

STUDENTS : :

AND

: : CONGRESS

G. NAGESWARA RAO,
PANCHALAVARAM,

BY

Prof. *N. G. Ranga*

As. 6.

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This small pamphlet was written by Prof. Ranga, while Mahatma Gandhi was engaged in his historic march in East Bengal in 1946—47 in his heroic mission to bring peace and communal harmony to the suffering masses of Bengal. In view of its topical interest to our students and its abiding and inspiring appeal to the Students we are publishing it now.

Sri Rangajee has agreed to add a few lines here and there in order to bring some of the facts upto date.

BEZWADA, }
1-6-1948. }

Pidikiti Venkateswara Rao,
Andhra Provincial Students, Congress.

STUDENTS and CONGRESS

Students The Leaders of Tomorrow

The Students, Congress has to try to become the training ground for more and more students for leadership, discipline and organisational work. The student or his leader of today has to train himself to be the citizen of tomorrow and the leader of the day after. A successful student leader of the present day can be an effective youth leader tomorrow and may be expected to provide leadership for any section of the masses a few years hence. But no leader can hope to become effective and useful unless he knows how to be disciplined and how to discipline his followers. Therefore student leaders have to develop the double capacity of themselves being disciplined and being capable of imposing discipline among their friends and followers. This is not an easy task. But it is the most essential task that every student must learn to discharge. Too few of our present student leaders have yet learnt to discharge this duty. Let us make a strenuous effort to gain this much-needed discipline and ability to evoke loyal discipline from their friends and followers.

Need For Leadership

Every student has to make his choice of political leadership. Then alone he can feel himself growing bigger and grandier and more inspired in the sun-shine of his leader. It is the duty of the Students Congress to help more and more students to make their right choice of a political leader. The success of the Students Congress depends very largely upon the dynamic manner in which it helps the growing mass of our students to love a common leader. Fortunately the Students Congress has succeeded in discharging this essential duty very successfully.

Choice of Political Leadership

Who is to be our common political leader? Need he be one individual? Not necessarily. Could he be one individual alone?

Generally it is not possible. Our leadership must be a cooperative one. It must satisfy the growing needs of our society for leadership in social, economic and political spheres of life. As every day brings a new problem demanding a new solution and insisting upon a new leader, ever new insistent demands are made upon different aspects of the capacity of our nation to throw up leadership. Therefore in terms of personalities, we need a galaxy of leaders and in terms of national activities, we need a cooperation of leaders. But they must all share for the time being some one great predominant ideology and common programme. Such a leadership has been provided to us by the Indian National Congress during last the 65 years. As days go by, it is coming to lay greater stress upon those programmes which are calculated to improve the lot of our masses and its ideology is coming to approximate itself not only with democracy but also with the Socialism for all the toiling masses. It is today standing for an ideal which is by far the most democratic and cooperative conception of the participation of the masses in the public life and State craft of our modern society. Its constructive programme comprehends economic and social regeneration of our masses. Its political activity is calculated to rouse the masses and raise them to the fullest stature and help them to capture and exercise their rightful share of political leadership and power. Its whole-being is coming to be suffused with a passion for mass work and mass uplift. It is indeed becoming the greatest organisation of the masses. It is not content with its effort to achieve the freedom of our masses from British Imperialism. It is busy to remove the cobwebs of Feudalism and Capitalism and to help our people to develop a Cooperative Commonwealth in our country. It is even trying to go beyond the borders of our country and the immediate needs of our masses and is anxious to lend its helping hand to the Colonial masses all over the world. Such is the leadership of the Indian National Congress that I wish to commend to our students for their enthusiastic acceptance. I know they have accepted it.

I want all our students to accept it in an unconditional and enthusiastic manner. Their loyalty to the Indian National Congress should not give room to any qualified or disguised support for this of the other internal parties because such extra loyalties can only weaken and not strengthen their loyalty to Congress which must be whole-hearted and indivisible.

My contacts with Students' Movement :

I offer this advice in the light of my 20 years of close contact with the Student Movement in our country. Besides organising study circles among our students in 1923—27, it was in 1927 that I helped the Students Movement in Andhra by being the Reception Committee Chairman of Andhra Provincial Students Congress held in Guntur and also the Vice-Chairman of the All India Students Congress held in Madras. Ever since I have been standing by students movement and I have been closely associated with it. Even in those difficult times of 1937 and 1939 when the relations between Congress Ministry and Students were daily becoming strained, I was able to stand by the students movement and oppose the ministerialist misunderstanding of the students activities. But because I found that the Communists were giving subtle anti-Congress turn to the students through their manipulation of students strike, I was becoming aware of the impossibility of maintaining a united front between national revolutionary forces and the Communist anti-national forces. The crisis came in 1942, when the Communists wanted to exploit students front also for their Peoples War slogan. Immediately after my release in 1942, I advised our students to break away from the Communist Federation and to form their National Students Association. But it was not till the betrayal of August revolution by the Communists' Federation that the Andhra Students accepted my suggestion and formed their National Students Association. Fortunately, the students of South India recognised the need for such a National Students

Association and lost no time to form their various provincial associations. It was in Guntur in 1943 that the famous neo-formation of the Andhra National Students Association was held. It was inaugurated by Srimathi Bharati Devi and presided over by Rev. Khaitan. Its phenomenal success frightened the Madras Government and Communists. Both conspired and the Association was banned. While I was being transferred from Amaloti to Tanjore jail, I was fortunate to meet some of our student leaders and to convey to them my idea that on every front, students, youths, women, labour, kisan, artisans, our people must be organised as allies and agents of our common revolutionary leadership the Indian National Congress, in order that they might be able to carry the Congress message to every group of our people and bring in return to the Congress the strength, the inspiration, the initiative of various sections of our people. Fortunately the Andhra students took up this idea and brought into existence the Andhra Students Congress, the first of its kind in India and such dynamic student leaders as Messrs. Atchutan, Ravindara Varma, Ramuni Menon, Apparao and Driviyam have developed similar students organisations in all South Indian Provinces. And by January 1945, the All India Students Congress took shape. It proved a great mile-stone not only in the students movement, but also in our National movement because it said goodby to the earlier and sterile method of confusing the students by founding a rival All India Students Federation to the Communist-Controlled Federation and it was also first among our political forces to adopt as its political ideal which Mahatma Gandhi has stated to be the Congress ideal, that is, democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj. And today, the Students Congress is the vanguard of our national revolution that is committed to the achievement of the democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj.

