



Election Meeting in the Punjab. Sardar Sohan Singh Joshi, Communist Candidate, Addressing Sikh Peasants. (Photo: Madan Jeet).

for the Final Battle for Indian Freedom

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

THE Communist Party seeks your hearty co-operation and active support for its programme of:

- 1 IMMEDIATE FREEDOM FROM BRITISH IMPERIALIST DOMINATION.
- 2 A UNITED STRUGGLE OF ALL FREEDOM-LOVING INDIANS BOUND TOGETHER IN A JOINT FRONT OF ALL POPULAR PATRIOTIC ORGANISATIONS.
- 3 PEOPLE'S WELFARE BASED ON THE REAL EQUALITY AND SOVEREIGN FREEDOM OF ALL OUR PEOPLES.

I. Indian Must Not Fight Indian

The Communist Party is the only party that does not malign or raise its arm against other patriotic organisations. It patiently works for brotherly understanding with and between India's main political organisations, the great National Congress and the influential Muslim League, despite the present serious differences, despite the heat of the electoral battle.

The main endeavour of the Communist Party is to help to liquidate differences among freedom-loving Indians and build a United Freedom Front to begin the final battle of Indian freedom, fulfil the mission of our countless martyrs, realise the dream of our elders, for our youth to fight like warriors and our children to grow to manhood and womanhood in free and prosperous homelands of glory, greatness and true happiness.

'Divide And Rule'—Always British Game

The Communist Party concentrates all its fire against the Imperialist rulers of our common motherland and considers it a crime to waste one word or lose one comrade in internal factional warfare.

The only call of our Party is: **INDIAN MUST NOT FIGHT INDIAN BUT ALL INDIANS TOGETHER MUST FIGHT THE BRITISH ENSLAVERS!**

The Communist Party reminds all Indians that through the policy of divide and rule the British conquered our ancient native lands, through divide and rule they have ruled over us all for 200 years and through divide and rule again, they plan to stay longer.

The Communist Party seeks to route all against the new Imperialist policy of dividing up India and keeping it jointly and severally under their own control.

Against the rising hatred of the growing mass of the Indian people, against the awakening conscience of the freedom-loving people of the world, the British Imperialists have come to realise that they can no longer keep In-

Three months ago, we published the draft blue-print of the election programme of the Communist Party, by P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, for discussion among members of the Communist Party and among the people.

We are now publishing the election manifesto of the Communist Party, issued by the Central Committee.—Editor.

They thus hope to canalise and split the great popular awakening represented by the movements led by the Congress and the League and keep their own hold intact, indirectly through their traditional stooges—the Princes.

It is a cunning plan for the per-

(i) On the present franchise which denies the vote to 70% of our adult population

(ii) On the basis of the existing provinces with the artificial boundaries created by themselves.

The next step, already declared, will be to call upon the new legislatures to elect delegates to a constitution-making body of their own choice. They know that the vast majority of the delegates will be from the Congress and the League.

Relying upon the inability of the leaderships of the Congress and the League to come to any agreed settlement, they hope to stage a longer and bigger Simla show, parade Indian differences to the whole world, and finally take upon themselves the responsibility to give the final award.

The full blue-print of this diabolical award is contained in the

strength. The Imperialist plan will succeed if the leaderships of the Congress and the League continue to cling to the illusion that the British Government will settle with them over the heads of the other.

The British Imperialists will settle with none, only use one against the other and impose their own solution, denying real self-determination to all. It is in this way that they hope to escape having to quit India and instead to continue as India's real rulers—behind a new cover and in new robes.

It will be the shame of all Indians, salvation for none; it will result in the realisation of the fundamental aim of neither the Congress nor the League but only in the victory of the British Imperialists.

Checkmating Imperialist Plan

The Communist Party offers just principles as the basis for a United Indian Plan against the British Imperialist Plan.

The appeal of the Communist Party is to the undying urge for freedom of all Indians; the immediate aim of the Communist Party is the achievement of the freedom of India.

The Communist Party puts forward two strategic slogans to foil the imperialist plan, based on true freedom-principles, which should be acceptable to every freedom-loving Indian.

FIRSTLY, turn your back on the British rulers. Stretch out your hand towards your Indian brother.

No freedom-loving Party should seek unilateral settlement with the British Government, for this will lead either to the humiliation of the leaders of that Party or to the surrender of its aims.

SECONDLY, for the successful assertion of the Indian right of self-determination against Britain, make a simultaneous and unequivocal declaration that you will apply the very same principle among Indians themselves.

It is in this way that the Communist Party seeks to make the aim of freedom of India mean the freedom of all Indian peoples and thus eliminate the fear of domination among the minority peoples and the suspicion of treachery among the majority peoples.

Fear of Hindu domination can keep back the Muslim brothers from joining the battle of Indian freedom and suspicion of Muslim disloyalty to the cause of Indian freedom can keep the Hindu brothers away from unity with the Muslims; and this will continue as long as the freedom of one does not mean the freedom of all. (Continued on page 2, col. 1).

ELECTION MANIFESTO of the Communist Party

dia enslaved or Indians divided in the same old way.

New Diabolical Plan of Slavery

Their sovereignty over India, their old order within India, are doomed. Before all Indians rise like one man to make them quit our country and refashion with our own hands the social order they have imposed over our people, our rulers are planning to change their old regime in their own way and to suit their own interests.

Their plan is to divide India into a Hindu-Majority Dominion and a Muslim-Majority Dominion, whose constitutions are drafted separately in co-operation with the British Government; simultaneously they plan to keep Princes, India in independent treaty relations with the British Crown.

manent dismemberment and a new form of enslavement of our motherland.

The basic principles of their plan and the broad outlines of their strategy are contained in the Cripps' Proposals (1942), the Wavell Offer (1945) and the subsequent announcements of the British Labour Government which only paraphrase the earlier Tory declaration.

Their tactical line is based upon the blind belief that Indians can never agree, among themselves and that our two major political organisations, the Congress and the League, will never come together. It is this belief that gives them confidence that the initiative to frame the new constitution for India will necessarily pass into their own hands.

The first step has already been taken by the ordering of the coming elections as they wanted, viz:

book, "THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM OF INDIA" by Prof. Reginald Coupland who is considered to be their greatest expert on colonial constitutions and is the respected adviser of the India Office and came to India as the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps in 1942.

Such are their manoeuvres, calculations and plans to damn Indian patriotism as bankrupt throughout the world and win for themselves the moral right and opportunity to impose a British-made constitution and create one or more puppet States in India.

It will bring new slavery under British domination and not Indian freedom—this is the aim of the British Imperialists to-day.

Not Salvation But Shame

Against the Imperialist plan of new slavery and permanent partition of our country, the Communist Party pits its entire



ALL TOGETHER AGAINST THE BRITISH!

(Continued from page 1.)
 all to the common satisfaction of each.

II. The Indian Freedom Plan

The Communist Party translates the above principles of freedom into the following concrete proposals, for which it seeks universal support.

