



Ambedkar Times *Weekly*

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Long live Indian Democracy

Prem K. Chumber

Editor-in-Chief: www.ambedkartimes.com

Freedom of expression is the soul of democracy. Any country which fails to protect and guarantee freedom of press and unrestricted expression of the opinions of its citizens fails to claim any credibility on account of its being a democratic governance system. It is known to all students of Indian freedom struggle that its central concern to begin with the emergence of Bengal renaissance was the demand for freedom of the press. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the father of modern Indian political thought, was perhaps the first one to raise this demand for the freedom of India. In independent India, the freedom of the press and free expression was denied during the emergency. For that the Indian National Congress had to pay very heavily. Since then no Indian government could dare to gag the freedom of the press. But over the last few years, some partisan groups for reasons best known to them have been indulging in extreme form of violence to stifle the rational and

'Spirit of secularism is under attack'

Manik Sarkar

On the occasion of Independence Day, I convey my greetings and best wishes to you all. I pay my homage to the great memory of the martyrs of India's freedom struggle. I would also like to offer my personal regards to those freedom fighters who are amongst us today.

Independence Day is not just a ceremonial occasion. Keeping in view the historical significance and tremendous emotional attachment to this day for Indians, it has to be treated as an important ceremonial occasion for national introspections. Before us on this year's Independence Day are quite a

atrocious, plundering and merciless British, aligned with the anti-national forces, having decorated themselves today in different names and colours are striking at the root of unity and integrity of India. Every loyal and patriotic Indian must take the pledge today to remain committed to the ideal of a united India and counter the attempts towards such destructive conspiracies and attacks. We must all collectively strive to ensure the security of minorities and Dalits and preserve the unity and integrity of our country.

Today, the gulf between the haves and have-nots is widening. The nation's vast resources and wealth are being

other hand, crores of unemployed youth are waiting for jobs. It is not possible to solve this gigantic national problem without reversing the national economic policies which work to strengthen the very small group of profiteering corporates, and without increasing the purchasing power of the common people of India. Hence, the students, youth and working classes will have to take pledge on this Independence Day to launch a collective and continuous movement to reverse these destructive policies.

In contrast to the anti-people policies of the government at the Centre, the state government of Tripura despite its limitations has been pursuing



anti-communal stance of some of the pro-democracy journalists who were courageously challenging the fundamentalist and obscurantist forces that are hell bent on destroying the multicultural texture of one of the oldest and largest democracies in the world - India. Dabholkar, Pansare, Kulburgi and now Gauri all of them who used to articulate boldly the rational and secular contents of the rich democratic and multicultural values across the religions, regions and languages of the vast socio-religious and culturally variegated Indian democracy, were brutally killed by fascists and communally rabid fundamentalist forces for never to be achieved their ugly goal of Saffron India. The real identity of India lies in its inclusive social order where the persecuted ethnic groups from different parts of the world, as reiterated by Swami Vivekananda Ji on 9/11, 1893 in the United States of America, were not only welcomed happily but also allowed to flourish as they wish to.

Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's brilliant articulations on social democracy giving life to equality, liberty, fraternity sum up the essence of the theory and praxis of democracy. He often referred to the need of inculcating the values and principles of social cohesiveness among the diverse sections of the Indian society. One who will try to put an end to such a rich and deeply cultivated culture of multicultural and communitarian tradition would face the combined might of all the egalitarian and democratic forces of the all-inclusive Indian society. Long live the multicultural and communitarian social tradition of the rich social democratic set up of India and its illustrious record of continuous electoral processes since independence. Down with anti-Indian democratic and communal-fascist forces.

few very relevant, important and contemporary issues.

Unity in diversity is India's traditional heritage. Great values of secularism have helped in keeping Indians together as a nation. But today, this spirit of secularism is under attack. Conspiracies and attempts are underway to create an undesirable complexity and divisions in our society; to invade our national consciousness in the name of religion, caste and community, by inciting passions to convert India into a particular religion country and in the name of protecting the cow. Because of all these, people of minority and Dalit communities are under severe attack. Their sense of security is being shattered. Their life is in peril. These unholy tendencies cannot be harbored or tolerated. These disruptive attempts are contrary to the goals, dreams and ideals of our freedom struggle.

