦਾ ਬੋਹੜਿਆਂ ਦਿਨਾਂ ਤੀਕਰ,  
‘ਆਲਮ’ ਤੇਥੋਂ ਹਿਸਾਬ ਵੀ ਮੰਗਣਾ ਏ।  
ਚੁੱਕ ਕੇ ਟਿੱਡ ਫਹੜੀ ਰਾਹ ਚੋਂ ਪਰੇ ਹੋ ਜਾ,  
ਏਥੋਂ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਦਿਆਂ ਲੀਡਰਾਂ ਲੇਖਣਾ ਏ।

( ਇਸੇ ਸਿਰਲੇਖ ਹੇਠ ਲਿਖੀ ਕਵਿਤਾ ਦਾ ਆਖਰੀ ਬੰਦ )



### ‘ਆਜ਼ਾਦੀ ਦਿਵਸ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਅੰਕ’ ਲਈ

# ਗੋਦਾਰਾ ਫਿਲਿੰਗ ਸਟੇਸ਼ਨ

## ਸੀਤੋ ਰੋਡ, ਅਬੋਹਰ ਵਲੋਂ

### ਅਦਾਰਾ ‘ਸੰਗਰਾਮੀ ਲਹਿਰ’ ਨੂੰ ਇਨਕਲਾਬੀ ਸੁੱਭ ਇੱਛਾਵਾਂ

### ਡੀਲਰ : ਧਰਮਵੀਰ ਗੋਦਾਰਾ

### ਮੈਂਬਰ ਜ਼ਿਲ੍ਹਾ ਪ੍ਰੀਸ਼ਦ ਫਿਰੋਜ਼ਪੁਰ

### ਨੋਟ : ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਨਿਰਧਾਰਤ

### ਮੁਫਤ ਸੇਵਾਵਾਂ ਦੀ ਗਾਰੰਟੀ





# ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਵਲੋਂ

## ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪਲੋਸਟ ਦਾ ਸਿੱਟਾ : ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਕਾਂਡ

ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਇਸਲਾਮਾਬਾਦ ਦੀ ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਉੱਤੇ 10 ਜੁਲਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨੀ ਫੌਜ ਨੇ ਹਥਿਆਰਬੰਦ ਐਕਸ਼ਨ ਕਰਕੇ ਕੱਟੜੋਲ ਕਰ ਲਿਆ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸੰਦਰਭ ਵਿਚ ਲਗਭਗ ਇਕ ਹਫਤਾ ਚੱਲਿਆ ਘਟਨਾਕ੍ਰਮ ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ ਜਦੋਂ ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਚੀਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਛੇ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਬੰਧਕ ਬਣਾ ਲਿਆ ਸੀ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਇਲਜ਼ਾਮ ਲਾਇਆ ਗਿਆ ਸੀ ਕਿ ਉਹ ਗੈਰ ਇਖ਼ਲਾਕੀ ਕਾਰਜਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਰੁੱਝੀਆਂ ਹੋਈਆਂ ਹਨ। ਚੀਨ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਲਿਖੇ ਇਕ ਸਖਤ ਪੱਤਰ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਇਹ ਰੋੜਕਾ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਇਆ ਸੀ। ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀਆਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਚੀਨੀ ਬੰਧਕ ਤਾਂ ਛੱਡ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਗਏ ਸਨ, ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਹਥਿਆਰਬੰਦ ਫੌਜੀ ਤੇ ਅਰਧ-ਫੌਜੀ ਬਲਾਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਤੇ ਉਸ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਜੁੜੇ ਇਸਤਰੀ ਮਦਰੱਸੇ 'ਜਾਮੀਆ ਹਾਫਸਾ' ਵਿਚੋਂ ਹਮਲੇ ਹੋਏ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਉਸ ਵਿਚ ਕਈ ਫੌਜੀ ਜ਼ਖ਼ਮੀ ਤੇ ਕੁਝ ਹਲਾਕ ਹੋ ਗਏ ਸਨ। ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਵਲੋਂ ਸਾਬਕਾ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਚੌਧਰੀ ਸ਼ੁਜਾਤ ਹੁਸੈਨ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਪ੍ਰਤੀਨਿੱਧ ਮੰਡਲ ਦੀ ਰੋੜਕੇ ਨੂੰ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਲਾਊਡ ਸਪੀਕਰਾਂ ਅਤੇ ਮੋਬਾਇਲ ਫੋਨਾਂ ਰਾਹੀਂ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਵਿਚ ਮੋਰਚੇ ਲਾਈ ਬੈਠੇ ਮੁਸਲਮ ਬੁਨਿਆਦਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਅੱਤਵਾਦੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਅਗਵਾਈ ਕਰ ਰਹੇ ਉਪ ਮੁਖੀ ਅਬਦੁਲ ਰਸ਼ੀਦ ਗਾਜ਼ੀ ਨਾਲ 10 ਘੰਟੇ ਚੱਲੀ ਗੱਲਬਾਤ ਦੇ ਨਾਕਾਮ ਹੋਣ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ 9 ਜੁਲਾਈ ਨੂੰ ਫੌਜ ਨੇ ਇਹ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਦੇਰ ਰਾਤ 10 ਜੁਲਾਈ ਤੱਕ ਚੱਲਦੀ ਰਹੀ। ਇਸ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀ ਆਗੂ ਅਬਦੁਲ ਰਸ਼ੀਦ ਗਾਜ਼ੀ ਆਪਣੇ ਲਗਭਗ 50 ਸਾਥੀਆਂ ਸਮੇਤ ਮਾਰਿਆ ਗਿਆ। ਫੌਜ ਦੇ ਸੂਤਰਾਂ ਮੁਤਾਬਕ ਸੁਰਖਿਆ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਦੇ 8 ਜਵਾਨ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਅਤੇ 23 ਜ਼ਖ਼ਮੀ ਹੋਏ। 50 ਤੋਂ ਵੱਧ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਵਿਚੋਂ ਬੱਚਕੇ ਭੱਜਣ ਸਮੇਂ ਗਿਰਫਤਾਰ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਅਤੇ 27 ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਸਮੇਤ 54 ਲੋਕਾਂ ਨੇ ਫੌਜ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਆਤਮ ਸਮਰਪਣ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਵਿਚ ਮਾਰੇ ਗਏ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀ ਆਗੂ ਅਬਦੁਲ ਰਸ਼ੀਦ ਗਾਜ਼ੀ ਦੀ ਪਤਨੀ ਉੱਮੇ ਹਸਨ ਵੀ ਸ਼ਾਮਲ ਸੀ, ਜਿਹੜੀ ਕਿ ਜਾਮੀਆ ਹਾਫਸਾ ਮਦਰੱਸੇ ਦੀ ਮੁਖੀ ਸੀ।

'ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ' ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਇਸਲਾਮਾਬਾਦ ਦੇ ਐਨ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਵਿਚ ਸਥਿਤ ਸੀ। 1964 ਵਿਚ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਉਸਰੀ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ 1965 ਵਿਚ ਇਹ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਉਸਾਰੀ ਗਈ ਸੀ, ਜਿਸਦੀ ਚਾਰ-ਦੀਵਾਰੀ ਲਾਲ ਪੱਥਰ ਦੀ ਬਣੀ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਇਸਦਾ ਨਾਂ ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਪਿਆ ਸੀ। ਇਹ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਦੇ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਪਤੀ ਭਵਨ, ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਰਾਜਦੂਤਾਂ ਦੇ ਰਹਿਣ ਦੇ ਖੇਤਰ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਦਫਤਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਨੇੜੇ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਹਮੇਸ਼ਾਂ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਆਗੂਆਂ, ਵਿਦੇਸ਼ੀ ਕੂਟਨੀਤਕਾਂ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਪ੍ਰਭਾਵਸ਼ਾਲੀ ਲੋਕਾਂ ਲਈ ਨਮਾਜ਼ ਅਦਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਕੇਂਦਰ ਹੋਣ ਕਰਕੇ ਰਾਜਸੀ ਹਲਕਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਬਹੁਤ ਮਹੱਤਾ ਰੱਖਦੀ ਸੀ ਤੇ ਇਸਦੇ ਧਾਰਮਕ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਤੇ ਇਮਾਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਹਲਕਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਸਨਮਾਨ ਹਾਸਲ ਸੀ। ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਬਦਨਾਮ ਫੌਜੀ ਸੂਹੀਆ ਅਜੇਸੀ ਆਈ ਐਸ ਆਈ ਦਾ ਹੈਡਕੁਆਰਟਰ ਵੀ ਇਸਦੇ ਨਜ਼ਦੀਕ ਸਥਿਤ ਹੈ। ਇਸਦੇ ਮੁਖੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਅਮਲੇ ਦੇ ਵੀ ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧਕ ਚਹੇਤੇ ਸਨ ਅਤੇ ਇਸਦੀਆਂ ਗੋਦਾਂ ਦੇ ਭਾਈਵਾਲ ਰਹੇ ਹਨ। ਇਸਦੀ ਸਥਾਪਨਾ ਮੋਲਾਨਾ ਅਬਦੁਲਾ ਨੇ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਕਿ 1998 ਵਿਚ ਇਕ ਸੰਪਤੀ ਵਿਵਾਦ ਵਿਚ ਕਤਲ ਹੋਣ ਤੱਕ ਇਸਦੇ ਈਮਾਮ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ। ਉਸਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਉਸਦਾ ਵੱਡਾ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਮੋਲਾਨਾ ਅਬਦੁਲ

ਅਜੀਜ਼ ਇਸਦਾ ਈਮਾਮ ਬਣਿਆ। ਆਪਣੇ ਪਿਤਾ ਦੀ ਮੌਤ ਤੱਕ ਪੱਛਮੀ ਕਦਰਾਂ-ਕੀਮਤਾਂ ਮੁਤਾਬਕ ਵਿਚਰਨ ਵਾਲਾ ਅਤੇ ਇਸਲਾਮੀ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਹਾਸਲ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਇਨਕਾਰੀ ਹੋਣ ਵਾਲਾ ਉਸਦਾ ਛੋਟਾ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਅਬਦੁਲ ਰਸ਼ੀਦ ਗਾਜ਼ੀ, ਆਪਣੇ ਭਰਾ ਦਾ ਸਹਾਇਕ ਅਤੇ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦਾ ਉਪਮੁਖੀ ਬਣਿਆ। ਇਸ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਨਾਲ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਮਦਰੱਸਾ ਸਥਿਤ ਹੈ--ਜਾਮੀਆ ਹਾਫਸਾ, ਜਿਸ ਵਿਚ ਹਜ਼ਾਰਾਂ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਇਸਲਾਮੀ ਸਿੱਖਿਆ ਹਾਸਲ ਕਰਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ। ਥੋੜੀ ਦੂਰ ਉੱਤੇ ਮਰਦਾਂ ਲਈ ਵੀ ਮਦਰੱਸਾ ਸਥਿਤ ਹੈ, ਇਹ ਦੋਵੇਂ ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਹੀ ਪ੍ਰਬੰਧ ਅਧੀਨ ਹਨ।

'ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ' ਦੇ ਸੰਸਥਾਪਕ ਮੋਲਾਨਾ ਅਬਦੁਲਾ, ਜਿਹੜੇ ਕਿ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਦੱਖਣੀ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਨਾਲ ਸਬੰਧਤ ਸਨ, ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੇ ਲਗਭਗ ਸਾਰੇ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਦੇ ਖਾਸ-ਖਾਸ ਰਹੇ ਸਨ। ਫੌਜੀ ਡਿਕਟੇਟਰ ਜਿਆ-ਉਲ ਹੱਕ ਨਾਲ ਤਾਂ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੇ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਸੰਬੰਧ ਸਨ। ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਪਤੀ ਪਰਵੇਜ਼ ਮੁਸ਼ਰਫ ਤੱਕ ਲਗਭਗ ਸਾਰੇ ਰਾਸ਼ਟਰਪਤੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਇਸ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀ ਆਗੂਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਪੂਰੀ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ, ਪਾਲਿਆ ਅਤੇ ਆਪਣੇ ਹੱਕਾਂ-ਹਿੱਤਾਂ ਲਈ ਵਰਤਿਆ ਸੀ। 1980ਵਿਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਜਦੋਂ ਅਫਗਾਨਿਸਤਾਨ ਵਿਚ ਉਥੇ ਦੀ ਅਗਾਂਹਵਧੂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਤੇ ਰੂਸੀ ਫੌਜ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ 'ਜਿਹਾਦ' ਚਲਾਇਆ ਜਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਸੀ, ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਮੁਸਲਮ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀ ਅੱਤਵਾਦੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਜਿਹਾਦੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਇਹ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਅੱਡਾ ਸੀ ਅਤੇ ਇਸਨੂੰ ਅਮਰੀਕੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਅਤੇ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨੀ ਹਾਕਮਾਂ ਵੱਲੋਂ ਹਰ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹਾਇਤਾ ਮਿਲਦੀ ਸੀ। ਉਸੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਦੌਰਾਨ ਹੀ ਇੱਥੇ ਮੁਸਲਮ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਅੱਤਵਾਦੀਆਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣੀ ਤਾਕਤ ਵਧਾਉਣੀ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ। ਜਿਸਦਾ ਸਿੱਟਾ ਅੱਜ ਸਾਰੀ ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਹੈ।

ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਮੁਸਲਮ ਕੱਟੜਪੰਥੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨਾਲ ਟਕਰਾਅ 2001 ਵਿਚ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਹੋਇਆ ਜਦੋਂ ਵਰਲਡ ਟਰੇਡ ਸੈਂਟਰ ਕਾਂਡ ਤੋਂ ਬਾਅਦ ਅਖੌਤੀ ਅੱਤਵਾਦ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਜੰਗ ਦੇ ਨਾਂਅ 'ਤੇ ਅਫਗਾਨਿਸਤਾਨ ਵਿਖੇ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਤੇ ਉਸਦੀਆਂ ਸਹਿਯੋਗੀ ਫੌਜਾਂ ਨੇ ਤਾਲਿਬਾਨ ਨੂੰ ਖਤਮ ਕਰਨ ਦੇ ਮਨੋਰਥ ਨਾਲ ਹਮਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ। ਇਸੇ ਮੌਕੇ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀਆਂ ਬੁਨਿਆਦਪ੍ਰਸਤ ਪਾਰਟੀਆਂ ਵਲੋਂ ਬਣਾਏ ਗਏ ਮੁਹਾਜ਼ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਮੁੱਖ ਆਗੂ ਵਜੋਂ ਅਬਦੁਲ ਰਸ਼ੀਦ ਗਾਜ਼ੀ ਉਭਰਿਆ। ਉਸ ਵੇਲੇ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਅਖੌਤੀ 'ਅੱਤਵਾਦੀ ਵਿਰੋਧੀ ਜੰਗ' ਵਿਚ ਅਮਰੀਕਾ ਦੀ ਪੂਰੀ ਮਦਦ ਕੀਤੀ ਸੀ ਜੋ ਅਜੇ ਤੱਕ ਜਾਰੀ ਹੈ। ਇਸ ਸਾਲ ਦੇ ਸ਼ੁਰੂ ਵਿਚ ਇਸ ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਮੁਸਲਮ ਬੁਨਿਆਦਪ੍ਰਸਤਾਂ ਨੇ ਆਪਣਾ ਫਾਸ਼ੀ ਰੂਪ ਦਿਖਾਉਂਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਵੀਡੀਓ ਸੀ.ਡੀ. ਦੁਕਾਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਤੋੜ-ਭੰਨ ਕੀਤੀ ਅਤੇ ਆਮ ਨਾਗਰਿਕਾਂ, ਖਾਸਕਰ ਔਰਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਸ਼ਰੀਅਤ ਆਧਾਰਤ ਜੀਵਨ ਢੰਗ ਅਪਨਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਮਜ਼ਬੂਰ ਕਰਨ ਲਈ ਤੰਗ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਾਨ ਕੀਤਾ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਸ਼ਰੀਅਤ ਕਾਨੂੰਨ ਲਾਗੂ ਕਰਵਾਉਣ ਲਈ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੂੰ ਅਲਟੀਮੇਟਮ ਤੱਕ ਦੇ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਪ੍ਰੰਤੂ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਵਿਚ ਕੀਤੀ ਜਾ ਰਹੀ ਇਸ ਹਿੰਸਾ ਤੇ ਤੋੜਭੰਨ ਵਿਰੁੱਧ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਕਾਰਵਾਈ ਕਰਨ ਤੋਂ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਨੇ ਬਿਲਕੁਲ ਇਨਕਾਰ ਕਰ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਮਾਰਚ-ਅਪ੍ਰੈਲ ਮਹੀਨੇ ਵਿਚ ਇਸਲਾਮਾਬਾਦ ਦੇ ਸਥਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ਾਸਨ ਨੇ ਸਰਕਾਰ ਦੀ ਜ਼ਮੀਨ ਉੱਤੇ ਉਸਾਰੀਆਂ ਗਈਆਂ 8 ਮਸਜਿਦਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਢਾਅ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਲਾਲ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਦੇ ਅਣਅਧਿਕਾਰਤ ਹਿੱਸੇ ਨੂੰ ਜਦੋਂ ਢਾਹੁਣ ਲਈ ਅਮਲਾ ਉੱਥੇ ਗਿਆ ਤਾਂ ਜਾਮੀਆ ਹਾਫਸਾ ਦੀਆਂ ਇਸਤਰੀ ਤਾਲਿਬਾਨਾਂ ਨੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਉੱਤੇ ਹਮਲਾ ਕੀਤਾ ਅਤੇ ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਸਜਿਦ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਵੜਨ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਉਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਨੇ ਮਸਜਿਦਾਂ ਢਾਹੁਣ ਦਾ ਵਿਰੋਧ ਕਰਦੇ ਹੋਏ ਨਜ਼ਦੀਕ ਸਥਿਤ ਇਕ ਬੱਚਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਸਰਕਾਰੀ ਲਾਇਬਰੇਰੀ ਤੇ ਕਬਜ਼ਾ



For Favour of Publication

Re Clubs

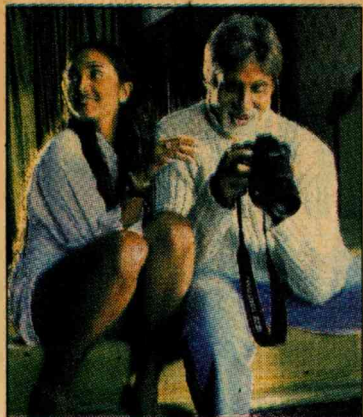
SATYAPAL DING, Ex-MLA  
Ehta Bhowan, chheharita  
(ASR) 143105

26-6-2007.

"In a statement to the press, Comrade Satyapal Ding ex-MLA has welcomed the fact that Smt. Laxmi Kanta chawla Honble Minister for Health (Punjab) has strongly supported the decision of the SDM ASR that the 3 clubs in the Ram Bagh must be closed down." The statement adds; "This in fact is the voice of the common people of the Holy city. It is to be deplored that law is not being allowed to take its course because the 'elite' rich of Amritsar ~~want~~ are opposed to it."

Ding has reiterated his suggestion that "instead of putting forward false pleas that these ~~clubs~~ clubs are heritage of ASR, let the rich purchase land at their own cost elsewhere and ~~thereby~~ build clubs for themselves for enjoyment etc. AND let the Govt of Punjab decide to utilise the buildings of the clubs in Ram Bagh for building a MUSEUM. Before partition, Punjab had a Museum in Lahore and visitors from all over the then Punjab including Amritsar and other parts of Indian Punjab now used to make it a point to visit the Museum whenever they would visit Lahore. Indian Punjab has now no Museum even after nearly 60 years of independence. Let the Govt of Punjab decide to have a Museum in Amritsar now. Such a decision will be widely welcomed."

Satyapal Ding



Talk about ties  
Page 8

S

In his birth centenary year, there is a revival of interest in Bhagat Singh, leading to activities. **Chaman Lal** presents another facet of the revolutionary as revealed by

# Letters of a



many other Indian languages, which continues uninterrupted till day.

A proposal to set up a Bhagat Singh Chair at JNU, New Delhi, has been accepted by the national programme implementation committee recently. Mooted by this author, this proposal was endorsed by Prof. Bipan Chandra, Prof. Prabhat Patnaik and Prof. G.S.Bhalla. It was supported by many eminent scholars and political leaders like Prakash Karat, A.B.Bardhan and Shashi Bhushan.

University, was perhaps the first department in the country to hold two days national seminar on Bhagat Singh last month. On March 23, this year, there were hundreds of programmes all over the country, including some official ones. Many leftist organisations took out huge demonstrations and rallies to oppose the neo-liberal anti-people policies of the government, to mark this day. Leftist organisations of all hues are trying to resurrect Bhagat

Singh as imperialist in the pre-war annihilation of the War of Independence and in the rise of Bhagat Singh's patriotism in the wake of British imperialism. In the whole of the nation...

**O**N March 23, 2007, Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev completed 76 years of martyrdom. With effect from September 28, 2006, birth centenary programmes of Bhagat Singh started nationally. This happened more at the non-government level as compared to the government level. Memorial programmes on Bhagat Singh have gained momentum since, there have been a lot of publications brought out in this period...

In these ongoing programmes on Bhagat Singh all over the country, I was invited to deliver lectures on his thought and role in freedom movement. I delivered these lectures at Arrah, Patna, (Bihar), Indore(MP), Rohtak(Haryana), Ranchi (Jharkhand), Mumbai, Banaras and Thanjavur(Tamil Nadu) during September 2006 to February, 2007. Department



A rare historical photograph of students...