1 Immediate declaration of Indian independence by the British Government.

Transfer of power to a real All-India Constituent Assembly which will draft the terms of the Quit India treaty and ask the British Government to accept the treaty or to face the united struggle of all the Indian peoples.

2 The delegates of the All-India Constituent Assembly shall be elected by 17 sovereign national Constituent Assemblies based on the natural homelands of various Indian peoples, viz. Baluchistan, Pathanland, Sind, Western Punjab, Central Punjab, Hindustan, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra, Kerala, Tamilnad, Orissa, Bengal, Assam and Bihar, and carved out of the existing artificially-made British provinces.

These seventeen national Constituent Assemblies shall be elected by universal adult franchise.

3 The right of full self-determination shall also extend to the peoples of Indian States not only as their inalienable right, but as an essential part of the plan of real Indian freedom for the final liquidation of British rule and its princely agents.

Exercise of this right will enable the people of every State to decide their destiny and to rejoin their own-brother people of British India in their own free homelands.

The delegates of the All-India Constituent Assembly shall have no more authority than that of plenipotentiaries.

Full and real sovereignty shall reside in the national Constituent Assemblies which will enjoy the unfettered right to negotiate, formulate and finally to decide their mutual relations with an independent India, on the basis of complete equality.

There shall be the final responsibility to raise and construct the constitutional structure of a Free India through their own free will, in the atmosphere of their own creation and as they desire to realise their own and the common interest best.

The Communist Party guarantees to the SIKH PEOPLE that in regard to the territory in which their own historic homelands lie, they would be able to exercise their right of self-determination together with the rest of the population of that territory.

The Communist Party stands for a UNITED AND FREE BENGAL in a free India. Bengal as the common homeland of the Bengali Muslims and Hindus should be free to exercise its right of self-determination through a Sovereign Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise and to define its relation with the rest of India.

People Will Decide

In the way out that our Party suggests all solutions are possible of fulfilment.

THE LEAGUE IS FREE to plead for and get a separate sovereign Federation of Muslim-majority areas living in friendly alliance with a sovereign Federation of Hindu-majority areas, but not inside a common Indian Union.

THE CONGRESS IS FREE to plead for and to get a Federal Indian Union based on autonomous but not sovereign units.

OUR PARTY IS FREE to plead for and get support for a voluntary Union of sovereign national States, on the basis of complete democracy within each and the utmost help to each other, the more advanced helping the less advanced through a common Federal Centre.

The only condition for acceptance is that the people must support the solution that each Party puts forward. And when Indian parties, based on solid support among the people, differ, the only way out consists of serious negotiations among them, with the will and determination to come to lasting agreement among ourselves and start the final battle of our common liberation against our common oppressor.

Dangerous Illusions

The Communist Party warns one and all that instead of the above just way out the leadership of our two great parties are denying the claims of each other, slandering each other and nursing the illusion that it is easier to settle with the British Government than with each other.

Each of our two great parties hopes that the British Government will listen to it because of its own strength; each lacks faith in its own brother and each does not see its own lack of reason; and in this way both parties not only play into the hands of the British but also fail to realise their own aims.

This will happen again in the Constitution-making body just as it happened at Simla and has been happening always, everytime the problem of an Indian Constitution has been discussed for the last twenty-five years, viz.:

Indian leaders cannot solve Indian differences and the initiative

The Communist Party's solution is based on undiluted justice and the most scientific principles of self-determination. Our solution is inspired by undying faith in Indian brotherhood, with the single aim to make the freedom of India the freedom of all Indian peoples.

The Communist Party hopes that every Indian will see that this is the only way of being just to one another and thus the only way of building a united front of all freedom-loving Indians for the final battle against the British enslavers and for Indian freedom.

The Communist Party places before every Indian the image of free homelands within a free India.

The Communist Party appeals to every Indian heart that stirs at the call for justice among ourselves and at the call for battle against the British with the slogans:

ONE FOR ALL, ALL FOR ONE

The Communist Party works its hardest to solve our own differences and escape the shame of the new form of slavery now being planned by our British rulers.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S BIGGEST SINGLE AIM TO-DAY IS TO GET ALL FREEDOM-LOVING INDIANS TOGETHER FOR THE FINAL BATTLE FOR INDIAN LIBERATION.

of British Big Business. On the other, they are seeking to guarantee the safety of their ill-gotten profits by becoming patrons and even members of our patriotic organisations.

It is only the Communist Party that is wide awake to these dangers. It is only the Communist Party that is out to expose and fight them.

Basic Principles of Industrial Reconstruction

The Communist Party advocates the most rapid planned industrialisation of India to proceed under the direct guidance of the People's State on the basis of the following basic principles:

- (1) Nationalisation of all key industries, like chemicals, iron and steel and coal mines.
- (2) Control of all major industries.
- (3) Planned and even development of industrial resources in all Indian homelands.
- (4) Planned co-ordination between the development of large-scale industry and cottage industries, for the minimum growth of both within each homeland.
- (5) Control of all capital resources for the rapid development of the country according to plans made for the people's welfare and

the country's development by the People's State.

(6) The long-term and the short-term plans made by the People's State to be implemented through free and equal co-operation between the representatives of the State, Management and Labour.

Workers and middle-class intellectuals!

Together to break the British Imperialist stranglehold on Indian Industry!

Together to foil the conspiracy of the British monopolists and the Indian printreests!

Together to critic capitalist profiteers!

Together to battle for free towns in a free India!

This is the only road to build new and flourishing towns in our great land, towns inside which new life will pulsate, all will have jobs useful to society, all will have the means to live a civilised life.

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EQUALITY, DEMOCRACY, PEOPLE'S WELFARE

III. For Free Towns in Free India

The British rulers have kept our country industrially backward, as their exclusive market.

The Indian capitalists, both manufacturers and traders, became profiteers and black-marketeers and betrayed their own people in the worst days of our country's crisis during the last six years of war.

Only love of profit moved them. Their own people they only exploited of their labour and cheated them of their daily needs.

It will be a crime against our country's future to leave India's economy in the hands of Indian capitalists, not only in a free India, but even for one single day longer.

An unprecedented post-war industrial crisis looms ahead. Fifty lakhs of our people are threatened with unemployment, five times the number that died in the Bengal famine, according to Government's own figures. Every working-class and middle-class home will be shaken to its very foundation.

The Communist Party turns the attention of all honest Indians, industrial workers and the employees in the towns to the criminal deeds and secret manoeuvres of the Indian capitalist-profiteers.

(1) As the political leaders of India are looking to the British rulers and not towards each other, similarly the leaders of industry are carrying on deals and have become tied up with the biggest concerns of British Big Business; for example the Birla-Nuffield deal has already been settled; Nuffield is among Britain's biggest motor magnates; the deal between Tata and Imperial Chemicals has also been fixed; Imperial Chemicals is Britain's Empire-wide chemical monopoly.

Many more such arrangements are being secretly negotiated but are not yet public knowledge.