The followers of those who were not associated with the Independence movement, rather sabotaged the freedom movement, were servile to the

concentrated in the hands of a few. A large majority of our people are suffering from poverty. These people are the victims of inhuman exploitation. They are being deprived of food, shelter, clothing, education, healthcare and security of job for assured income. This is contrary to the aims and objectives of our Independence struggle. Our current national policies are squarely responsible for this state of affairs. Such anti-people policies shall have to be reversed. But words alone will not achieve this. For this, we need the deprived and the suffering Indians to arise, become vocal and protest fearlessly, collectively. We definitely need an alternative policy that serves the interests of the vast majority of Indians. To bring this alternative policy into reality, the deprived and suffering Indians need to take a pledge on this Independence Day to launch an economic, political and social movement. The mounting problem of unemployment has created a sense of despondency and gloom in our national psyche. On the one hand, lakhs of employed are losing their jobs; on the

policies for the welfare of people in all walks of life with a special focus on the downtrodden and to advance forward with their cooperation. This is a totally different and an alternative path. This path has been able to not only attract the people of Tripura but also elicit a positive response of the downtrodden people of our country. This is not being tolerated by the reactionary forces here in Tripura. Hence, conspiracies are being hatched up by the enemies of the people to disturb peace, fraternity and integrity of the state. And at the same time, attempts are on to disrupt the realm of developmental works. We need to counter all these unholy designs and isolated the reactionary forces. In this background, on this Independence Day, all the right-thinking, peace-loving and development-seeking people of Tripura need to take a determined pledge to come forward and work unitedly against such disruptive forces. (Edited excerpts from Tripura Chief Minister Manik Sarka's Independence Day speech that Doordarshan and All India Radio declined to broadcast)

Ambedkartimes.com remembers to the Great Sahib Kanshi Ram who criticized the post-Ambedkar leadership of Dalits in India. For that he declared Poona Pact as the main reason. He said that "Poona Pact made Dalits helpless.

By rejecting separate electorate, Dalits were deprived of their genuine representation in legislatures.

- Prem Kumar Chumber

Editor-In-Chief: www.ambedkartimes.com

Sahib Kanshi Ram was born on March 15, 1934, in Khawas Pur village of Ropar District of Punjab. He belonged to the Ramdassia community (Ad-Dharmi) of the Scheduled Caste group, which is the largest group in Punjab. He was named Kanshi because after his birth the midwife placed him in a tray made of kansa metal. His father owned some land and his uncles were in the armed forces. In Sahib Kanshi Ram's own words, "I was born and brought up amongst those who sacrificed themselves but never betrayed the country..." Despite his low caste background, he earned a bachelor's degree in science from the Government College at Ropar (Punjab). Soon after, he joined the research staff of Kirki's Explosive Research and Development Laboratory (ERDL) in Pune 1957. While working in Pune, he quit his job after becoming involved in the famous Deena Bhan case. Deena Bhan, a Rajasthani Scheduled Caste employee and senior colleague of Kanshi Ram was suspended. His fault

was that he protested against the decision of ERDL management for the cancellation of holidays for Ambedkar and Buddha Jayantis and their replacement by the Tilak Jayanti and one additional holiday for Diwali. Sahib Kanshi Ram decided to fight against such a caste ridden and dictatorial behavior of the management. The fighter in Kanshi Ram got the suspension orders of Deena Bhan revoked and Ambedkar and Buddha Jayantis holidays were restored.

This was the beginning of the long battle for the emancipation of the Dalits in the country that Sahib Kanshi Ram had to lead till his last breath. He resigned from his job and



totally dedicated his entire life for the cause of the community. He never married nor visited his home since then.

His struggle was not for the home and family. He devised a new strategy to regain the lost glory of the original (Adi) inhabitants of Bharat. He gave utmost importance to the culture of work and democratic method of struggle. He also expanded the circle of the Dalits by incorporating other Backward Classes and Minorities into it.