Citizenship Colleges :

The All India Students Congress was anxious to organise a training class for student workers. Its energetic Secretary

consulted me. I then suggested that the Students needed training in citizenship and we should have permanent Citizenship Colleges conducted primarily for the benefit of students. Soon after our discussions, Sri Sekrekar, the General Secretary was able to organise the All India Citizenship College. It was in that college that I presented my programme for developing the "Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front" in order to further the mission of National Congress for achieving the freedom of Colonial masses through its offensive against world Imperialism. Our student leaders responded to this by offering to organise the Colonial Students Conference in India. Thus I have reached the conclusion that our students movement can fulfill its most progressive and revolutionary role only through the acceptance unconditional and wholehearted - of the ideology of Indian National Congress and working for the fulfilment of its Socialistic national revolutionary, not only in India but also in all the colonial countries.

Celebration of Independence Week :

I wish to congratulate our students upon having celebrated the Viet Nam and Indonesian Days and also Linguistic Provinces Day, Netaji Day and Independence Day. It is highly significant that these 4 days should have come within the same week. They stand for the four important pivots of our present-day political responsibilities.

We want to achieve our Linguistic Provinces in order that we may be able to make our democracy most effective. For, our masses can begin to play their active role in our political life only when their legislature and executive, their officers and their leaders can and will converse, correspond and act only through the medium of their mother tongue and when all sections of this province are welded together by their common bonds of culture, literature and other social activities. But our Provincialism is to be only a progressive element in our national life. Indeed it must be

a source of strength to our national movement. Therefore, we have taken our pledge of loyalty and consecration to our national struggle for freedom on our National Independence Day.

Students in National Struggle :

Our Students have fought heroically during 1921, 1930, 1931, 1940 and 1942 national movements and have placed themselves recklessly in the vanguard of our freedom movement. No wonder they have taken the pledge this year also not only on the 1942 "Quit India" plane but also on the 1947 "Create the Free India Constitution" plane and the 1948 plane of pledging our support for our ideal of "co-operative commonwealth." Our elders are forging the constitution. We have now to get ready ourselves to enforce it. We have solemnly declared our determination to fight both the internal and external enemies of our constitution which is on the anvil.

Struggle for Colonial Freedom :

We are also conscious of the fact that our struggle is only a part of the growing world struggle for freedom of colonial peoples against world Imperialism. It is true, Imperialism has no progressive role to play. It ought to be on its last legs. Yet, it is too powerful. Fortunately, the forces ranging against it are growing. Contrary to European Socialist propaganda, it is not the Soviet offensive, which is so menacing to Imperialism as the growing colonial movement for freedom from Korea, Indo - China via Ceylon India and Palestine, to Egypt, Greece and Spain. Imperialism is being kept at bay by the colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Africans are rapidly rushing into the revolutionary firmament of our age. The Latin Americans are fast regaining their economic freedom. The American Negroes are daily asserting themselves against the colour bar. India finds herself at the head of these world - wide and whirl - wind revolts of the Colonial and Coloured Peoples against imperialism and Fascism

The U. N. O. Assembly has given India the first opportunity to strike her very effective blow at the outer defences of Imperialism. It is in this context that our celebration of Viet-Nam and Indonesia Days expressing our solidarity with the heroic Vietnamese and Annam people and also Indonesians becomes such a dynamic and progressive portant of the new age.

Netaji Day.

But how are we to achieve these various objectives? Through our celebration of Netaji Day, we have given the answer. We believe in organised revolt. We will build up our independent defence forces through the National Defence Clubs and our national finances through Co-operative Banks. Indeed we forge our collective and conserted sanctions in Netaji fashion in order to destroy the whole structure of Imperialism and its allies in and outside India. Such indeed is the significance of the political ideology and technique that our students have displayed during these demonstrations. I wish to exhort our students in conclusion to remain loyal to the political philosophy that is inherent in those demonstrations and to our national leaders Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress and give no scope to any deviationist promptings from any one or two groups or parties within or without the congress.

Socialist Party

What shall be our students' attitude towards the Socialist Party? I have no hesitation whatsoever to say that these students who accept the ideal of democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj, who recognise the revolutionary potentialities and career of the peasants, artisans, intellectuals professionals and who genuinely love the village and its special place in India's social economy cannot possibly reconcile themselves to the Socialist Party and its Marxian prejudices against peasants and all other non-proletarian classes, rural life and civilisation. As everyone knows,

Congress stands for Gandhian Socialism. Gandhijee has warned the world against the dangers of concentration of power in political, economic and social spheres of life; but Marx gloated over the progress of such concentration and the Marxists have hailed it as a sign of revolutionary progress. Gandhijee has taught us how to achieve revolutionary advances through constructive work, humane propaganda and nonviolent struggle but the Marxists believe only in exasperating and irreconcilable agitation and violent upsets. How can there be any thing fundamentally common between our genuine Congressmen and the members of the Socialist Party.

Moreover, all the good things for which Socialist Party stands, the Congress too is fighting for, and all the noble and missionary passion that the former can conjine up for the advancement and freedom of the common man, and much more is to be found in the Congress, not only in its professions as is the case which the Socialist Party but also in its Gandhian practice thanks to the painstaking experiments made by Gandhijee and his disciples.

Students Congress-Loyal only to the National Congress.

It is unfortunate that the Students Congress has come to be the battle-ground for the Socialist Party, Forward Bloc and genuine Gandhians. Although Socialist Party has left the Congress, quite a number of people who are saturated with that party's methodology and viewpoint are still within our ranks, either to confuse us or to weaken us. Similar disability may be dogging the steps of the Students Congress, too. It is our duty to decide once for all that Students Congress should be whole-hearted loyal to the National Congress and therefore, it should no longer be a common platform for the rival party men and their conflicting viewpoints and methods. As everyone knows,

it has suffered much during the last 4 years due to the constant bickerings as between these rival parties and their adherents. We have to free our Students Congress from all such disruptive forces and tendencies.

Single Students Front - Impossible.