# spectrum

new revelations and perspectives on his letters to family members and friends

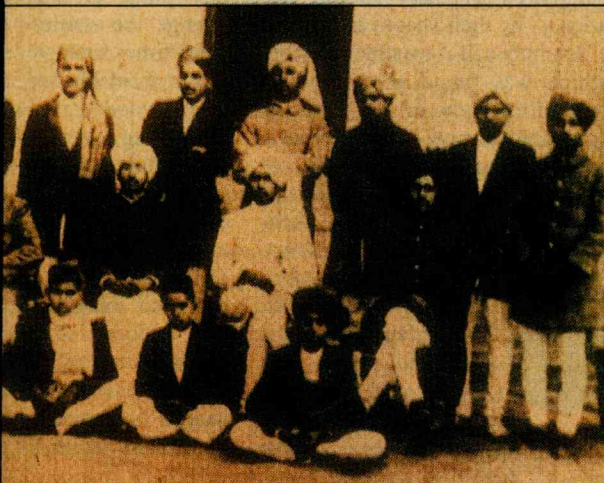
## martyr

the most strong anti-  
t resistance symbol  
sent context.  
ar that in the 150<sup>th</sup>  
versary of the First  
dependence in 1857  
e birth centenary year  
t singh, an emotion of  
n is emerging afresh,  
ke of US neo-imperi-  
coming more aggres-  
dangerous than old  
nperialism. Reliving  
nalistic tradition in  
e country, a renaiss-

sance is taking place in the country, in which the image of Bhagat Singh is emerging as supreme ideological symbol of resistance.

At the international level too, struggling people of the world against neo imperialism are looking to Bhagat Singh as symbol of resistance alongwith Che Guvera. This year, a UK-based publisher is bringing out collection of Bhagat Singh's writings in English.

Continued on page 3



and staff of National College, Lahore, which was started participating in the non-cooperation movement.

Letter to grandfather Arjun Singh in Urdu on July 27, 1919. on a post card

Om

Respected *dadaji*, *namaste*

I state humbly that I am well and wish your well being from Shri Narayan Ji. The state of affairs here is that our six monthly exams are over, which started in July. Many boys failed in maths. So the maths exam will be held again on August 9. Everything else is fine. When are you coming? Tell *bhayiaji* (father) that I have cleared all papers in six monthly examinations. *Namaste* to *mataji* (mother) and *chachi* (aunt). Kultar Singh (younger brother) had fever on July 24 and 25. Now he is OK. Do not worry about anything.

Yours obediently  
Bhagat Singh

(Translated from the original by Chaman Lal)



Bhagat Singh's grandfather Arjun Singh

This is the second letter of Bhagat Singh to his grandfather, which is now available. The first available letter of Bhagat Singh is also written to his grandfather in Urdu only. Bhagat Singh's handwriting is available in three languages — Urdu, Punjabi and English. He was a prolific writer in Hindi, too.

MORE LETTERS ON PAGE 3



head, Department of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala. He has sought to capture the ominous and turbulent course of events as they unfolded in the immediate period before the British left and the tragic aftermath of a plan put together in callous and chaotic haste.

A proud and majestic people who produced a sovereign of the stature of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the last independent ruler of India, became a confused, desperate and hounded lot of refugees in their own homeland, part victims and part perpetrators of violence and arson in a period of suspended sanity.

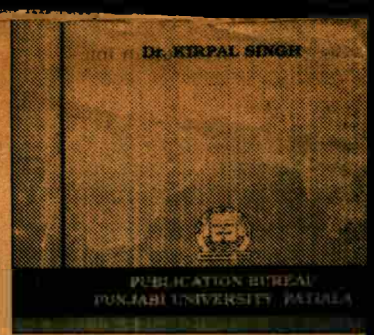
Put at a severe disadvantage in the game of numbers, they found themselves pushed to the margins during the formulation of the partition plan by the British, with the Hindus and the Muslims both forming greater majorities, and therefore, having a greater say in the course of events preceding the Partition.

The writer has earlier authored six books on various subjects related to the Partition of 1947 as it affected Punjab and its people. *The Sikhs and Transfer of Power* is his seventh book in this series, in special context to the various

... besides other related material. He has given brief accounts of the missions, proposals, conferences and representations that preceded the final plan of the transfer of power to an independent, but vivisected India. He speaks of the draft declaration issued by Sir Stafford Cripps, which gave the right of secession to provinces, greatly alarming the Sikhs, who formed a mere 13 per cent of the population of Punjab, whereas the Muslims were in a majority with a population of 57 per cent. Master Tara Singh demanded the division of Punjab into two parts, giving the right of non-accession to each. The mission was a failure.

The Shimla conference, held in June-July 1945, earned formal recognition for the Shiromani Akali Dal, which had emerged as the biggest political party of the Sikhs. But it did not take long for differences to emerge between the Akali leadership, i.e. Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Baldev Singh.

Anyhow, the Pratinidhi Panthic Board, a representative body of various groups of the Sikhs, raised the demand for the immediate partition of Punjab, taking the Ravi as the boundary. The counsel for the Muslims wanted the boundary to be drawn near



the Sutlej, resting their claim on popular majority. Demand for the inclusion of shrines like Nankana Sahib in east Punjab became another rallying point for the

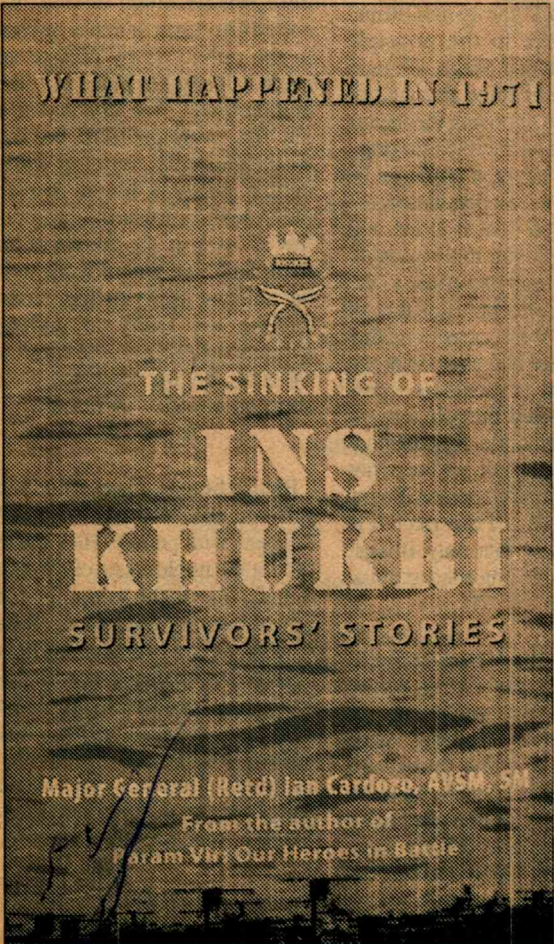
Failure on the part of the leaders of the three major communities to reach a workable consensus and callous and grave excesses in the Mountbatten Partition Plan led to civil carnage and eviction of refugees which are unparalleled in world history.

Communal riots in various parts of Punjab, Calcutta and Bihar caused 5,00,000 deaths and mass displacement of about a million people. There was a breakdown of the law and order machinery and the British seemed to have abandoned their responsibility and left a wretched people to work their way out of a bloodbath.

*Letters of a Martyr (Bhagat Singh)*

# Unsung heroes

*& some other material about the martyrs*



**What Happened In 1971: The Sinking of INS Khukri Survivors' Stories**  
by Maj-Gen Ian Cardozo.  
Roli Books. Pages 197. Rs 350.