He criticized the post-Ambedkar leadership of Dalits in India. For that he declared Poona Pact as the main reason. He said that "Poona Pact made Dalits helpless. By reject-

ing separate electorate, Dalits were deprived of their genuine representation in legislatures. Several and various kind of Chamchas were born in the last fifty years. As and when India's high caste Hindu rulers felt the need of Chamchas and when the authority of the upper castes got endangered by real and genuine Dalit leaders, Chamchas were brought to the fore in all other fields".

In his "The Chamcha Age", a well-argued and polemical tirade against the pseudo Dalit leaders, Sahib Kanshi Ram sharpens the contradiction for the legitimate acquisition of political power by the downtrodden in electoral democracy in India.

In, the Chamcha Age, "he focused very much on the Poona Pact which was a point of a rather decisive Gandhian victory over Ambedkar after a long duel between the two at the Round Table Conference".

COURTESY:"

The Chamcha Age"

Posted at www.ambedkartimes.com

PREFACE OF THE CHAMCHA AGE

(AN ERA OF THE STOOGES)

SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI

THE CHAMCHA AGE (An Era of the Stooges)

As victims of the Brahminical culture, for centuries, the Shudras and Ati-Shudras, now known as the Backward Castes (S.C., S.T. and O. B. C.) were passing through the Dark Age Around 1848 Jyotirao Phule initiated revolt against the Brahminical culture. From the beginning of the 20th century, the Depressed Classes all over India started revolting against the Brahminical culture. Around 1920, they were lucky to have the leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar.

Up to 1930, the struggle of the Depressed Classes was largely ignored by Gandhiji and the Congress. During the Round Table Conferences of 1930, 31, & 32 when the communal Award was announced, Gandhiji was shocked to see that the able leadership of Dr. Ambedkar could secure for them, both Recognition and Rights.

This was too much for Gandhiji and his Congress. To deny the Depressed Classes their due Gandhiji, went on fast till death on 20th September 1932. Such coercive methods forced Poona-Pact on the Depressed Classes. But even the Poona-Pact could not take away Recognition. Thus, we see that when Caste Hindus were forced to concede a little bit of power, they took to second line of defense. They saw to it that they must not lose control over it. This was secured by the Poona-Pact, by way of denying the right to Separate Electorates and forcing the Joint Electorates on the Depressed Classes. Through the Joint

Electorates, the representatives of the Depressed Classes became only nominal representatives and not real representatives, for no untouchable who did not agree to be a nominee of the Caste Hindus and be a Chamcha in their hands, could be elected in a Joint Electorates in which the untouchable voter was outnumbered in ratio of 1:5. With this started the Chamcha Age on September 24, 1932, the date when Poona-Pact was signed taking away the Separate Electorates and forcing the Joint Electorates on the Depressed Classes of India. Now when the Chamcha Age is 50 years old, it has been decided to write the book, besides denouncing the Poona-Pact in a big way all over India.

The purpose of writing this book is to enlighten, awaken and caution the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj (Oppressed and Exploited Society) and its workers and leaders about the large scale existence of the element of stooges (Chamchas) in our oppressed and exploited society. The book is also designed to make the masses, especially the workers, distinguish between the genuine and the counterfeit leadership.

Those who struggle to change the times, the Age, must know and understand the Age in which they are living and operating. The book is designed to serve that purpose as well.

To make the book more purposeful, it has been divided into 4 parts and 17 chapters. Part I and II give

a glimpse of the past struggles, Part III speaks of the present times and Part IV suggests ways and means for the future struggles. Thus all the 4 parts and 17 chapters put together secure continuity of the past, present and future happenings and struggles relevant to the purpose before the Book.

Initially a booklet of about 50 pages was designed to enlighten and caution our own missionary workers about the existence and nature of the element of stooges amongst the oppressed and exploited Indians. Later on, it was thought necessary to give background, the past events that eventually pushed us into the Chamcha Age. To fulfill this need, the quoting of past events extensively became inevitable. All this brought the book to its present size.