As for the new slogan of one United Students Front, raised by some of the leaders of the Students Congress, I need only say that it is only an invitation to a repetition of the pre-1939 experiences which misled our students into the bosom of the Communists. How can there be such a common students front, when their parents and other elders and their contemporary youths cannot possibly remain within one political party. Just as it is natural for the citizen to range themselves by the side of many and rival political parties, it is natural for students too to find themselves interested in and attracted by the various political parties. It is certainly possible for a class of people like the peasants or proletariat to belong predominantly to someone political party but students are not a distinct class or community. They are a part of the rest of the community and all the different economic or social classes find their sectors or reflections among them. That is why, students cannot be said to have any politics other than that of their corresponding classes or interests. Under such circumstances, it is most misleading for anyone to try to whip all students into one common organisation. Let us remember that all such slogans, based upon the wrong understanding of the fundamental character of student can only help the Communist Party which certainly knows its own mind. Fortunately for us, Indian students are so wholeheartedly nationalistic and so sincerely Gandhian and so the overwhelming majority of them are today devoted to the National Congress. Let our students cherish this heritage and improve it by continuous propaganda and service along Gandhian lines.

WARNING

We must however maintain live interest, dynamism and missionary zeal in our understanding of Gandhian Socialism and the practice of Constructive and political programmes. There is always the danger of our students losing their passion and drive for their ideal of democratic Kisan Mazdoor Praja Raj and the all-round advancement and freedom of the masses, the moment all rival parties are kept out of the Students Congress Front. The concentration of the Students Congress on the Gandhian Socialist ideology should be utilised as a source of further strength and zeal for revolutionary activity. Our students can best maintain their morale and improve their ability to grow fast into responsible and well-informed citizen by organising study circles, countering the political and other propaganda of other parties and by improving the ideological and missionary resources of their own National Congress.

and Jawaharlal Nehru and the Indian National Congress and give no scope to any deviationist promptings from any one or two groups or parties within or outside the Congress.

Need for World Peace

Today the peoples of the world are yearning for peace. Individuals, groups, classes and masses of all countries are searching for various-psychological, organisational and collective — means by which they can achieve peace as between individuals, classes, communities and countries. But peace seems to be ever illusive. It seems to be the hardest thing to be achieved.

Every one wants to live in peace with every one else. But yet, why is it that so many are not at peace with so many others and there is such absence of peace in the relations between men and men. It must be because there are certain irrepressible and undisguisable causes for this absence of peace and for this impossibility of attaining peace.

Need for Ending Exploitation:

How could there be peace except that of the grave yard between the employers and employees, between the land-lords and tenants, between money-lenders and debtors, between the tyrants and their subjects and between the Imperialists and colonial masses. The growing hunger and the biting cold of the exploited masses cannot let them remain in peace with their exploiters. The growing sense of discontent forces the subjects to turn against their tyrants. The attempts of Imperialists at suppressing the ebullient spirit of national freedom can but lead to a succession of struggle. The incessant drains of the resources of the masses by the capitalist exploiters and entrepreneurs can lead the masses either to their inhuman acceptance of the artificial status of subjection or to their manly revolt against their intolerable condition. Religious or social class or caste suppression or exploitation will in time result not in permanent peace but in the ever recurring challenge against the enforced peace. Therefore as long as these inequalities, injustices, suppressions and such other artificially imposed disabilities of individuals, communities or classes or masses continue to prevail in any society or country, it cannot be possible for human beings however peace loving they may be, to be at peace with one another. Indeed if they are content to do nothing to shake themselves free from such oppression, they can only remain much less than human beings, because what distinguishes a human being from an animal is an innate and irrepressible urge for the expression and development of his fullest personality and achievement of the maximum possible freedom for growth and expansion in the realms of happiness and search after truth.

Who can say that the present world is as yet ready to make it possible for all human beings to live in peace with one another? How can any one maintain that our masses are so prone to rush at each others' throats merely because of their blood-thirst? It is

true that man is subject by his very nature to the incitement continually caused by his six elemental urges-Arishadvarga-and that even if he were to have all that he desired, he might still be acting in a beastly fashion towards his fellow beings because of these immediate urges. But right through history, man has distinguished himself from an animal by his miraculous efforts to over-reach, control or sublimate these urges and thus make himself a social being and develop a social and progressive psychology as distinguished from pack, herd, crowd mentality, behaviour and activity. If he has not succeeded till now to achieve universal peace and a complete sense of enjoyment of comradery with all other human beings and attain world brotherhood, it is because he has found himself enmeshed in a society which has been coming under someone or more systems of enforced exploitation and oppression and he has found himself continually dwarfed, disabled and dispirited by his ignorance, lack of education and culture and opportunities. The various revolts of the masses, national revolutions and class struggles which have upset the enforced peace of different countries in the course of history were but the accumulated expressions—conscious or unconscious—of human beings who have been trying to raise above the status of animals and to reach out to be real human beings and achieve their fullest growth in personality and culture. It is this truth that Mahatma Gandhi has expressed when he said that a man is but a beast if he does not revolt against oppressions and struggle for freedom.

Heart Searchings:

We have been thinking for a long time that we in India, have not as many serious nation-wide and painful crises of internal disorder, civil wars and violent expressions of mass hysteria as between communities and classes while we were criticising and condemning such travails and trials of mutual bloodshed that have been falling to the lot of modern Europe. We condemned

the baiting of Catholics by the British, the persecution of Huguenots by the Catholic France and the Jew baiting indulged in by the Nazis and the suppression of the Slavs by the Hapsburgs. Even today, we ridicule the Americans for their lynching of the Negroes and we are therefore contemptuous of their civilisation. We hate the colour bar imposed by the Whites. We are inclined to put all these down as the result of their intolerance, mass hysteria and capitalist system of exploitation of man by man. But we little thought that we could so very soon be attacked by such organised and unorganised, but large scale campaign of violence and mutual murder and mutilation by huge slices of our own humanity over large areas of our own country. We put down the outrages committed during the Mopilla rebellion of 1921 to the British account. We preferred to ignore the warnings given by Mahatma Gandhi over the Chowri Chowra outrages. But the Calcutta, Noakhali and Tippera, Punjab experiences of organised mass murders and their spontaneous repercussion and reprisals on a mass scale in Bihar and U. P. during 1946, have opened our eyes to the pestering wounds fermenting in our body politic and made us realise that our society too needs a careful X-raying for the many social diseases which refuse to be ignored and which cry for immediate attention and solution.