**JYOTI SINGH**

**T**HE man in the street knows very little about the armed forces and their contribution to the national security. When questioned some vaguely remember that a warship was lost in 1971; few remember that the name of the warship was INS Khukhri and its captain was Captain Mahendranath Mulla. People in great number are unaware about the contribution of the Indian Navy to the overall victory in this war and the attack on Karachi. The 1947-48, 1962, 1965 and 1971 wars have long since passed into oblivion. The people remember the Kargil War as it was beamed by TV channels into every Indian home.

This book by Maj-Gen Ian Cardozo, also the author of *Param Vir: Our Heroes in Battle*, is indeed a tribute to the heroes of the Indian Navy and its victory at sea during the Indo-Pak war in 1971. He focuses on the heroics at

sea from the graphic accounts of survivors and their relations in a manner that was not available in 1971 as later in Kargil.

All services need an ideal requirement, is highlighted by the author that it would have been a well-deserved Param Vir award conferred on 'Viru' who gave his life jacket to a young man who went down into a grave with his beloved ship, a tradition—"sitting in the captain's chair and lighting a cigarette" touching story by his wife later lends a halo around this.

The book is not simply about the heroes who lost their lives on the INS Khukri but it highlights the technology in underwater warfare. Cardozo emphasises the need for the best equipment if our navy is to establish primacy over the waves of the Indian Ocean and India become a true maritime power.

Pointing towards how Pakistan is moving ahead with the manufacture of most modern conventional weapons in the world whereas our



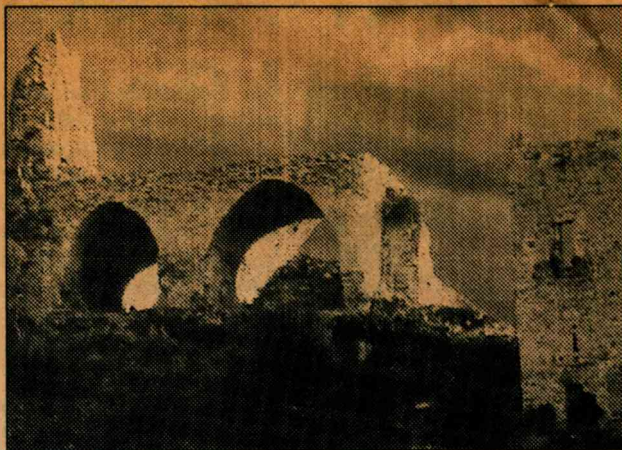
of an, the British, in that chaotic time when everyone seemed to have been grappling for their own narrow and parochial interests.

One cannot help but think that maybe, the Sikhs could have had a better deal, and maybe, a large amount of bloodshed could have been avoided had the Sikh leadership shown a clear vision, a unified approach and better negotiations with the other groups involved. This is not to overlook the callousness of the British, the indifference of the Congress and the rigid and unrelenting stand of the Muslim League.

The author, though having given a fairly good representation of most of the events and plans preceding the Partition, has laid more emphasis on documentation than on critical analysis of political and social factors. He has only sketchily touched the viewpoints of the Sikh leadership of that time, focusing primarily on Master Tara Singh, whom he mostly seeks to absolve of his gross failures through weak defences, even as he does touch them gingerly.

If the reader is patient and can digest occasional grammatical mistakes and shaky sentence structures, he may find this a fruitful initiation into the subject.

## Cryptically coherent



Lost Torn Forlorn

by Arun Dhadwal & Belma Bojic. Author House. Pages 88.

### RANDEEP WADEHRA

**W**HEN the protagonists struggle to reconcile memories of their past with present realities, a skein of verbiage grips the mind. Its sad, exasperating strands tighten around thought-processes, forcing a desperate bid for a way out of an asphyxiating experience. To decipher the meaning of this short novel, you want to read on even when a part of the self exhorts you to ignore this look at the vagaries of time, that travels through a relatively happy summer, a heart-breaking autumn, a bleak winter and a hope-filled spring.

Gloom strikes when the siblings find their dead dog that had gone missing. It is dead, not because it had fallen into the abyss, not because it had been starving in desolation, but because it was shot. Time forces a coloured person to abhor colour; and consider black and white a misnomer for right and wrong. Yet, he prefers shades of grey, silver, black and white – the wintry hues, harsh, but honest, that absorb all colour and emit only grim complexion, tinting the landscape with unadulterated drabness. And yearns for love, knowing fully well that love begets pain.

To be empty within and seek fulfilment without. To be human, but kill remorselessly and senselessly. Contradictions, but time makes all living self-contradictory. Time uproots families, forcing them to flee their violence-ravaged homelands, psyches scalded.

But people find respite in a world that is fast. So fast that time has become a luxury. The result: fast food, fast people, fast trains, fast cars; speed work and speed dating. All this causes stress. But, is stressful living in a “peaceful” land preferable to a distressed existence in a war-torn land? Stress, unlike war, is a silent killer. The choice is between tromperie and stark reality. So, it is natural to plumb for the former even as we hark back to tranquil times, when time stood still.

We have to come to terms with our today even as we get ready for a more demanding future, as does the physically challenged child in the story. And, we have to overcome mental handicaps too – something with which the protagonists grapple relentlessly because psychological scars are enduring and deeper, albeit invisible.

This is a book which tells a tale that does not look like one; it is peppered with poetic outpourings, yet is not a poem; the narrative is coherent, but leaves one baffled. Cryptic coherence is an oxymoron, so is this volume.

ulation  
of Sikh  
Punjab  
Sikhs.  
of the  
work-  
e laps-  
result-  
likes of  
story.  
of Pun-  
about  
tion of  
s utter  
chinery  
ogated  
ople to  
he best

es

unts of the  
s, which in  
for media  
available in

icon. That  
ly filled this

The reader  
on with the  
en appropri-

Vir Chakra  
Mulla, who

g sailor and  
the watery

—an archa-  
on the Cap-

arette”. The  
and daugh-

brave soul.  
a tale of the

or of the loss  
is the story

importance of  
arfare. Cor-

to have the  
is to contin-

on and under  
can and help

me power.  
istan is forg-

cture of the  
submarines

country has

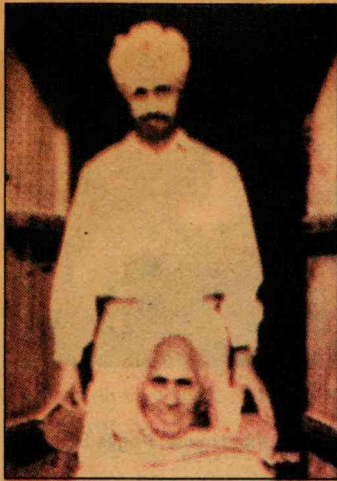
allowed our expertise in this field to wither away, he urges the authorities to set right this imbalance. He comes heavily on the “the powers that be” who take this serious matter casually, unable to take a quick decision to redeem this situation and rectify the imbalance.

Questioning the policy makers as to why the ‘Scorpene’ deal has been doing somersaults inside and outside of Parliament, his anger can be felt literally: “Do the persons concerned not understand that in sorting out each other on such issues they do so at the cost of our national interest?” Indeed a discerning reader easily senses this big dent in the national security matrix, where we just have 16 ageing diesel-electric submarines. Quoting Commander Paul Raj, who was once a part of the DRDO and now a professor at Stanford University, he highlights the need to reform it. Replying on the capability of DRDO, Paul says, “DRDO ... does not deliver. The reasons are well known, if not to us, then at least to our adversaries.”