(2) These same lovers of their own riches and blood-suckers of their own people are getting inside India's main political organisations, the Congress and the League, to ensure that their interests would be safe when Popular Ministries come to power.

Thus, on the one hand, they are selling the country's economic future to their own bigger brothers

IV. Free Villages in A Free India

The British conquerors imposed on our villages the Zemindari system and introduced on top of it their own capitalist system.

To be able to suck India they created in every Indian village the three leeches; the idle ZEMINDAR who became the symbol of utter uselessness to the village, corrupter of its life and today of the British; the Indian USURER, symbol of greed for peasants' land, the new controller of the future; the tricky TRADER who specialises in buying his produce at the cheapest price that he has to give and in selling the villager the goods from the town at the highest price he can force out of him.

These three leeches over the village, supported and protected by the British administration with its own law, police and courts, have devastated our villages; they have made one-third to one-half of our rural population landless and have brought about a position where food production has grown less and less and the land of plenty, of which

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FOOTNOTE

In addition to the 30 per cent of the net profits that the Government took as Excess Profits Tax (EPT) and Income and Super tax, the Government as an anti-inflation measure passed an ordinance directing that 10% of the remaining profits should be set aside as a Reserve to be returned after the war (with an interest of 3 per cent plus a Government contribution of 3 1/2 per cent) to the Company or manufacturing concern. This is the Reserve fund of the B.P.A., which we demand should not be returned to the capitalists but be used for India's industrial development.

PROTEST FROM LEAGUE PRESS AND RANKS AGAINST BAD SELECTIONS

THE Bombay Provincial Muslim League Parliamentary Board has announced the list of League candidates to contest the forthcoming elections to the Provincial Assembly. The Parliamentary Board has selected 30 candidates out of 110 applications received for the Assembly seats and two candidates out of 10 applications received for the Council.

The *Ajmal*, Urdu pro-Congress daily, rightly remarks that the "influx of applicants for Muslim League tickets shows the general popularity of the Muslim League."

The Parliamentary Board discussed the matter for nine days. Out of these 30 candidates selected, 18 are sitting members of the Assembly and 12 are new comers. Seven are Khan Sahebs, one is a Khan Bahadur and 5 are Government contractors.

The selections have given rise to a chorus of protests from League ranks.

Commenting on these nominations, the daily *Khilafat* (League) says that the Parliamentary Board behaved like the "blind man of the fable who while distributing speckles had distributed them only to himself." The *Khilafat* obviously refers to the general belief prevalent in Bombay League circles that the members of the League Parliamentary Board have awarded tickets to themselves and to their very loyal henchmen to the exclusion of several good League workers whose names were unanimously recommended by their local League Committees.

Press Ignores Top Leader's Advice

Even that section of the League Press, which usually supports the Official group, has strongly criticised the selection. The *Iqbal* and *Inqilab* which are supporters of Mr. Chundrigar, leader of the dominant group in the Bombay League, are equally opposing the nominations.

Mr. Chundrigar, President of the Bombay League and Chairman of the Parliamentary Board, announcing the list at a Press Conference, had appealed to the League Press not to make adverse criticism of the Board's decision. His plea was that the dissatisfied applicants could appeal to the Central Parliamentary Board and they should not parade in public the lack of solidarity in the League ranks.

But Bombay League papers paid scant respect to his advice and have condemned the nominations in no uncertain terms, though they all say that now that the nominations are made Muslims should support the League candidates.

In the opinion of the *Khilafat* again, the nominations are "not at all satisfactory." The daily *Iqbal* says, "We must support the candidates," but "obvious injustice has been done."

The Muslim referred to the Kaiser Bagh meeting where the Qaid-e-Azam had publicly prayed to God to give enough wisdom to the Parliamentary Board's members so that they might make just and proper selections. But obviously, the Muslim adds caustically, "God has not granted the Qaid-e-Azam's prayer."

There is general approval in League circles and the Press over the selection of Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Haji Noor Mohammed, Mr. Ahmed Mian Sheikh and a few others. But the selection of candidates for smaller districts is almost universally condemned. Meetings are being held and statements expressed in League papers criticising these candidates.

The Candidates

And who are these candidates? Mr. Jinnah, in a recent speech, had said that the real struggle of Let us see how his Provincial the Muslims is not against the Hindus but against the British.

Lieutenants have selected their generals to fight the British.

A Profiteer, A Landlord, A Govt. Contractor Taken

There is a certain Khan Saheb, A. H. HAKIM. He has been selected from Nasik. He is a rich Momin and since the Nasik Constituency contains a large number of Momin, especially at Malegaon, the Board has selected this toady Momin. It is said that when there was the yarn scarcity in Malegaon he mercilessly exploited the Muslim weavers and openly indulged in profiteering.

The Board rejected the application of Dr. ABDUL HAMID KAZI, President of the Khandesh District League, and selected Khan Saheb ABDUL HAMID DESMUKH. This man is a hereditary Police Patel, member of the Khandesh War Committee and

a big landlord. He has donated several thousand rupees to the Government War Fund and given only a ten-rupee note to the League Election Fund. In recognition of his loyal services, Government bestowed on him the title of Khan Saheb last year. He joined the League only three or four months ago obviously to enter the Legislature.

There was the unanimous recommendation of the District League and 33 Primary League Committees for the veteran patriot and progressive—Dr. Abdul Hamid Kaz—but he fell a victim to Mr. Chundrigar's factionalism.

Another League candidate from this area is Mr. S. M. HASAN. While the applications of Mr. S. M. BUKHARI, Vice-President of the Khandesh District League, and Mr. MOHAMED HANIF, General Secretary, have been rejected, this agent of the British has been selected.

S. M. Hasan is a sitting member. During the Congress regime, he tried hard for the offices of the Government Pleadership and Public Prosecutor, but failed. As soon as the War started, he joined the National War Front, ignoring the League instructions. He was appointed leader of the Technical Recruiting Committee. In recognition of these services, Government has allotted him a rich

piece of land in Jalgaon worth Rs. 35,000. At present he is a Government contractor. He joined the League only four or five months ago.

A Govt. Servant

One of the candidates for Broach District is Mr. M. A. PATEL. Almost every League paper has strongly criticised his nomination. Mr. Patel is an advocate from Bombay and has absolutely nothing to do with Broach. The rejected candidate, Mr. IMAM KHAN is a political worker and quite popular in his area. Similarly, the ticket for Panchmahal has been given to Mr. FAKHRUDDIN BANDOORWALLA who is a Bombay Bohra. He lives and carries on business in Bombay. He is a licensee for arms and ammunition and per se pro-Government.

The League nominee from Bijapur is one Khan Saheb A. M. ILKAL. Besides being a toady, he is at present working in a Government office. He has never been a political worker. Several members of the League Parliamentary Board admitted to me that this Khan Saheb is a bad choice and hardly stands any chance against Nabl Saheb Makhdoom Saheb Bainsingh Master, the veteran Communist candidate from Bijapur.