But as in the West, so in our country, most of the politicians are too busy with the activities of either tinkering with the outward symptoms of unrest and decorating the body politic that is stricken with heart-disease only to deceive themselves with the thought that the life that is ebbing at the heart may be displayed in the glittering jewels. Such are our efforts both in Constituent Assembly and in our Legislative Assemblies and Ministries. These are useful. They are necessary. We must play our fullest part in them. But they are being built on the surface which is continually being endangered by the living volcano of our social unrest and diseases.

Gandhijee's Social Laboratory-East Bengal:

This truth was divined by Mahatma Gandhi with unerring instinct for the real source of trouble. He had rushed away from the metropolis of our politics, from the glittering glamour of our Assemblies and State craft to the very centres of physical expression of the social disease and he is now carrying on his investigation into the very mind of not only individuals but also of groups, not only of spontaneous outbursts of masses but also of the organised expressions of mass passions and prejudices. His very presence in that area where the burning floods of human passions were yet not to the touch must make any thoughtful person circumspect about the social forces that must be responsible for such a live volcano of unrestrained outbursts of destructive spirit of the masses. His heroic rush into the cauldron of mutual distrust, fear and passion and that fearful liability of large masses of people to fall a prey to calculated incitement to hatred and vengeance, to murder and cruelty with a view to knowing the causes therefor and the solutions thereof must make us realise the urgency of this problem of peace and of the need for its attainment. Unhappy as we are about our realisations of the presence of such social volcanos of passion and prejudice in our own midst, we have atleast this inspiring consolation that we had in our midst the greatest scientist in social psychology and explorer after human brotherhood, who alone in the world had understood the seriousness of this great problem, that is, the disease of the mind of man of crowds, of groups, of classes and of countries and who has begun to simultaneously study the nature of the disease and causes therefor and also to provide the solution and the necessary medicine of mutual trust and comradery.

Gandhijee - the Beacon Light:

It is this grand old man who today is showing the way not only to peace but also to progress in a revolutionary and scientific

manner to our students and youths. He is not of past age. He is not even of the present age. He is the dawn of the future. He is the harbinger of our hopes. He is indeed the rainbow indicating the approach of the coming year of mutual understanding and brotherhood among human beings.

Why do we consider his mission so very important to human progress and peace? It is not only because of what he might discover and achieve through his search after and practice of truth during this exploration. It is also because he in his own dynamic way turned every thinking man's attention to the dark and labyrinthine passages and vestibles of our social life and organisation. We are now fast realising that we are not very much different from other people in our vulnerability to the campaign of hate, persecution and vengeance. We see that unless we are very careful and hasten to liquidate the ancient social diseases and degrading but enforced disabilities of our masses and their economic and political exploitation, we may become the seed-bed of many a future world conflict. We see that we are as prone to fall a prey to the campaign of hate and bloodshed as these Americans who thirst after the Negroes' blood, the South Africans who hunger after the coloured peoples self-respect and the Europeans passion for vengeance against Germans and therefore, we must, if we were to save ourselves in time from the whitemen's tragedy of world wars, march along and widen the trail of human brotherhood, peace and love that Mahatma Gandhi was blazing forth in such a revolutionary and reckless manner with his exhortation to the whole of humanity of "Do or Die".

To be able to visualise the troubles of the whole world through the pains of an individual, to discern the hopes of the whole humanity in the spontaneous hospitality and friendliness displayed by an erstwhile participator in mass-murders and hatred to raise above one's own natural sense of revulsion at the touch of blood-smearred hands and to clutch at it in love

and thankfulness, thus giving the go-by to modern Vansittart and Churchillian, Stalin Cum Macarthur spirit and raise us all to the spirit of Buddha and Christ and help us to follow their Ashokan path of repentance and humanity is the grandest and most glorious revolutionary struggle that Mahatma Gandhi was exhorting us all to join and to fight for. This today is the challenge that faces our youth and students. Our national Bhishma was the youngest amongst us all in his adventurous spirit. The youths and students in whose veins his blood runs just as surely as one atom in one part of the world is attuned to another atom of another part of the world cannot possibly fail to respond as enthusiastically to this challenge of our times. In the measure in which we accept this challenge and widen the path made by Mahatma Gandhi with his bleeding feet and heart and take it farther and father into human brotherhood, peace and progress, we of this generation and the growing and coming generations will be deserving of his ennobling presence in our midst and justifying the humanity that is struggling to come fruition through us.

Let us support Gandhijee and Nehru :

Therefore, it is the duty of all of us who wish to be enthusiastic and active participators in this revolutionary struggle to reinforce the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We can help Mahatma Gandhi's work by strengthening the Nationalist loyalties of our masses as opposed to their religious loyalties and by winning new votaries of national revolution from every community and make all our Congressmen much more enthusiastic and passionate, better disciplined in anticipation of the culmination of our social struggle.

In fact, in spite of the deviationist policies by a number of our internal and rival parties and their suicidal campaign against our national leadership, those of us who are devoted to the National Congress, its leadership and its national and inter-

national mission have been trying to win new friend and explore possibilities for strengthening Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. We have built up during our recent tours in Europe in 1946 a number of centres for the "Colonial and Coloured Peoples Freedom Front" We have brought the Negro masses through their intellectuals of Africa and America into ideological and organic contact and harmony with our own anti-imperialist mission through their front. our Thus National Congress has become as much a projection of the Pan-African Congress as the latter is of the former. Hence the formation in October 1946, of the Asiatic, African United Front in London, and also the formation in November '46 of the former British Centre of Imperialism into British centre for Colonial Freedom, The Asian Conference that was organised at Delhi under the inspiration of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Sarojini Naidu also bids fair to make all Asia both a witness and a champion of India's struggle for unity and freedom. Even our students have fought the contagion and have begun to take the initiative in making preparations for holding the Colonial Students Conference in India. Our youths have recently organised the Asian Youth Festival. If all these efforts and achievements are not revolutionary and dynamic, I wish to know what else can be such, under our present objective conditions. It is not wrong to keep One's mind on the culminating points of social struggle and keep on preparing for it. In fact it is what one ought to do. But it is certainly wrong to ignore the revolutionary significance of all the preparatory steps and struggles. It is criminal to undermine our national leadership, because it is engaged as any revolutionary leadership ought to be engaged, in marching through the tortuous roads that are being continually mined blockaded by our national enemies by their imperialist prompters in order to reach the culminating battle grounds of our freedom's fight. Hence my appeal to students and youths never to allow themselves to be misled by these deviationists but to stand loyally by the National Congress and its leadership and continue to add to its strength by their initiative, organisation and dynamic sprti.