The book contains 3 memorandums and one long statement by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Even otherwise Dr. Ambedkar has been largely referred and extensively quoted. Keeping in mind the controversial nature of the topic and the wrong stand on celebrating the golden jubilee of the Poona-Pact by the lieutenants of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, we are forced to take shelter under the heavy cover of his writings and works. Thus, the risk of repetition and over-emphasis has been purposefully and willfully taken to secure continuity, clarity and credibility.

The following 4 words: - (i) Tool (ii) Agent (iii) Stooze (iv) Chamcha carry almost the same meaning, but

slightly different spirit. All over the book, these 4 words have been used depending upon their effectiveness in carrying the meaning and the spirit. In the common man's terminology, a tool, an agent, or a stooze is termed as Chamcha.

And in this book, I have decided to use common man's terminology. To my mind, it will be fruitful to use common man's terminology when we fight for his cause.

If you call someone as Chamcha, he will not like it and is likely to go against you. But when you are calling the Age as the Chamcha Age, you are biting so many and they may hit back. But as Chamcha cannot operate on its own, the operator may hit you back with Chamcha. We should, therefore, be prepared for the 'Chamcha Attack'.

To keep the attack mild, we have refrained from illustrating the events by giving the names, even at the risk of becoming vague and leaving a lot of guess work for our readers.

At any rate, the Chamcha attack should not frighten us, because a Chamcha is not a powerful or deadly weapon. Besides, we must aim at the hand that uses Chamcha. If hit hard the Chamcha will fall. A fallen Chamcha is absolutely harmless. Thus, this way, we hope to end the Chamcha Age within a short Span of about 10 years.

COURTESY:"

The Chamcha Age"

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AMBEDKAR ON POONA PACT DISADVANTAGES OF THE POONA

SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI

THE CHAMCHA AGE (An Era of the Stooges)

On 15th March 1947, on behalf of the Scheduled Caste Federation, Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar submitted a lengthy Memorandum to the constituent Assembly which was to draft the future constitution of India. The memorandum demanding the safeguards for the Scheduled Castes was quite long and exhaustive. One of the chapters of the Memorandum dealt with the Poona Pact, especially the disadvantages of the Poona Pact. It being most relevant to this book, (THE CHAMCHA AGE (An Era of the Stooges) expressing Baba Saheb Ambedkar's views 15 years after Poona Pact, it therefore reproduced below:

1- The Poona Pact was intended to devise a method where by the Scheduled Castes would be able to return to the Legislature representatives of their choice. This intention has been completely nullified as will be seen from the following series of statistics. The series have been constructed from the results of the last elections, which took place in February, 1946.

2- The statistical data is arranged in four series of tables: First series show the votes secured by the successful Caste Hindu candidate and the successful Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election.

Second series show in how many cases did reliance on reservation clause become necessary for the success of the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election and in how

many he succeeded without the benefit of reservation. Third series show the relative voting strength of the Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes in constituencies in which seats are reserved for the Scheduled Castes.



Fourth series show the position in the Primary election of the Scheduled Caste Candidates who became successful in the Final elections.

3. The conclusions that follow from these figures will not escape those who care to examine them. The figures prove the following propositions: (i) That every of the Scheduled Caste candidate, who became successful in the Final election, owed his success to the votes of the caste Hin-

dus and not of the Scheduled Castes. A great many of them came to the top of the poll and secured votes equal to and in some cases larger than those obtained by Caste Hindu candidates (See Tables in the First Series). Secondly, in very few constituencies was



the successful Scheduled Caste candidate required to rely on reservation (See Tables in the Second Series). This is a most unexpected phenomenon. Anyone who compares the voting strength of the Scheduled Castes with the voting strength of the Caste Hindus in the different constituencies (See Tables in the Third Series) would realize that the voting strength of the Scheduled Castes is so small that such a phenomenon could never have oc-

curred if only the Scheduled Caste voters had voted for the Scheduled Caste candidates. That they have occurred is proof positive that the success of the Scheduled Caste candidate in the Final election is conditioned by the Caste Hindu votes.

(ii) That comparing the results of the Primary election with those of the Final election the Scheduled Caste candidate who was elected in the Final election was who had failed in the Primary election (if the Primary election be treated as a Final election and the constituency be treated as a single-member constituency).