A Speculator

Another very unpopular nominee is one Mr. ABDUL MAJID GHEEWALLA from Belgaum constituency. He is a speculator, and Government contractor and according to the Muslim League daily, "Notorious in the entire district for moral ineptitude." The Parliamentary Board had formerly nominated him for the Central Assembly, but the Central Parliamentary Board and Mr.

Jinnah rejected it. We hope the Central Board again rejects this toady and selects a really sincere and hardworking Muslim Leaguer.

The candidate from Karwar is Mr. ABDUL QADIR who is a Lungi merchant in Bombay and has absolutely no connection with Karwar, while Mr. SHAMSUDDIN'S application has been rejected, although he is one of the founders of the Karwar League and very popular there.

The Few Good Selections

Now let us come to Bombay. Khan Bahadur HASAN ALI and Mr. MUBAIN BEG MOHAMMED have been nominated from the South. The former is a confirmed loyalist and a close friend of the Police Commissioner. The latter, however, is a good choice. He is a social worker and has been taking active interest in the Muslim Students' movement in Bombay.

From the North the choice has fallen on Haji NOOR MOHAMMED and Mr. UMAR RAJAB. Both are good selections. Haji Saheb is a member of the Provincial Muslim League Executive and has been its Secretary and Vice-President. He has been taking active interest in the Muslim people's movement since the Khilafat days. Mr. Umar Rajab is an ex-mill hand and has maintained an active interest in the downtrodden.

But there seems to be a move afoot to bring in Sir Jashenwalla, Sheriff of Bombay, whose application has been rejected by the Board. This would be a thorough opportunist. He resigned from the League in 1943, and was leader of the Government Civil Guard and head of the National War Front. He is more interested in racing than in politics. He has been appointed Sheriff of Bombay by the Government and while serving the Government he applied for the League ticket also.

But unprincipled factionalism inside the Provincial League has gone so far today that even the progressive opponents of the Chundrigar group are bowing for men like Jashenwalla and Ali Mohammed Delvi, a leading toady of Bombay.

The Muslim and the Khilafat have become so blinded with factionalism that every applicant rejected by the dominant group is considered progressive by them! They are writing articles and printing scurrilous reports of meetings showing the alleged cessation among Muslims for not including Sir Ali Mohammed Delvi and Mr. Jashenwalla! They rightly enough criticize Mr. Chundrigar for nominating Khan Bahadur and Khan Saheb, but in the same breath demand the inclusion of the worthy Knight—Sir Ali Mohammed Delvi, and the Sheriff of Bombay, Mr. Jashenwalla!

The position today has come to this—that both the dominant group and the sections opposing it, have thrown all principles of patriotism and service to the cause of the Muslims overboard and are fighting each other on a purely factional basis. Each wants to secure seats for his

(Continued on page 9, col. 1.)

Bihar League Candidates

NAWABS, TOADIES AND TITLE-HOLDERS GET IN

THE final list of the Muslim League candidates for the 40 Muslim seats in the Bihar Assembly makes quite interesting reading. There are three Khan Bahadurs, three Khan Sahebs, three Nawabs, at least half a dozen toadies with proved pro-Government and anti-people record and a few notoriously opportunist elements who have been given seats by excluding good and honest League workers.

The only saving feature is that among the rest are some important League leaders and good League workers, while two very notorious Khan Bahadurs have been refused tickets, although they were League members in the last Assembly.

By
Indra Dip Sinha

The League Parliamentary Board met twice during December for the selection of the candidates. The leadership was split up into a number of opportunist factions who are struggling for control of the League organisation in the Province. Ideological differences have gone into the background—sentiments about higher and lower status are roused and freely made use of, to serve the factional ends of various leaders.

Ten Seats To Momin

Thus while the Board was having its sitting on December 26, about 500 Momin staged what has been described as a "spontaneous" demonstration to enforce their demands for twelve seats. Sayed Jafar Imam, leader of the dominant group in the League, came out and assured the demonstrators that justice would be done to their demands.

After a lot of discussion and bargaining inside the Parliamentary Board, ten seats were allotted to the Momin, two seats to the Shias and two to the backward strata like the Dhansia and Kurjans.

Apart from these caste and factional considerations, more regard was paid to getting moneyed toadies, rather than honest and sincere League workers.

Khan Bahadur Nawab Mohammad Inaam is the biggest Muslim landlord of Bihar with an annual income of two and a half lakhs. As a Leaguer, he boasts he

is opposed to "all Hindus" and does not think he can ever agree to united work with the Congress.

But is a big zamindar, this man worthy to an important member of the Bihar Landlords' Association, the overwhelming majority of whom are the worst type of Hindu toadies and Mahasabbites, headed by the Maharajahs of Darbhanga!

I understand that the Khan Bahadur is manoeuvring to become the leader of the League Assembly Party in Bihar.

Khan Bahadur Jaili is a wealthy lawyer of Darbhanga who has a consistently black record of anti-people activities and rank opportunism. Essentially a Government man, he was a member of the War Committee and National War Front and actively assisted the bureaucracy in its repressive measures in 1942.

He proved his merit by the "sale" of the National Savings Certificates for which "service" he was elevated to the rank of a Khan Bahadur only last year.

The only qualification of this gentleman is that he calls himself a Momin "leader" and he has never failed to take ample advantage of it. He managed to secure the job of distributing yarn to poor Momin weavers and did it so well that an angry crowd of Momin overpowered his house and charged him with black-marketing.

The strangest part of the whole story is that he was not even a Leaguer. Elected on the Independent Party ticket, he has always

hovered between different parties according to his convenience and has now joined the League on condition that both he and his son are given League tickets. And the League leadership in Bihar has not failed to oblige him.

The third Khan Bahadur is one Mr. Mubarak Karim who is reported to be a veteran Loyalist. He has been given a ticket because he is a Momin.

Of the three Khan Sahebs, the most notorious is Abdus Samad who too was a National War Front leader and a friend of the bureaucracy. He too 'worked' for the National Savings Certificates drive, in recognition of which he was awarded his title in 1944. He has only recently joined the League to become an Assembly member. His only qualification is that he too belongs to a 'backward' section, that of Dhansia.

Of the three Nawabs, Choudhary Nazirul Haq is the worst choice. He has not even the virtue of being a League leader like Nawab Ismail. He too was a chief of the National War Front and is known to have taken more interest in organising Shikar parties for the Governor than helping the Muslim people. He is a big and wealthy man—a landlord of 8,000 bighas, and is one of the biggest Muslim land-owners of Bihar.

Most Scandalous

Nawab Ismail (Khan Bahadur) and Nawab Sharful Hassan are equally undesirable elements.

But the most scandalous selection is of Lady Amie Imam for a Muslim Women's seat to the Assembly. This lady too is a friend of the bureaucracy and was expelled from the League for joining the War Committee against the League mandate. She is so universally hated that the Muslim Students' Federation (League-minded) had itself submitted a memorandum against her to the League Parliamentary Board. I understand that there was a heated discussion in the Parliamentary Board over her candidature and two of its seven members were against her.