Good wishes to Andhra Students Congress

During the last two years, the Andhra Students Congress has had to face a number of internal troubles, such as their tussle between the office-bearers over the holding the annual conference, the recrudescence of trouble with the Guntur Christian College Authorities and the complications created by the Communist-controlled Students Federation and the confusion caused by some Socialists over the internal organisation. I am glad to say that the Students' Congress leadership was able to overcome these troubles quite successfully.

During the last two years, one very important change for the better has come over the relations between the Provincial Congress Committee and the Students Congress as one of the Associate Organisations and has been inviting its president or secretary to the meeting of its working committee. I am glad to say that this intimate contact between the Congress and the Students Congress has certainly helped these two movements and their organisations to strengthen each other and to serve both the general public and students.

The students Congress has begun to publish, on its own responsibility, their fortnightly "The Andhra Vidyarthi." It is ably edited. It depends mostly upon students' initiative. It is indeed a matter for congratulations that such a good number of fine writers are being discovered among our students. Let us hope that more and more original thinkers and writers, scholars and poets will emerge from our student ranks.

But there is one danger that our students should guard themselves against. They ought not to indulge in the luxury, as so many of their elders have been doing, of quarrelling among themselves and the development of so called power politics. After all, students need not be in a hurry for the so-called honours of conferences and committees, for, unlike their elders, they have

so much time before them with all their full energy and tempo in which they can expect and receive opportunities for honours and recognition.

Secondly our students have to realise the need for taking and treating each other seriously and the advantage of moral and cultural attainments and equipment in their mutual relations. Unfortunately too much of informality, and unvarnished and rough methods of dealing with each other have come to be in vogue among some of the organisers of our students. A few have even taken advantage of their intimacy with their fellow students on one side and Congress workers on the other to hurt the sentiments and susceptibilities of a number of their fellow student workers and leaders and thus alienate their sympathies. Let them all realise that the minds of most of our students are in a formative stage and their hearts are so full of love and affection that any thoughtless and unkind remark hurled at them, any unpremeditated hurt caused to their feelings of their fellow students are likely to cause such awful perversions in the mind of our student world. Therefore, I appeal to our students to be as considerate of each others' feelings and as accommodating towards each others' personal angularities, so that, they can build up a fund of mutual goodwill and comradeship which will stand in good stead in their after-career as citizen and servants and leaders of their fellow beings.

There were some proposals to organise the Students Wing of the Congress Seva Dal. But so far not enough effort has been made to build up an effective students' cadres. Moreover our students should take the fullest advantage of their provision of physical instructors in all our High Schools and Colleges. Unfortunately, their classes are not so popular. It is the duty of the students and the physical instructors to try to understand each others' needs and view-points and see that the time and funds and equipment provided at present for developing physical strength

of our students are fully and efficiently taken advantage of, so that such training will prove a good foundation for the later military and civic training to be given to our youths. It is now possible for our students to join the National Cadet corps and see that all their schools and colleges open the requisite training centres.

Let me congratulate the Students Congress upon their triumph in getting rid of the Selection Exams and Detentions, for our S. S. L. C. students and college students. But this only increases the responsibility of our students to attend their classes and study even with greater diligence and make the best possible use of their precious time and financial resources that they are today devoting for their students, during their scholastic career. Unfortunately those public spirited students who are good enough to devote their time and other resources for the development of the Students Congress are themselves a little remiss in the discharge of their duty towards studies with the result that many public spirited parents are also obliged to dissuade their children from playing an active part in the students movement. Therefore, I urge upon the Students Congress workers the need for the discharge of their additional duty to study well, respect their teachers even more affectionately and acquit themselves well. Students Congress must remain strictly loyal to non-violence. It should also keep itself free from the machinations of the Communists. It should not walk into the so-called United front of Students and thus give room to Communists to get our students excited and to get them into false positions.

Students and Teachers :

It is time now for the Students Congress to try to help our students to develop a more friendly and co-operative attitude towards teachers. It is not progressive to let teachers feel exasperated with students. Discipline in and outside the school

is highly desirable. Affectionate obedience to and friendly co-operation with teachers will be helpful to students. It is the duty of Students Congress to win over the teachers to its ideals of national service and its spirit of consecration to our social revolution. It can do this best only by fostering a spirit of co-operation and understanding between students and teachers. The Andhra Christian College episode which threatened to degenerate into a crisis came to a happy end because of our students offering of suffering through hunger strike etc., and the principal's exercise of a sense of humour must be an object lesson to us.

Students and Ministry :

Now that we have Congress Ministry in power a special responsibility rests with the students Congress. We have to extend our whole-hearted support to it. We should fight all such elements and parties without the Congress which undermine the Congress Ministry. At the same time, we have to make the Ministry and the Congress Committees aware of the troubles of both the students and others and their reactions to the ministerial work. They cannot insulate themselves from the people from whom our students hail. It is their duty to help our masses to make their timely representations in a peaceful manner to the concerned ministers and also to help the Kisan, Labour and Women Congresses in organising their conferences and in mobilising people for their celebrations and deputations. In everything we do, the slogans we put out, the pamphlets we publish and the speeches we make, we have to take scrupulous care to see that our Congress Organisation is continually popularised and strengthened and the bonds of affection and attraction between the National Congress and the Ministry and the masses are strengthened and multiplied.

J A I — H I N D

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- బెంగాలు ఔమనివారణకు
- జపానుఫాసిస్టుల నెదుర్కొనుటకు
- కాంగ్రెసు - లీగుల ఐక్యతకు



గాంధీజీవెనుక విద్యార్థులందరం ఐక్యమవుదాం !