(iii) Owing to the extreme disparity between the voting strength of the Hindus and the Scheduled Castes- Disparity, which will not disappear even under adult suffrage system of joint electorates will not succeed in giving the scheduled castes the chance of returning their true representatives.

(iv) The Poona Pact has completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes in as much as candidates whom they rejected in

the Primary elections-which is a true index of their will have been returned in the Final election by the votes of the Caste Hindus. The Poona Pact is, thus, fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of the assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of the Scheduled Castes.

**COURTESY:" The Chamcha Age"
Posted atwww.ambedkartimes.com**

DENUNCIATION OF THE POONA PACT

The Untouchables were forced to sign the Poona Pact under the impact of the coercive fast of Gandhiji. Dr. Ambedkar denounced it the very next day expressing his views, "the Untouchables were sad. They had every reason to be." He kept denouncing it till the end of his life in 1956. He denounced it in private discussions, public meetings, relevant writings, in fact on all the occasions that demand denunciation.

As an illustration of the denunciation by Baba Saheb Dr. Ambedkar, some quotations from his two books (1) What congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, published in 1945 & (2) States and Minorities, published in 1947, are given below:-

1- "There was nothing noble in the fast. It was a foul and filthy act. The fast was not for the benefit of the Untouchables. It was against them and was the worst form of coercion against helpless people to give up the constitutional safeguards of which they had become possessed under the Prime Minister's Award and agree to love on

the mercy of the Hindus. It was a vile and witched act. How can the Untouchables regard such a man as honest and sincere?"

2- The Communal Award gave the Untouchables two benefits:-

(i) A fixed quota of seats to be elected by separate electorate of Untouchables and to be filled by persons belonging to the Untouchables. (ii) Double vote, one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in the general electorates.

Now if the Poona Pact increased the quota of seats for the Untouchables it took away the right to the double vote given to them by the Communal Award. This increase in seats can never be deemed to be a compensation for the loss of the double vote. The second vote given by the Communal Award was priceless privilege. Its value as a political weapon was beyond reckoning.

3- Today the Untouchables have a few more seats than were given to them by the communal Award. But

this is all that they have. Every other member is indifferent, if not hostile. If the Communal Award with its system of double voting had remained, the Untouchables would have had a few seats less but every other member would have been a member for the Untouchables. The increase in the number of seats for the Untouchables is no increase at all and no recompense for the loss of separate electorate and the double vote.

4- Clause (5) of the Poona Pact has limited the system of primary election to ten years which means that any election taking place after 1947 will be by a system of joint electorates and reserved seats pure and simple.

Things will be much worse under the system of joint electorates and reserved seats, which will hereafter become operative under the terms of the Poona Pact. This is no mere speculation the last election has conclusively proved that the scheduled Castes can be completely disfranchised in a joint electorate.

5- "The Poona Pact had produced different reactions. The Untouchable were sad. They had every reason to be-"

6- In the light of these considerations, it cannot but appears that the Poona Pact was only the first blow inflicted upon the Untouchables and that the Hindus, who disliked it were bent on inflicting on it other blows as and when circumstances gave them an occasion to do so."

7- After having accepted the Poona Pact, why did not Mr. Gandhi keep faith with the Untouchables by telling the Congress not to despoil the politics of the Untouchables by contesting the seats reserved for the Untouchables by getting such Untouchables elected as were prepared to become the tools of the Hindus?

8- After having accepted the Poona Pact why did not Mr. Gandhi keep up the gentleman's agreement and instruct the Congress High Com
(Continued on Next Page)

Free Money Doesn't Exist

By County Supervisor Sue Frost

If someone were to offer to give you a modest down payment on a car that you otherwise couldn't afford, but left you the burden of paying expensive monthly loan payments, repairs, insurance, registration, gas, and all other ongoing expenses, would you consider that car to be "free?" I wouldn't, and I suspect most readers of the Ambedkar Times wouldn't either, because you would now be obligated to pay for something that you cannot afford. Yet that is exactly what the Sacramento Bee is claiming when they suggest that Sacramento County has "ignored millions in free money for homelessness."