While there is grave discontent among the rank and file Leaguers on the inclusion of these toadies and Nawabs, there is a feeling of relief that at least two very notorious reactionaries have been given the go-by, although both are sitting members of the Assembly.

Saving Feature

One is Khan Bahadur Mohiuddin of Ranchi, and the other is Khan Bahadur Saghirul Haque of Saran. Mohiuddin is a notorious toady who joined the League only to gain cheap popularity. Saghirul Haque is even worse, he actually assisted the Sub-divisional Officer of Saran, in forcibly extorting money from the poor for Government-sponsored loans.

While no decent patriot can shed tears over the exclusion of these two notorious toadies, the Congressite daily *Searchlight* (owned by Birjis and edited by the Congress Socialists) has strangely enough utilised just this exclusion to carry on its factional war against the League and prove that it is a reactionary organisation!

Declaring that "the League in Bihar seems to be engaged in an undeclared war on the Shias," the *Searchlight* says—

"Khan Bahadur Saghirul Haque does not seem to figure in the nominations so far announced. The Khan Bahadur with all his services and popular appeal (sic!) evidently needs lessons in fanaticism and bigotry himself for favours of the League High Command." (Dec. 30, 1945).

Any Stick To Beat

The *Searchlight* has not a word to say on the really reactionary nominees selected by the League Parliamentary Board! It is out, not to see that really good Muslim candidates are elected, but only to use the worst religious passions (like the Shia-Sunni conflict) as a stick to beat the Muslim League.

- ★ INA Releases - Common Victory
- ★ Congress-League Reactions To Election Success
- ★ Alliance With Princes?

THE arrogant Imperialists who had bragged that nothing would be permitted to interfere with the course of "Justice"; have had to swallow a bitter pill. The country has scored a resounding victory, by securing the release of the I.N.A. officers, Capt. Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Lt. Dhillon.

By launching the trial against the three INA Officers, the Government wanted to demonstrate its might as it did fifteen years ago when in defiance of popular demand it hanged Bhagat Singh and his comrades. It wanted to create a "moral effect" on the Army as it tried to do when it inflicted barbarous punishment on the heroic Garhwal soldiers, led by Chandra Singh.

But the Government forgot one simple thing: 1945 was not 1930. Hence all its calculations went wrong.

The entire country—every political Party—voiced the demand for the release of these prisoners. Demonstrations, rallies, processions—from everyone of them rose the slogan: *Set them free.* The Calcutta happenings revealed the temper of the people.

Under the impact of this rising wave the Army itself began to be affected—a fact eloquently demonstrated by the depotions and the behaviour of the soldiers produced at prosecution witnesses. Delhi had to hush before the storm.

Central Lesson

But already the central lesson of this victory seems to be forgotten. Pandit Nehru in his statement from Larkana said that "it was the people of India who were united as never before that had forced the hands of the Government." Shah Nawaz while speaking at Lahore ascribed their release to the united efforts of all parties.

Congress as the foremost freedom organisation in the country can rightly claim that it did the most, but who in his senses will deny that the demand made by every political party in the country, including the Muslim League, the participation of masses of Muslim Students in Calcutta, Lahore and other places, in the protest demonstrations and the consequent complete moral isolation of the Government, left it no other alternative? *It is a victory not for any single party; it is a victory for all.*

Elsewhere we publish a report from our Lahore Correspondent which reveals how this simple fact is being deliberately suppressed and the common triumph is being used not against the common enemy but against each other.

"The Congress has shown how strong it is by getting the I.N.A. officers released and so vote for the Congress." This is being repeated even by responsible Congress leaders and used as an election weapon to fight the Muslim League and the Communists. Thus before our very eyes our common victory is becoming a weapon of mutual fight and disruption.

Thousands Still In

Must that be allowed to happen? Is that how we shall honour the memory of those who mingled their blood in the streets of Calcutta only a month ago? Will that help strengthen the movement for the release of the other INA men, thousands of whom are still in prison?

Let those for whom the INA issue is nothing more than a weapon to beat their opponents with, read the guarded report sent by the A.P.I. correspondent who visited an INA Camp near Delhi on January 7.

The common INA soldier is being subjected to dehuman treatment. In the biting cold of Delhi where the night temperature is often near freezing point, they are being denied adequate covering. They are beaten up on the slightest pretext and herded like animals in cages. They are bayoneted when they fall down from exhaustion and are unable to rise. And all this in the opinion of

that there must be something fundamentally wrong with its understanding of the problem of national unity; and on the contrary proudly claims "the Congress stands vindicated."

"First Round Won"—Mr. Jinnah

IF the Congress leaders refuse to see the real meaning of the League victory, no less blind is the League leadership. Mr. Jinnah, greeting the victory of the League in the elections, asserts that Muslim India has given its verdict in favour of Pakistan, that the "first round" has been won and now preparation must be made to fight "the second round"—the provincial elections.

He does not tell the Muslims what the "third round" is going to be and against whom it will be fought. True, the League has won victory and has demonstrated the solidarity of the Muslims behind it. But then the Congress leaders can also claim—as they have rightly claimed, that the Congress has the backing of the majority in the country as a whole. It has also won the "first round" and will win the "second round" among the general electorate.

by A. K. GHOSH

ing comrades out. That will involve determined struggle against the popular current of blindness and prejudice prevailing among our major patriotic parties today.

Partisan Pride

SUCH blindness and prejudice come out on every political issue today. Once we were proud that our national movement was guided by certain moral and ethical principles, we were not afraid to face and speak the truth. That claim cannot be made even by the tallest among the Congress leaders any longer. Deception of the people and self-deception have now come to be glorified as virtues.

Revisiting the results of the Central Assembly elections, a bulletin issued by the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress claims:

"The people of India have stood by the Congress and by voting for the Congress have shown their determination to redeem the pledge of independence, to march together to the free India of our dreams." (My italics—A.K.G.)

To back this assertion it is pointed out that whereas in the old Assembly the Congress had only forty-four seats, now it has "nearly sixty votes."

Are the Muslims not to be counted as 'people' of our country? Have they shown their confidence in the Congress? This inconvenient question is not even posed!

Everyone knows that there never was any doubt that the Congress would capture nearly all the general seats. The issue that dominated the entire elections was: for which Party would the Muslims vote? And that issue has been decided in a manner which no longer leaves any room for doubts. Every one of the Muslim seats has gone to the League, Congress and Congress-supported Muslim candidates in most seats have lost their deposits.

Elementary honesty demanded that this fact was frankly recognised and the claim that the "people of India" have shown their willingness to "march together" under the banner of the Congress did not figure in the official document.

It is an odd day for our country when our premier freedom organisation, an organisation with a proud history of 69 years, fails to win a single Muslim vote, when it does not even ponder over the result and feel

Against whom and how the "third round" will be fought—to this question neither of them gives any answer. The reason is simple. Each only sees the strength of its own following and refuses to see the following of the other. Each hopes that on the basis of its following it will be able to strike a bargain against the other with the British Government.