విద్యార్థులందరకు నూతనసంవత్సరం ఆరంభమైంది. గత రెండుసంవత్సరముల నుండి యెవరి విడుదలకొరకు మన మందరం తీవ్రాందోళన గావించామో, ఆ ప్రయమైన మన గాంధీమహాత్ముడు విడుదలై వచ్చాడు. గాంధీజీని మన మధ్యకు ఆహ్వానిస్తూ నూతన సంవత్సరారంభము చేయడం మనకెంతో సంతోషదాయకం. ఆశాజనకమైన విషయం.

వైద్యకారణాలవల్లనే గాంధీజీని విడుదలచేశామని అమెరి యెంత అబద్ధమాడిననూ, ప్రపంచప్రజల సాయంతో భారతప్రజలం రెండుసంవత్సరాల తీవ్రాందోళన ఫలితంగా సాధించిన ప్రజావిజయం యిది. భారతజాతినంతనూ ఐక్యపర్చి రాజకీయ ప్రతిష్టంభనమును బ్రద్దలు చేసేందుకు భారతస్వాతంత్ర్యమును సాధించడానికి గాంధీజీ విడుదలతో ఒక మహదావకాశం యేర్పడింది. గాంధీజీ క్రమక్రమేణా ఆరోగ్యం కోల్పోంటూ మనందరికీ, భారతజాతికంతకూ నాయకత్వం వహించడానికి సిద్ధమౌతున్నాడు.

గాంధీజీ విడుదలతో ఒక మహదావకాశం యేర్పడిననూ మనపని మరింత భారమైంది. మనం నిర్వహించాల్సిన పనులు హెచ్చాయి. ఇదివరకుకంటే అనేకరెట్లు వుత్సాహంతో తీవ్ర తతో పనులు సాగించాల్సిన అవసరం వచ్చింది. మన ఆశయాలు యింకా యీదేరలేదు. మన జాతీయనాయకులైన కాంగ్రెసు వర్కింగుకమిటీ సభ్యులు యింకా విడుదలగాకుండా జైళ్ళలోనే మ్రగ్గుతున్నారు. జపాను దురాక్రమణదారులు మన పవిత్రావనిపై యింకా అడుగు పెట్టేవున్నారు. బెంగాలు, అస్సాం ప్రజలు జపానుదాడులనుండి పూర్తిగా విముక్తి గావించ బడలేదు.

గత సంవత్సరంలో యెవరిని రక్షించడానికి మనం ధనసహాయం చేశామో, మందులు, బట్టలు పంపామో ఆ సోదర బెంగాలు ప్రజలు విద్యార్థులు యింకా ఔమమునుండి విముక్తి కాలేదు. ఈసంవత్సరంగూడ ఔమదేవత తాండవమాడు చుండుచేగాక, అంటువ్యాధులు రాష్ట్ర మంతటావ్యాపించినందువల్ల బెంగాలుప్రజలు సర్వవిధాల బాధలకు లోనౌతున్నారు. నూటికి 80 పైమరీస్కూళ్ళు మూసివేయబడినాయి. హైస్కూళ్ళలో నూటికి 50 మంది చదువు మాని వేశారు. నూటికి 20 మంది ఉపాధ్యాయులు స్కూళ్ళు వదలివేశారు. ఈ విధంగా బెంగాలు కరువు విద్యావిధానాన్నంతా దెబ్బకొట్టింది. రెండు కోట్లమంది ప్రజలు అంటువ్యాధులకు గురి అయినట్లు సుప్రసిద్ధ భారతదేశ వైద్యశిఖామణి, బెంగాలు కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులైన డాక్టరు బి. సి. రాయిగారు ప్రకటించారు. సోదర బెంగాల్ ప్రజలకు ధనసహాయం, వైద్యసహాయం చేయమని విజ్ఞప్తి గావించాడు. గత సంవత్సరం అందరం ఏ బెంగాలు ఔమాన్ని నిర్మూలించ

దానికి కృషిజేకామో ఆజ్ఞము యింకా బెంగాలులో తాండవమాడుతునేవుంది. ఈ సంవత్సరంగూడ బెంగాలు ప్రజలు మన జ్ఞాననివారణ రృషికై యెదురుచూస్తున్నారు.

కరువు కాటకాలతో బాధపడుచున్న రాయలసీమ, బెంగాలు, ఒరిస్సా, అస్సాం, ప్రజలను రక్షించుకోడానికి విద్యావిధానం యధాప్రకారం సాగడానికి. గత సంవత్సరంకంటె హెచ్చుకృషి గావించాలి.

నూతన సంవత్సరంలో ప్రవేశిస్తున్న నలను యీ పరిస్థితు లెదుర్కొంటున్నాయి. జపాను ముష్కరులనుండి దేశాన్ని రక్షించడానికి, జ్ఞానం, అంటువ్యాధులబారికి గురిఅయిన సోదరబెంగాలు, అస్సాము, ఒరిస్సా, రాయలసీమ ప్రజల ప్రాణాలను కాపాడడానికి కాంగ్రెసు-లీగు ఒడంబడిక సాధించి జాతీయప్రభుత్వాన్ని నెలకొల్పేందుకు గాంధీజీకి పూర్తి బలాన్ని చేకూర్చాలి.

ఐక్యతా విద్యార్థి వుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించాలి

పైకార్యాలను సాధించేందుకు గాంధీజీకి పూర్తిబలాన్ని యివ్వడానికి విద్యార్థులమైన మనం యేంచెయ్యాలి? గాంధీజీ విడుదలయ్యాడనీ, అంతా ఆయనే భారం వహించుతాడనే సంతృప్తితో ఊరికే కూర్చోవడం మన కర్తవ్యాన్ని నిర్వహించడంగాదు; మనందరి తోడ్పాటుతో పైకార్యాలను సాధించగలననే విశ్వాసాన్ని, ధైర్యాన్ని గాంధీజీకి మనం కల్పించాలి. మన నాయకులు యింతవరకు యిచ్చిన పిలుపుల ననుసరించి యిదివరకుకన్నా అమితోత్సాహంతో, పట్టుదలతో పనిజేస్తున్నప్పుడే అవి గల్గుతాయి. పనిజేయకుండా ఊరికే కూర్చోవడంవలన అవి కలుగవు. విద్యార్థులమైన మనం యెప్పుడూ స్వాతంత్ర్య పోరాటములో నాయకులిచ్చిన పిలుపు ననుసరించి పనిజేయుటలో వెనుకబడలేదు; యెప్పుడూ ముందుంటూనే వున్నాము. మన నాయకులు యింతవరకూ గావించిన ఆదేశానుసారం పనిజేస్తూ, విద్యార్థి కోర్కెలను సాధించడానికి మన విద్యార్థులందరిని ఐక్యపర్చుకుంటూ ముందుకు పోదాం. ఐక్యతా విద్యార్థి వుద్యమ బలాన్నంతా గాంధీజీకి దేశానెదుర్కొన్న సమస్యలను పరిష్కరించడానికి యిద్దాం.