To fill you in on the backstory, there is a federal grant that local municipalities can apply for called "Whole Person Care," which would fund a program designed to help move the homeless people who use emergency rooms the most into more appropriate facilities for treatment. Sacramento City wanted to partner with Sacramento County to accept the money and jointly run a program. Sounds great, right?

Unfortunately, accepting this

money doesn't make sense for several reasons.

First, this money isn't for ongoing funding, it's for a three year program - and after that three years is up we will be left to fund ourselves a program that costs \$64 million dollars annually. We would then need to either boot the homeless back to overcrowded hospitals, cut funding from other countywide services like police and roads, or raise taxes. None of those options are particularly attractive.

Second, the money would need to be used in a way that isn't very helpful to Sacramento County. This is because the money doesn't allow the spending on the two things we need most to help solve this problem, which are mental health services and housing. We don't need money to more efficiently connect the homeless with services, because we simply don't have enough services to connect them with (as can be witnessed by looking at the huge waitlists we currently have).

And last, in order to get the money Sacramento County would

have to match the federal funds at a time when we have virtually no reserves. There is a significant cost associated with participating in this program, in addition to the fact that if we couldn't demonstrate improvements in certain health outcomes, the federal portion of the money could be withheld. In the end, Sacramento County decided to not apply for the "free money", and I am in complete support of that decision.

Instead of risking our money on this program, Sacramento County has focused its time and resources on programs that will offer more of what the homeless actually need. To help mental health we are investing in three new mental health crisis centers, opening a mental health urgent care center that can service 300-400 people, and increasing capacity at the Mental Health Treatment Center. And to help the housing problem we are creating a 24-hour homeless shelter to house 75 people each night, redesigning the family shelter system to provide housing for 33 families each night, and providing a shelter to high-risk families who

cannot be diverted to permanent housing immediately while we assist them to find housing.

I recognize that these programs are not going to eliminate homelessness, because to be honest, we could probably throw hundreds of millions at this problem and still not eliminate homelessness (San Francisco spent \$275 million on homelessness last year, and their problem is only getting worse). But our programs are a good step forward to address our immediate needs while also refraining from spending outrageously. There are roughly 2,000 unsheltered homeless on any given night in Sacramento County and 1,000 churches— perhaps a good, free solution would be to proactively help engage the faith community as part of the solution and build volunteer support. Sue Frost represents the 4th District, which includes all or part of the communities of Citrus Heights, Folsom, Orangevale, Antelope, Rio Linda, Elverta, Gold River, Rancho Murieta, North Highlands, Carmichael, Foothill Farms and Fair Oaks.

DENUNCIATION OF THE POONA PACT

(Continued from page 3)

mand to include representatives of the Untouchables in the Congress Cabinets?

9- This shows that Mr. Gandhi not with-standing his being a party to the Poona Pact is determined not to allow the Scheduled Castes being given the status of a separate element and that he is prepared to adopt any argument however desperate to justify his attitude of opposition."

10- In short Mr. Gandhi is still on the war path so far as the Untouchables are concerned. He may start the trouble over again. The time to trust him has not arrived. The Untouchables must still hold that the best way to safeguard them is to say 'Beware of Mr. Gandhi.'

11- The second misdeed of the Congress was to subject the Untouch-

able Congressmen to the rigours of party discipline. They were completely under the control of the Congress

could not speak what they felt. They were there as dumb driven cattle. One of the objects of obtaining

this from happening.

12- To end this long and sad story the congress sucked the juice out of the Poona Pact and threw the rind in the face of the Untouchables.

13- The Poona Pact has completely de-franchised the Scheduled Castes in as much as candidates whom they rejected in the Primary election-which is a true index of their will-have been returned in the Final election by the votes of the Castes Hindus.

14- The Poona Pact is thus fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of Scheduled Caste.

COURTESY:"

The Chamcha Age"

Posted at www.ambedkartimes.com



Party Executive. They could not ask a question which it did not like. They could not move a resolution which it did not permit.

They vote as they wished and

representation in the Legislature for the Untouchables is to enable them to ventilate their grievances and to obtain redress for their wrongs. The Congress successfully and effectively prevented