"Friendship With Princes"

THAT hope drives each towards courting the most reactionary elements in our country that will help it to fight the other. Our editorial this week deals with the shocking statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the All-India States' People's Conference, over which he presided. Criticism of Princely autocracy was there but what dominated the proceedings was a new note—a note of conciliation of the Princes, which one never associated with Jawaharlal.

Following Pandit's lead, leading pro-Congress papers like A.J. Sammr, Adhkar and others have started wooing the Princes in the most shameless manner, emphasizing that they are "unfortunate beings who do not enjoy even the rights of an ordinary man," and hinting that if they help the Congress they would be rescued from their present "helpless" position.

This plea for a "friendly attitude" towards the Princes is combined with a resolution of the Standing Committee that no Communist can be a member of any elective body in any State organisation affiliated to or recognised by the States' People's Conference.

What disastrous results this resolution will have on the States' people's movement and how it will disrupt the work of the Conference itself (we shall tell in a subsequent issue. The significant thing in the resolution is that not a word was said against the toadies of the Princes and other reactionaries who have betrayed the States' people again and again.

Thus we find that Pandit Nehru who thunders against the League for its reliance on Khan Bahadur and Nayab, does not hesitate to woo their elder and worse blood brothers—the Rajas and Niharrajas.

Denunciation of the Communists, who were "on the other side" is combined with slavish kowtowing before these under whose

Whither Pt. Nehru?

His New Attitude To Princes

PANDIT NEHRU was one of those few Congress leaders who never had any illusions about the Princes. He poured scorn and ridicule on those who suggested that the Princes could be won over. He unequivocally championed the cause of the States' peoples and demanded total abolition of the States. His flaming denunciation of the Princes should still be fresh in public memory.

The States' Peoples' Conference met at Udaipur after seven years under the presidency of Pandit Nehru. What message had he to-day for the sixty million States' peoples awakened as never before in their history, shouting with new life? It was something that must have shocked them.

True, he criticised the "autocratic governments" of the States and warned them, but that was not the most significant part of his address. It lay elsewhere.

Referring that for the system that exists in the States "the British Government has been and is responsible," Pandit Nehru added:

"Our approach to the Princes must be a friendly one, an invitation to join hands in the great tasks ahead."

Visualizing a free India in which the major Princes can remain as "Constitutional heads," he pleaded, "some of these Princes and rulers belong to ancient houses intimately connected with history and traditions."

Strange words these, coming from a man who not so long ago had said: "It is difficult to write in restrained language about these States." Since when, one may ask, has Pandit Nehru learned to differentiate between the British Government and its most shameless lackeys? Since when has he developed such fondness for these "ancient houses"?

But more was to come. To the main political resolution which demanded that the States' peoples' representatives to the Constituent Assembly should be elected by the people on the basis of the "widest possible" franchise, an amendment was moved by one delegate that universal adult franchise should be insisted upon.

Adult Franchise Not Practical?

Pandit Nehru himself intervened against the amendment and said that while adult franchise was a "worthy ideal" it was not "practical politics" at the present juncture not merely for the States but even for the rest of the country! The amendment when pressed to vote was lost.

What do these bewildering statements mean? In carrying out what "great tasks" does Pandit expect help from the Princes? Why should he not realise that the continued existence of the States in any form is unimaginable in a really free India, as the States are artificial units preserved by the British Government?

Why should universal franchise, which the Congress demanded only a few months ago for elections to the Legislatures, now be impractical for elections to the Constituent Assembly which is to decide the fate of the whole country and of every man and woman?

It is a very big go back for the Congress on its own ideals and not the path forward to Indian freedom.

The British Imperialists call universal franchise impractical; Pandit Nehru agrees. The peoples of the States should sit back, for the time being; such is his advice.

Lord Wavell advises the Princes to modernise their administration and promises not to do anything about them in the future Constitution without their consent. Pandit Nehru also makes the same appeal to the Princes almost in their very words and which have so far been used only by the British Viceroys.

Where does it lead?

After the elections, will come the British Constitution-making Body. The Congress and the League are both at loggerheads. Pandit Nehru does not want to make up with the League which he thinks is an unimaginably reactionary body. Mr. Jinnah threatens not to look towards the "Hindu Congress" any more which he thinks is a selfish Hindu body.

Pandit Nehru goes to the Princes hoping that they will help the Congress to get power from the British if he asks the peoples of the States not to harass them, not to demand immediate self-determination for themselves.

Mr. Jinnah gets together all the Muslim toadies, not only one Noon, but as many Nawabs, Khan Bahadurs and Ulama as he can get together for the time being and calls it "building of Muslim solidarity against the unreasonable Hindus."

Will the Princes listen to Pandit Nehru or to Lord Wavell and the Political Department? Are they India's patriotic leaders or British-protected feudal puppets?

Will the Noons take their orders from the League Command or the New Delhi Secretariat?

What has been everybody's experience all these years, not only in the remote past, but even today. It is simple enough for the common man but not for our foremost political leaders.

Not To Freedom But Humiliation

When the leaders of our foremost political organisations take to the path of fighting each other, this is where they go, into the arms of their own pro-British reactionaries and think they are strengthening their cause against British power!

This way will lead to the worst common Indian humiliation we have ever known, in the Constitution-making body. As at the Simla Conference, India's leaders will be at each other's throats, both appealing to the British Viceroy to listen to them and be firm with the other.

The British toadies will do what is expected of them in their own camp; India's leaders will look feebly and the representatives of the British Government will give us sermons about unity, ask us to be reasonable, etc. This will be followed by another British Award because Indians could not agree among themselves. Then those very toadies will come out and say that the acceptance of the Award is the only way out now, the British could not be expected to give us more because the other side was so selfish and unreasonable.

Must this happen? Let every Indian think for himself and speak up to his own honour.

order patriotic men and women were shot down in August 1942. Every patriotic principle is thrown overboard, every past stand repudiated, every pledge forgotten. And all this is done on the plea of "practical necessity." A bro-

ther is denounced as an enemy, avowed agents of the enemy are embraced as friends. Will this lead to freedom? It cannot. It will only strengthen the chains of common slavery.

CALCUTTA'S WORKER-HUMANITY IN ACTION

Beating Back 'Swadeshi' Bosses' Offensive

Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh Leaders' Role

Calcutta is in the throes of one of the biggest strike waves in its history. And it is not merely the organised and advanced sections like the Tramway workers that are on the move...

daily. Bosses' reaction was a surprise. They expected the workers to protest, to go on strike...

FOR almost three days from December 15th to December 18th, Calcutta's 20,000 telephone-pollers were on complete strike...

After all, the strikers were not only protesting against the management's policy but also against the Government's policy...

On the 15th, the strikers were on strike. The management was not prepared to meet their demands...

The strikers were not only protesting against the management's policy but also against the Government's policy...