మన ముందు కర్తవ్యం

మన నాయకులైన గాంధీజీ, సరోజినీనాయుడు; యు.పి. కాంగ్రెసునాయకులు; అస్సాం కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులైన బార్దోలాయి; బెంగాలు కాంగ్రెసు నాయకులైన డాక్టరు బి. సి. రాయి గార్లు యేమీ ఆదేశిస్తున్నారో మరొకపర్యాయం గుర్తుకుతెచ్చుకుందాం.

కాంగ్రెసు జపాను అనుకూలమని ప్రభుత్వం గావించే దుష్ప్రచారాన్ని యెదుర్కొంటూ, జపాను దురాక్రమణను యెదుర్కోవడం ప్రతిదేశభక్తుని కర్తవ్యమని గాంధీజీ సరోజినీ నాయుడు స్పష్టపర్చారు. ఆహారసమస్య క్లిష్టమయి కరువుచే బాధపడే ప్రజలను రక్షించడానికి పనిజేయడం ప్రతి దేశభక్తుడు తక్షణం చేయాల్సిన కర్తవ్యమని సరోజినీదేవి ఆదేశించింది. నిస్పృహోయతతో యేమీ చేయలేమని కూర్చోవడం కాంగ్రెసు సాంప్రదాయం గాదని స్పష్టపరిచింది. భారతస్వాతంత్ర్య వుద్యమానికి బలము యెప్పుడూ జాతీయైక్యతే నంటూ, దానికొరకు కృషిజేయడం ప్రధానమని చెప్పింది. ఆచరణలో దాని ప్రభావాన్ని, కేంద్రశాసనసభ బడ్జెటు సమావేశ సందర్భంలో లీగు - కాంగ్రెసు పార్టీలను ఐక్యపర్చి ప్రదర్శింపజేసింది. కాంగ్రెసు-లీగులమధ్య ఐక్యత చేకూర్చడానికి ప్రాతిపదిక యేర్పడింది. దీన్నే యు. పి. కాంగ్రెసునాయకులు బలపర్చారు. ముస్లిముజాతుల స్వయంనిర్ణయ

హక్కును అంగీకరించుతూ తీర్మానించి దానిపై కాంగ్రెసు - లీగు ఐక్యతను నిర్మించడానికి తదితర కాంగ్రెసువాదులను కృషి గావించమని పిలుపు యిచ్చారు. అంతేగాకుండా అస్సాము ప్రజలపై జపాను ముష్కరులు దాడి జరిపినప్పుడు, ఆదాడిని అస్సాము ప్రజలు యెదుర్కోవాలనీ, దేశాన్ని జపానుదాడినుండి రక్షించాలనీ, ఉద్బోధించారు; జపానుదురాక్రమణకు గురియైనవారికి సానుభూతి వెల్లడించుతూ వారిని వుత్సాహపర్చారు. బెంగాలు, అస్సాము ప్రజలు ఔమమృత్యువువారబడి బలహీనమవకుండా, జపాను ముష్కరులను యెదుర్కోగల శక్తిని, బలాన్ని కలుగజేయడానికి ధనసహాయం, వైద్యసహాయం పంపడానికి అన్నిపక్షాలతో కలసి కృషిచేస్తున్నారు.

తమ దేశప్రజలు జపానుదాడిని అన్నివిధాలా యెదుర్కోవాలనియు, ఆదేశభక్తి పూరితమైన కర్తవ్యమనీ గోపీనాథ బార్దోలా యి వగైరా అస్సాం కాంగ్రెసునాయకులు తమ ప్రజలకు ఆదేశిస్తున్నారు. బ్రిటిష్ ప్రభుత్వం యేమిచేస్తున్నా దానితో నిమిత్తం లేకుండా తమ మాతృభూమిని రక్షించుకోడానికి ముందుకు రావాలని ప్రజలనుకోరుతూ పిలుపు యిచ్చారు. జైలులోనున్న కాంగ్రెసు వర్కింగుకమిటీ సభ్యులైన సయ్యద్ మహమ్మదు గూడ దీన్నే వ్యక్తపర్చారు.

బెంగాలుప్రజలు ఔమము వారబడకుండా, అంటువ్యాధులతో తుడిచిపెట్టుకుపోకుండా రక్షించడానికి, బెంగాలులోని అన్ని రాజకీయపక్షాలను డాక్టరు బి. సి. రాయ్ ఐక్యపర్చుతున్నాడు. సోదర భారత ప్రజలందరినీ బెంగాలును రక్షించడానికి ధనసహాయం, వైద్యసహాయం వెంటనేపంపమని అర్థిస్తున్నాడు.

నాయకులు గావిస్తున్నకృషి కొంతవరకు ఫలించుతోంది. జాతీయైక్యత యేర్పడడానికి, కాంగ్రెసు-లీగు ఒడంబడిక సాధించబడడానికి అవకాశాలు యేర్పడుతున్నాయి. ముస్లిమ్ లీగులో ముఖ్యులు కొందరు కాంగ్రెసు-లీగు ఐక్యతను కోరుతున్నారు. గాంధీజీ విడుదలను హర్షిస్తూ, గాంధీజీ-జిన్నాగార్లు సమావేశంఅయి జాతీయైక్యతను నిర్మించాలని కోరుతున్నారు. బెంగాలు ముస్లింలీగు కార్యదర్శి, పంజాబురాష్ట్ర ముస్లింలీగు అధ్యక్ష, కార్యదర్శులు, లీగు వర్కింగుకమిటీ మెంబరైన చౌదరి ఖాలిఖుజ్జమాన్ వంటి లీగునాయకులు, గాంధీ, జిన్నాలు కలుసుకుని ప్రతిష్టంభనను పరిష్కరించమని కోరుతున్నారు. గాంధీజీ-జిన్నాగార్లు సమావేశం కొరకుఆతురత పడుచున్నారు.