The book on the whole brings the armed forces closer to the public. The lucid prose, inclusion of quotes from books published in India and Pakistan, photographs, lend authenticity to the story and makes it an interesting and insightful read.



# Letters of a man



Malwinderjit Singh Waraich with Bhagat Singh's mother at Khatkarkalan

## Continued from page 1

Bhagat Singh was always considered significant at national and international level, but this did not come into focus. The rare documents acquired by this author in this period, throw light on his significance. One of these documents is Periyar's editorial in his Tamil weekly *Kudi Arasu* on March 22-29, 1931 issue, immediately after Bhagat Singh and others' execution. This was translated in English and published in *Modern Rationalist* in November 2006 by followers of Periyar at my request, after more than 75 years of its first publication. It was E V Ramasami Naikar Periyar, who got *Why I am an Atheist* by Bhagat Singh, translated in Tamil, as

early as in 1934 by Comrade P Jeevanandan and published it in the form of a booklet. This booklet continues to be popular in Tamil Nadu, even today, after so many editions have come out. This was perhaps first ever translation of this historic document in any Indian or other language, much earlier than even the Punjabi translation. There were many creative writings in Tamil, after the execution of Bhagat Singh, which were proscribed by British authorities in those days.

Internationally also, the reports of execution of Bhagat Singh and disturbances in the country after that, were published in pro-Communist *Daily Worker* from New York in

USA. It is also known that the Singh's execution was published in *The Worker* and *Daily Worker* on the same day, 23, in the communication compared to today's *Worker* from Lahore, published this on March 24, as the new issue on March 23, at the time suppressed in itself, where the execution took place. *Daily Worker* carried a report on March 27, which spread after the execution. Five unpublished letters of Bhagat Singh

## Continued from page 1

Letter to aunt Hukam Kaur, widow of uncle Swarn Singh, in Punjabi on October 24, 1921

Omkar

Lahore

My dear *chach ji*, *namaste*

I had gone to attend a rally to Lyallpur. I wanted to come to the village, but *bapuji* (father) did not allow. So I could not come to the village. Please forgive me if I did anything wrong. Portrait of *chachaji* (uncle Swarn Singh) is ready. I wanted to bring it along but it was not complete. Kindly reply early. My reverence to elder aunt. My reverence to mother. *Namaste* to Kulbir and Kultar (younger brothers).

Your son  
Bhagat Singh

(Translated from the original by  
Chaman Lal)

This letter was written by Bhagat Singh at the age of 14 to his younger aunt in Punjabi. Bhagat Singh had learnt Punjabi language in 1921 by his own efforts, inspired by Nankana Sahib Morcha, the volunteers of which passed through his village and Bhagat Singh used to serve food (*langar*) to them. He was not taught Punjabi in school, where he had a good command over Urdu, which was the medium of instruction those days.

# Post marks

A letter to Lahore authorities for release of belongings. Contents of the letter are self-explanatory. The letter is typed on Bhagat Singh's father S. Kishan Singh's letterhead, who was an insurance agent in Lahore.

This letter was written to a personal friend by Bhagat Singh on a post card in English. It has a stamp of Lahore post office dated February 24, 1930. This letter is also self-explanatory.

Very urgent

Sir,

I was arrested on May 29, 1927, under Section 302, IPC, and was detained in the police custody for five weeks. I was released on bail on July 4, 1927. Since then I have never been called by the police or any court to stand my trial under the said section (written in hand) and so I presume that you have completed your investigation and found nothing against me and (written in hand) have practically withdrawn the case. Under the circumstances I request you to kindly return all the things that were taken from my body at the time of my arrest and to inform me when and where to see you for the said purpose.

Sd/ Sadiq Ali Shah S.I.

D/ 2-5-29 (written in hand)

Read out, admitted in evidence and added to Special Tribunal Lahore conspiracy Case File.

J. Coldstream

Judge

Special Tribunal

My Dear Jai Deo!

I hope you would have heard of me abandoning the fast after 16 days. You can guess how greatly do I feel the necessity of your help at this time. We received a few oranges yesterday but no interview was held. Court has been adjourned for a few days. Therefore, kindly arrange to send me a few 'Craven Cigarettes — A' and a few of *ghee* immediately. And oranges along with a few rupees will also be welcomed. Mr. Prasad is facing hard times without cigarettes. Now you can understand the nature of our needs.

Thanking you in  
yours  
Bhagat Singh

Address — To, Mr Jai Deo Prasad  
c/o The provincial Congress committee  
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore



tyr

most strange to news of Bhagat Singh was published in the *Tribune* of Lahore. The *Worker* of New York City, March 25, reported on March 27 pm remained in Lahore. The *Daily Worker* again in 1931, which these executions. I have been found

out in this period. Copies of four letters have been acquired from Nehru Memorial Museum and Library (Teen Murti), New Delhi. The fifth letter has been recovered from the exhibits of Lahore Conspiracy case. The copies of all these letters were gifted to this author by Malwinderjit Singh Waraich, a dedicated writer and activist about revolutionary movements in India for national freedom. Three of these letters are in English, one in Punjabi and another in Urdu.

From these documents, one can understand the ideological perspective of Bhagat Singh and the significance of his contribution to India's freedom struggle.

**This letter has also been written to Jaidev Gupta on May 26, 1930, in English. The stamp of Lahore post office is of May 28, 1930, on the post card. This letter also needs no explanation.**

Dear brother Jai Deo,

Today again I am writing this letter to give you some trouble which I hope you will not mind. Please see if you can arrange to send one fleet-foot pair of shoes for me. I think no. 9-10 will do. My *chapli* is too uncomfortable. Also please try to send it on Friday or Saturday through Kulbir when he will be coming for an interview.

Really it is very sad that I have not so far been allowed any interview with you. Had this impasse in our trial not occurred, I will have repeatedly reminded the authorities to sanction your interview. Anyhow by the time this question is settled, I will again try to get the interview sanctioned. Well I hope you will send the shoes without fail and without delay. These days I have got only one book with me — a very dry one. Please see if you can send a couple of recent interesting novels. Please remember me to all friends.

Yours sincerely  
Bhagat Singh

Address — Mr Jai Deo Prasad Gupta  
c/o S. Kishan Singh  
Bradlaugh Hall, Lahore.

close  
singh on  
as the  
ce of  
ter is

No. 103  
atral Jail  
Lahore

d of our  
ays, and  
we feel  
is stage.  
esterday  
ur case  
rtnight.  
nd a tin  
nd a tin  
a few  
sgullas  
Dutta is  
arettes.  
urgent

dvance,  
incerely  
at Singh  
d Gupta,  
amittee

# PERIYAR'S SALUTE

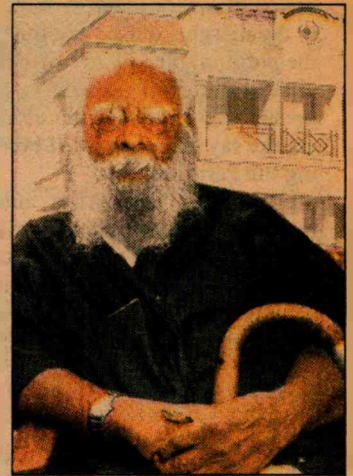
Extracts are from the editorial of Periyar E.V. Ramasami in *Tamil Weekly Kudi Arasu* dated March 29, 1931

As far as we are concerned, let us tell the truth: There are idiots and fools in this land. They do not think of the pros and cons of a course of action, but selfishly seek their own honour. Had Bhagat Singh live long, he would have to suffer every second the agony of witnessing the activities of such people. Instead, it is good that Bhagat Singh is dead and has found 'peace'. I am sad that I cannot get such a great rare chance (paeru).