Old women often usually feel that there is always someone who is not doing his duty...

The strikers were not only protesting against the management's policy but also against the Government's policy...

Against this strike of pollers came the big strike of the tramway workers...

The strikers were not only protesting against the management's policy but also against the Government's policy...

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(Above): Rishabhai-Pollers' Rally During Strike. (Below): Victory Demonstration After Settlement.

In Birla-Owned Kesoram Mill

GOONDAS LET LOOSE ON PEACEFUL WORKER-PICKETS

POLICE PROTECTION AND BLACK LEGS TO CRUSH STRIKE

By wire from Nikhil Chakravorty, Calcutta, January 4.

THE week's previous developments have taken place in Birla's Calcutta Kesoram Textile Mill's strike of 4,000 workers which started on November 27. Finding the workers under the leadership of their Union solidly determined to fight till the end, the mill bosses resorted to large-scale assaults with police help on individual workers in order to terrorise them.

At a quarter to eight, a group of 100 goondas, armed with sticks and iron rods, entered the mill-gate...

Police protection was provided to the goondas. The goondas were allowed to enter the mill-gate and to attack the pickets. The pickets were beaten and some were injured. The goondas were then allowed to enter the mill-gate and to attack the pickets.

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BENGAL GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-LABOUR DRIVE

Governor's Election Fiat Suppression of Adjudication Findings in Engineering Dispute

The Government offensive against Labour, particularly against the Red Flag is taking many forms, and is not confined only to the form of Police action against strikers as in the Kesoram mill strike.

According to the electoral rules, the Governor's election is to be held in the year 1954. The Government is trying to secure the support of the newly formed Bengal and Assam (B. & A.) Railway Workers' Union under the Red Flag.

Blatant Lies: The Government is trying to secure the support of the newly formed Bengal and Assam (B. & A.) Railway Workers' Union under the Red Flag.

Unprincipled Oppression: The Government is trying to secure the support of the newly formed Bengal and Assam (B. & A.) Railway Workers' Union under the Red Flag.

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CLASHES BETWEEN SUPPORTERS OF RIVAL CANDIDATES

Police Lathi-Charge On Murdered Untouchable Worker's Funeral Procession

ON Friday January 4, in Bombay's working-class area of Parel-Lalbaug, the police dispersed, after a brutal lathi charge, a funeral procession of untouchable workers, 40,000 strong. They injured over 300 men. One of them died later on in hospital. The police are patrolling the untouchable workers' areas, creating a feeling of panic among the residents.

This giant procession was accompanying the dead body of an untouchable worker, Chokhaji Sawlaram Gangurde, an employee of the Tramway Co.

On January 3, the Primary elections for the Scheduled Caste seats were held in Bombay. Both the Congress and the Scheduled Caste Federation (SCF) candidates were standing. Chokhaji was an active worker of the SCF. He cast his vote and was on his way back home, when he was suddenly attacked near the Labour Camp at Matunga. About twenty-five goondas, armed with lathis, knives and other weapons hacked him to pieces.

Shocking Climax

This murder had come as a shocking climax to the open rowdiness that had marked the whole of the Polling Day against sympathisers and workers of the SCF by men calling themselves Congress supporters.

Voters for the SCF were assaulted at many centres in the city. At Wadi, in the Bandukwala Chawl, some rowdies snatched the 'Mangal-sutra' (a symbol of marriage which women wear round the neck) of a woman and broke the arm of another woman, her sister-in-law. At Ghokoper, a suburb of Bombay, they broke into some houses and beat up the voters. An organiser of the SCF was badly beaten up at Ambewadi, Lalbaug, when he was escorting some of his voters.

Assaults from one side led to retaliation from the other. There were open clashes at several places.

For two hours after he was snatched Chokhaji lay there bleeding. Later he died in the hospital. It was cold-blooded political murder, which deserved the strongest condemnation from every point.

Mill Workers Come Out

The Press gave scanty news about this tragedy. And yet so intense were the feelings of the untouchable workers when the news reached them, that about 20 mills had to close down their spinning departments because the workers came out on a spontaneous strike. Five mills were completely closed down. Workers from the GIP workshops at Parel and Matunga, from the Tramway workshops at Doder, etc. came out on strike, as a mark of homage.

At Matunga Labour Camp, from where the procession started, about 30,000 untouchable workers gathered. Most of them coming in big processions of thousands. They came from such extreme ends of the city as Colaba and Kurla, Mazgaon and Bandra, Worli and Dhobi Talao, etc.

The procession soon swelled up to nearly 40,000.

Provocation

The procession marched with placards bearing, "Martyr Chokhaji Zindabad," "Victory to the eight crore Untouchables," "Inquilab Zindabad," "Dr. Ambedkar Zindabad," etc. The events of the day had filled them with bitter anti-Congress hatred. Provocative elements were not wanting who were fanning this. All this showed itself in placards like, "Down With Congress Goondas," etc. Often they shouted, "Congress Murderer" etc. and even burnt Gandhi caps and the Tri-colour.

The procession was about a mile-long. But even though anti-Congress feeling was running deep among them, all went smooth and there were no major clashes till the vanguard reached

King's Circle, an overwhelmingly Congress-minded area. From here started that series of provocative incidents which has today so badly strained the relations between the two sections of our citizens.

The slogans of the processionists were here replied to with slogans of "Ambedkar Zindabad." The former retaliated with "Down with Congress Goondalms." This was followed by the other side throwing stones at the procession from a neighbouring house. The men in the vanguard rushed at the house, snatched away a tricolour and burnt it on the street. All passers-by after this were forcibly deprived of their Gandhi caps which were burnt.

Brutal Lathi-Charge

Hardly half a furlong ahead the procession was suddenly attacked with soda-water bottles coming from the Jethabhai Building area. Furiously the men rushed here and there to retaliate. The vanguard had moved much ahead not knowing what was happening behind. There was a gap in the ranks and the 300 policeman charged. They rained down lathi blows for full 20 minutes.

It was a wild and brutal charge. The men were being beaten up as

if they were just cattle. The procession was scattered under this attack. Intoxicated, the policeman brandished their lathis and menaced the tier. But for the intervention of some Communist workers who were present there, far slier incidents would have occurred.

The lanterns with the procession had all been smashed and it was quite dark. But the handful of the Communists present stood between the policemen and the beer-bearers, defending the body of their untouchable brother-worker.

Hundreds were injured, one died subsequently in hospital. In the Labour Camp alone, we later calculated, about 50 men had suffered injuries. But the police did not care even to rush first aid. Our comrades did this themselves.

The Communists now rushed their car fitted with loudspeakers to aid the SCF leaders to rally the scattered men. In the dark, the workers gathered and their numbers swelled. About 3,000 of them finally accompanied the procession to the burial ground at Worli, where their leaders addressed them.

Next morning the Bombay Nationalist Press reacted to this tragic event in the most shameful manner. There was no condemnation of the goondas who had murdered Chokhaji, no condemnation of those who provoked a peaceful funeral procession by throwing stones; worst of all, there was no condemnation, even of the brutal lathi charge by the Police.