ఈ పరిస్థితులలో మన కర్తవ్యం యేమిటి? నాయకులిచ్చిన పై ఆదేశాలను అనుసరించి యిప్పటినుండి పని సాగించుదాం; మనలోయేర్పడ్డ చీలికలను తొలగించుకొని ఐక్యతా వుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించుదాం. ఇవి మనం తక్షణం చేయాల్సిన కర్తవ్యాలు. వీటిని సాధించడానికి యీక్రింది కార్యక్రమము ననుసరించి పని ప్రారంభించుదాం.

1. సోదర బెంగాలు ప్రజలను, విద్యార్థులను ఔమమునుండి, అంటువ్యాధులనుండి రక్షించడానికితక్షణమే ధనసహాయం, వైద్యసహాయం చేయడానికి విద్యార్థులను ప్రజలను ఉత్తేజపర్చుదాం.

2. అస్సాము ప్రజలు, విద్యార్థులు జపానుముష్కరులను మనపవిత్రావనినుండి పూర్తిగా తరిమివేసి భారతదేశాన్ని జపాను ఫాసిస్టుదురాక్రమణనుండి పూర్తిగా విముక్తిచేసేందుకు ఉత్తేజపర్చుదాం. వారివెనుక భారతావని అంతా ముఖ్యంగా, విద్యార్థిలోకమంతా వుందని స్పష్టపర్చి వారి నైతికబలాన్ని వృద్ధిచేద్దాం. అందుకు మన జపాను వ్యతిరేకతను, ఫేసిస్టు వ్యతిరేకతను దేశాన్ని రక్షించుకోవాలనే దీక్షను ప్రదర్శించుదాం. మనంగూడ అస్సాం ప్రజలకు దేశరక్షణ చేయడంలోను, జపానును వ్యతిరేకించుటలోను వెనుకబడమని వెల్లడించుదాం.

3. జాతీయైక్యతను సాధించడానికి, కాంగ్రెసు - లీగు ఒడంబడిక యేర్పడడానికి గాంధీజీ-జిన్నాగార్లు తక్షణమే కలుసుకోవడమే ప్రధానమని విద్యార్థులు. ప్రజలు గుర్తించేటట్లు అందరంకలసి ప్రచారంచేద్దాం.

4. విద్యార్థులలో చీలికలులేకుండా ఐక్య విద్యార్థిపుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించడానికి దీక్ష బూసుదాం.

5. విద్యార్థుల తక్షణావసరాలైన కిరోసిన్, కాగితాలను తదితర విద్యార్థికోర్కెలను సాధించడానికి ఐక్య ఆందోళన సాగించుదాం.

విద్యార్థి కాంగ్రెసుకు మా విజ్ఞప్తి

ఐక్య విద్యార్థి పుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించడానికి కృషిజేయడమే యీరోజున విద్యార్థి పుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించడం. విద్యార్థుల తక్షణ అవసరాలను సాధించడానికిగాని, విద్యార్థిపుద్యమ ఆశయాలను సాధించడానికిగాని ఐక్యత యెంతో అవసరం. ఐక్యతలేని విద్యార్థిపుద్యమములో యెంత బలమైనపక్షాలు యేర్పడ్డా ప్రయోజనంలేదు. మనలోనున్న అనైక్యతను ఆధారంగా చేసుకుని ప్రభుత్వం ఒకసారి జైలుకుపోయిన విద్యార్థులను డి. పి. ఐ. అనుమతిలేనిదే స్కూలులో చేర్చుకోకూడదని ఆర్డరు ప్యాసుచేసింది. ఇంకా మన విద్యార్థిపుద్యమాన్ని దెబ్బకొట్టడానికి ప్రయత్నించుతుంది. కాన మనమందరం ఐక్యమయినపుడే వీటి నన్నింటిని ఎదుర్కోగలం. ఈరోజున యే ఒకపక్షమూ ఒంటరిగా విద్యార్థికోర్కెలను సాధించలేదు. అందుచేత విద్యార్థి కాంగ్రెసును పై కార్యక్రమముపై కలసి పనిజేయాలని కోరుతున్నాము. సోదర దేశభక్తులమైన మనం అందరంకలసి విద్యార్థికోర్కెలను సాధించడానికి. పూనుకోవాలి. అప్పుడే మనముందున్న కర్తవ్యాలను సాధించగలుగాం.

ఒకరినొకరు శతృవులలాగ పరిగణించుకోవడం, ఒకరి దేశభక్తి నింకొకరు శంకించుకోవడం, ఒకరినొకరు నాశనం చేసుకోవడానికి ప్రయత్నించుకోవడమే అవుతుంది. దానితో పాటు యిన్ని సంవత్సరాలనుండి మనం అందరంకలసి నిర్మించిన విద్యార్థి పుద్యమాన్ని ధ్వంసం చేయడమౌతుంది.

గాంధీజీ మనకందరకు నాయకత్వం వహించేముందు జాతీయైక్యత సాధించడమే అత్యంత ముఖ్యకర్తవ్యమైనప్పుడు ఐక్య విద్యార్థిపుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించడానికి మనం ముందుకు రావాలి. ఈనాడు మనపైనున్న యీ భారమైన కర్తవ్యాన్ని నిర్వహించడానికి ఐక్యమౌదాం.

జాతీయైక్యతను సాధించేందుకు గాంధీజీకి బలము చేకూర్చడానికి ఐక్య విద్యార్థి పుద్యమాన్ని నిర్మించుదాం.

విద్యార్థిసంఘంలో చేరండి ! విద్యార్థి ఐక్యతకు సాగిరండి ! !

బె జ వా డ , }
26—6—1944. }

ఇట్లు,
త మ్మా రె డ్డి స త్య నా రాయణ ,
కార్యదర్శి, ఆంధ్రరాష్ట్ర విద్యార్థిఫెడరేషన్.