The issue is whether a man has done his duty or not. The issue is not whether the action has borne fruit. Yet we agree that we should do our duty taking into account the time and place. We are sure that time, place and the general trend are not hostile to the principle upheld by Bhagat Singh. Though it occurs to our mind that he has erred a little in choosing the means to translate his principle into practice, we will never at any time be emboldened to say that his principle is a flawed one. It alone will make peace prevail in this world.

If Bhagat Singh had come to the firm and sincere conclusion that all his principles were correct, and that the methods he had used were the just ones, then he should have definitely conducted himself only in the way he had done. If he had not so conducted himself, we could not say he was an honest person. So we now say that he is a true man. It is our strong view that only Bhagat Singh's principle is needed to India.

Further, we think Bhagat Singh had no faith in god and in divine dispensation, but was a man of self-confidence. Holding such views is not a crime under any law. Even if it is considered to be against any law, no one need to be afraid of it because, we are sure, that following those principles



Periyar E.V. Ramasami

(that Bhagat Singh upheld) will not do any harm or cause any loss to the public. If by chance any harm or loss takes place, it will be unintentional. We endeavour to put the principle into practice wholeheartedly, without entertaining personal hatred towards individuals or towards communities or towards the people of any other land. We do our work without causing injury to any person, but we are ready to undergo extreme suffering for the cause we espouse. So we need not worry about or afraid of anything.

■ ■ ■

Bhagat Singh had not fallen sick, suffered and died as it normally happens with people. He gave his life for the noble cause of showing to India, nay to the world, the path of real equality and peace. He has reached a great height, a feat never achieved normally by any one else. We applaud and sing of his martyrdom from the depth of our heart. At the same time, we request those in our government to find out and hang four true persons like Bhagat Singh in each of the provinces.

Translation by Aasaan.

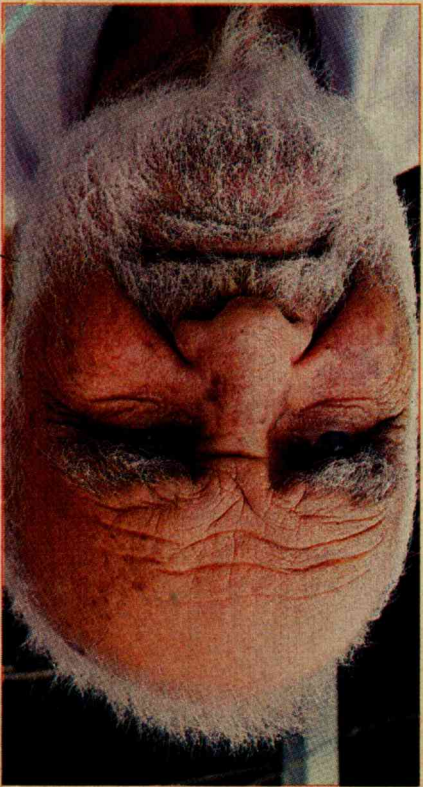
# ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਕਾਰਜਕਾਲ 'ਤੇ ਇੱਕ ਨਜ਼ਰ

ਚੰਡੀਗੜ੍ਹ, 2 ਮਾਰਚ- ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਪੁਨਰਗਠਨ ਇੱਕ ਨਵੰਬਰ 1966 ਤੋਂ ਲੈ ਕੇ ਹੁਣ ਤੱਕ ਦੇ 41 ਸਾਲਾਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਵੋਟਰਾਂ ਨੇ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਕਿਸ ਵੀ ਸਿਆਸੀ ਧਿਰ ਨੂੰ ਲਗਾਤਾਰ ਦੂਜੀ ਵਾਰ ਸੱਤਾਧਾਰੀ ਹੋਣ ਦਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਦਿੱਤਾ। ਇਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਚਾਰ ਦਹਾਕਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਮੇਂ ਵਿੱਚ ਕਿਹੜੇ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਨੇ ਕਦੇ ਤੱਕ ਹਕੂਮਤ ਕੀਤੀ, ਉਸ ਦਾ ਵੇਰਵਾ ਹੇਠਾਂ ਦਰਜ ਹੈ :

ਗਿਆਨੀ ਗੁਰਮੁਖ ਸਿੰਘ ਮੁਸਾਫਰ	01.11.1966 ਤੋਂ 08.03.1967
ਜਸਟਿਸ ਗੁਰਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ	09.03.1967 ਤੋਂ 24.11.1967
ਲਛਮਣ ਸਿੰਘ ਗਿੱਲ	24.11.1967 ਤੋਂ 23.08.1968
ਜਸਟਿਸ ਗੁਰਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ	24.08.1968 ਤੋਂ 26.03.1970
ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ	26.03.1970 ਤੋਂ 14.06.1971
ਗਿਆਨੀ ਜ਼ੈਲ ਸਿੰਘ	17.03.1972 ਤੋਂ 30.04.1977
ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ	19.06.1977 ਤੋਂ 17.02.1980
ਦਰਬਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ	07.06.1980 ਤੋਂ 07.10.1983
ਸੁਰਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਰਨਾਲਾ	29.09.1985 ਤੋਂ 11.05.1987
ਬੇਅੰਤ ਸਿੰਘ	25.02.1992 ਤੋਂ 31.08.1995
ਹਰਚਰਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਰਾੜ	08.09.1995 ਤੋਂ 21.11.1996
ਰਜਿੰਦਰ ਕੌਰ ਭੱਠਲ	22.11.1996 ਤੋਂ 11.02.1997
ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ	12.02.1997 ਤੋਂ 24.02.2002
ਕੈਪਟਨ ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ	27.02.2002 ਤੋਂ 27.02.2007
ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ	02.03.2007 ਤੋਂ .....

ਸ੍ਰ. ਪ੍ਰਕਾਸ਼ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਾਦਲ ਅਤੇ ਕੈਪਟਨ ਅਮਰਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਨੂੰ ਪੰਜ-ਪੰਜ ਸਾਲ ਸਮਾਂ ਪੂਰਾ ਕਰਨ ਦਾ ਮੌਕਾ ਮਿਲਿਆ। ਸਭ ਤੋਂ ਘੱਟ ਸਮਾਂ ਬੀਬੀ ਰਜਿੰਦਰ ਕੌਰ ਭੱਠਲ ਨੂੰ ਮਿਲਿਆ। ਉਹ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਦੇ ਅਹੁਦੇ 'ਤੇ ਸਿਰਫ 2 ਮਹੀਨੇ 19 ਦਿਨ ਹੀ ਰਹੇ। ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬਾਦਲ ਨੂੰ ਚੌਥੀ ਵਾਰ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦਾ ਮੁੱਖ ਮੰਤਰੀ ਬਣਨ ਦਾ ਮਾਣ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ। ਵਿਸ਼ਵ ਵਾਰਤਾ





# आर ला दी ,

ग। दी देशभक्त बाबा भगत सिंह बिलगा एकमात्र ऐसे शरभ हैं, जिन्होंने तीन दहकों से ज्यादा समय आजादी के संघर्ष में व्यतीत किया। बर्तनवी सरकार के खिलाफ जूझ रहे गदरी योद्धाओं से उनकी भेंट अर्जुनदेना में हुई। वहाँ बाबा बिलगा ने गदर पार्टी के लिए बहुत काम किया। जल्दी ही आपकी अर्जुनदेना की गदरी बांच का सचिव बन गया। अर्जुनदेना में रहते हुए शहीद-ए-आजम भगत सिंह के चाचा सरदार अजीत सिंह बाबा बिलगा के पास लंबा समय रहे।

कुछ ही समय बाद बाबा बिलगा अर्जुनदेना छोड़ संसार भर में गदरी सर्गर्भियों में सक्रिय हो गए। कई देशों में आपने भ्रमण किया और गदर पार्टी के इंकलबी प्रोग्राम लोगों तक पहुंचाए। कई देशों में समूहों जहाज द्वारा, कई देशों में रेल द्वारा और कई देशों में पैदल चलकर आप क्रांतिकारी कार्य करते रहे। इसके बाद आप भारत वापस आ गए और अपनी

एक वार

गतिविधियों का केंद्र पंजाब को बनाया।

अपने संघर्षमय जीवन में बाबा बिलगा को कई वर्षों तक अंग्रेजों की जेल में रहना पड़ा। वह एक बार को अपना अनुभव बताते हुए कहते हैं, 'वह सन् 1940 की बात है। मुझे और मेरे साथियों को कैबलपुर जेल में रखा गया था। हम सियासी कैदी थे, इसलिए जेल में हमें साहित्य मांगना कर पढ़ने की आशा थी। मैंने पुस्तक मांगवाई, तो जेल वालों ने मुझे पंजाबी देखकर मजाक में हिंदी की पुस्तक लाकर दे दी। मुझे हिंदी नहीं आती थी, लेकिन मैंने उन्हें यह पुस्तक वापस नहीं की। अपने आप ही अक्षरों की बनावट के हिसाब से पुस्तक पढ़ डाली।' बाबा की गहरी आंखों में चमक आ जाती है और वह बताते हैं, 'मैंने वा पुस्तक जेल को वापस करते समय कहा कि यह मैंने पढ़ ली है, और ला दी।'

Daimih Bhatnagar 4/3/07 ■ देशभक्त बाबा

ਭਾਈ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਸਿੰਘ 'ਕਿਰਤੀ' ਭਾਸ਼ਣ ਲੜੀ ਤਹਿਤ

ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੇ ਅਜੋਕੇ ਆਰਥਕ-ਸਮਾਜਕ ਵਿਕਾਸ ਦੇ ਪ੍ਰਸੰਗ ਵਿਚ

ਅਵਾਸ ਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਸ ਦੀ ਗੰਭੀਰ ਹੋ ਰਹੀ ਸਮੱਸਿਆ ਬਾਰੇ

## ਵਿਚਾਰ-ਚਰਚਾ

ਵਿਸ਼ਾ: ਪੰਜਾਬ ਵਿਚ ਅਵਾਸ ਅਤੇ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਸ

ਮੁੱਖ ਵਕਤਾ

ਪ੍ਰੋ. ਮਨਜੀਤ ਸਿੰਘ

(ਮੁਖੀ ਸੋਸ਼ਿਆਲੋਜੀ ਵਿਭਾਗ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ ਚੰਡੀਗੜ੍ਹ)

ਸਮਾਂ : 15 ਸਤੰਬਰ 11 ਵਜੇ ਸਵੇਰੇ

ਸਥਾਨ :- ਦੇਸ਼ ਭਗਤ ਯਾਦਗਾਰ ਹਾਲ ਜਲੰਧਰ

### ਉੱਡੀਕਵਾਨ

ਭਗਤ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਿਲਗਾ ਰੀਧਰਵ ਸੇਨ ਕੋਛੜ

ਗੁਰਮੀਤ

ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ

ਜ. ਸਕੱਤਰ

ਕਨਵੀਨਰ ਸਭਿਆਚਾਰਕ ਵਿੰਗ

ਦੇਸ਼ ਭਗਤ ਯਾਦਗਾਰ ਕਮੇਟੀ, ਜਲੰਧਰ

ਫੋਨ ਅਤੇ ਫੈਕਸ: 0181-2458224

email: [dbycghadarmemorial.net](mailto:dbycghadarmemorial.net)

[www.ghadarmemorial.net](http://www.ghadarmemorial.net)



# कंबली वाला



**पू**रा पंजाब चुनावी प्रक्रिया में डूबा हुआ है। हर जुबान पर वोट लिस्टों, वायदों-इरादों, आगुओं और देश के सामने आ रही समस्याओं की बातें हैं। कोई-कोई पिछले चुनावी रुझान या बदलती सरकारों के बावजूद कोई भी सुधार न होने की बातें कर रहा है। कोई किसी पुराने इमानदार आगुओं की बातें सुना रहा है।

राजनीति में अब तक अपनी सफेद लोई को दाग लगने से बचाए हुए हैं समाज सेवक और लोगों के आगू सतपाल डांग। बुजुर्ग होने के बावजूद वह अब भी लोगों के लिए काम करते हैं। 1967 में जब पनाइटीड फ्रंट की सरकार पंजाब में बनी थी, तब सतपाल डांग सिवल सप्लाइ मंत्री रहे थे। उस समय भी वह बिल्कुल साधारण जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। साधा कमीज-पायजामा और रबड़ की चप्पल पहनते। एक बार वह उसी सादा लिबास में किसी मीटिंग में गए हुए थे। सर्दी का मौसम था। कंधे पर दो कंबल अपने लिए और दो छोटे-छोटे कंबल अपनी जीवन साथिन बिमला डांग के लिए। मीटिंग से बाहर आए, पैदल ही बस स्टैंड की ओर चल पड़े। रास्ते में एक व्यक्ति ने उन्हें कंबल बेचने वाला समझ रोका और उनसे कंबलों के दाम पूछने लगा। पीछे से आ रहे एक साथी ने उस व्यक्ति को समझाया, तो उसने डांग जी से माफ़ी मांगी।

-देसराज काली

*Daimah Bhasha 11/2/2007*

# कंबली वाला



**पू**रा पंजाब चुनावी प्रक्रिया में डूबा हुआ है। हर जुबान पर वोटर लिस्टों, वायदों-इरादों, आगुओं और देश के सामने आ रही समस्याओं की बातें हैं। कोई-कोई पिछले चुनावी रुझान या बदलती सरकारों के बावजूद कोई भी सुधार न होने की बातें कर रहा है। कोई किसी पुराने इमानदार आगुओं की बातें सुना रहा है।

राजनीति में अब तक अपनी संफंद लोड़ को दाग लगने से बचाए हुए हैं समाज सेवक और लोगों के आगू सतपाल डांग। बुजुर्ग होने के बावजूद वह अब भी लोगों के लिए काम करते हैं। 1967 में जब महाइंटीड फ्रंट की सरकार पंजाब में बनी थी, तब सतपाल डांग सिवल सप्लाइ मंत्री रहे थे। उस समय भी वह बिल्कुल साधारण जीवन व्यतीत करते थे। साधा कमीज-पायजामा और रबड़ की चप्पल पहनते। एक बार वह उसी सादा लिबास में किसी मीटिंग में गए हुए थे। सर्दी का मौसम था। कंधे पर दो कबल अपने लिए और दो छोट-छोट कबल अपनी जीवन साथिन बिमला डांग के लिए। मीटिंग से बाहर आए, पैदल ही बस स्टैंड की ओर चल पड़े। रास्ते में एक व्यक्ति ने उन्हें कबल बेचने वाला समझा रोका और उनसे कबलों के दाम पूछने लगा। पीछे से आ रहे एक साथी ने उस व्यक्ति को समझाया, तो उसने डांग जी से माफी मांगी।

-दमराज काली