Shameful Press Attitude

But there was condemnation enough of the unseemly anti-Congress acts done by the processionists. Lokmanya, leading Congress Marathi daily, was sorry that the police was not prompt

enough. It actually floated over the lathi charge in its headlines. Bombay Socialist blamed the SCF itself for the murder of Chokhaji. It is yet to make its comment on the Police lathi-charge.

Nootan Gujarati, premier Gujarati Congress daily, headlined its whole report "Ambedkarites Run Amok in North Bombay." It combined its bile against the SCF with its anti-Communism and cooked up a story which actually defended the Police action!

The Bombay Committee of the Communist Party rushed a statement to the Press deploring the acts of goondalms and condemning Police repression. It was completely blacked out by the Press. The President of the Bombay Branch of the SCF issued a statement appealing to the Press "not to be provocative, in the interests of all." That also was blacked out.

It is a shameful story, how the Nationalist papers of the city have treated this whole affair. They hate the masses of the Untouchable workers of the city, the 40,000 of them who had come out on the streets at the call of the SCF, even more than they hate the British bureaucrats and their Police.

Congress Leaders Silent

None of the Congress leaders of the city has so far come out condemning the Police action, or the open goondalms that marked the Polling Day, culminating in the death of an innocent worker.

The Communist Party and the Girni Kamgar Union have issued a handbill deploring the acts of hoodlums on the part of both Congress and SCF supporters, and condemning the police lathi charge as "a horrible act." They are holding meetings in condemnation of the lathi charge and calling upon all patriots to speak up against political goondalms which is only setting brother against brother in the city and inviting police terror over all.

Inside Andhra Congress

BEHIND DR. PATTABHI'S "DECISION TO KEEP OUT OF PARLIAMENTARY ACTIVITIES"

by Our Benarasi Correspondent

AN A.P.I. message, dated January 4, from Madras says that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Member, Congress Working Committee, has "decided not to come into Parliamentary activities" though pressed to stand for the Provincial Elections by many of his friends.

Behind this cryptic, curious statement is the story of the fiercest factional struggles ever seen in the Andhra Congress, between two rival groups led by Dr. Pattabhi and Sjt. Prakasam, respectively, both of whom wanted to secure the Premiership of Madras in place of Rajaji, who it was thought was safely out of the way.

"Keep Rajaji Out" Cry

There was acute panic in both camps when Maulana Azad sent a special invitation to Rajaji to attend the Working Committee meeting at Poona. The fear that Rajaji might come in and upset all their plans brought both the rival factions together, as in fighting the Communists.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee (A.P.C.C.) met under its President, Sjt. Prakasam, and passed a resolution to the effect that Rajaji was guilty of anti-Congress activities, unfit to be in the Congress, and that President Azad should not send any such invitations to Rajaji.

This was the outcome not of any political principles or love for the Congress, but greed for power, the one motive behind the anti-Rajaji agitation, even in Tamils.

Immediately after this, began the factional scramble of both the groups against each other.

Pattabhi-Prakasam Rivalry

The first shot was fired in this factional war when a report from Bombay purporting to be from its Special Correspondent was published in the Andhra Patrika, which said that the Congress High Command had almost decided that Dr. Pattabhi should head the Congress Party in the Madras Assembly in place of Rajaji.

the High Command.

Sjt. Prakasam had more support from rank and file Andhra Congressmen and was popular as being the "Lion of Andhra."

The battle was joined. The Pattabhites proposed that Dr. Pattabhi should be a candidate for the Provincial Assembly. The Prakasmites opposed it tooth and nail.

This is how the Press featured it then. Under the heading "DR. PATTABHI TO STAND FOR PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE," an Associated Press report said that the Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee was "seriously discussing the question of Dr. Pattabhi's (candidature) ... and a majority of members are in favour of the same." (Indian Express, Oct. 14.)

This is what the shameless scramble for power meant. A member of the Congress High Command, angler for Premiership, and the President of the APCC and his group opposing even his candidature for the Assembly!

On the Provincial Parliamentary Board, however, Dr. Pattabhi got a majority of his men—a highly strategic victory! The Prakasmites had opposed his candidature, but he would now be able to decide the fate of everyone of their candidates.

The Fight In The Open

The way Dr. Pattabhi had picked the Parliamentary Board with his own men was regarded by all honest Congressmen. Deshbandhu Konda Venkateswara, the Grand Old Man of the Andhra Congress, publicly opposed the Board and criticised its composition.

Sjt. Prakasam, with the help of Prof. Rangas, who with his small group was manoeuvring between the two main factions, organised protests all over against the Parliamentary Board. He also made thorough arrangements to carry through their plot.

The APCC met at Rajahmundry on December 29. Parliamentary discussions inside the Working Committee centred round the question of retaining Dr. Pattabhi's majority in the Board, both the Prakasam-Ranga

groups wanting it and the Pattabhites opposing it.

A compromise was effected that the Board should be enlarged by the co-optation of one member from each district, but his powers would extend "only as far as selection of candidates from his own district is concerned." The Prakasam-Ranga groups wanted such co-opted members to have full powers over all selections, which meant reducing Dr. Pattabhi's majority.

Sjt. V. Bhagavath, one of Dr. Pattabhi's men, proposed a reduction of the Board to just three members, Dr. Pattabhi, Sjt. Prakasam and E. Subramanyam (a Pattabhite) which meant decisive power in Dr. Pattabhi's hands, with little chance for Sjt. Prakasam to conceal his factional struggle.

Needless to say the Pattabhites defeated the Ranga amendment. But the Prakasam-Ranga groups had planned something else in advance. A huge crowd assembled outside shouting slogans, "Insurance Agents Murdered," "Prakasam Ki Jal," "Support Ranga's amendment."

The Secretary of the Andhra Provincial Students' Congress, A. S. R. Krishna himself led a big rush at the gates, broke the volunteer and gate-crashed into the hall where the Working Committee was holding its secret session. He loudly challenged Dr. Pattabhi to come out and face his 'ladakha' (stump).

It was all well stage-managed. The crowd shouted, "Who is the Andhra Congress Leader?" "It is Prakasam." "The Present Working Committee was elected in 1946, we want a new one." They shouted, "We want Prakasam" and he came out in obedience to the demand of his own men. They said, "Rangam says you are going to resign. If it is so, just tell us, and we will throw your opponents into the Godavari." Sjt. Prakasam assured them that he would carry out their behest and not resign!

All these demonstrations were just as spontaneous as the anti-Rajaji demonstrations when Mr. Ambedkar went to Tamilnad to solve the dispute.

Dr. Pattabhi's New "Line"

It however did not deter Dr. Pattabhi from using his majority to squash the amendments of Prakasam-Ranga. Having secured himself of full control over the Parliamentary Board, his own side fell candidates in Sjt. Prakasam, the President.

Such was the scene witnessed at a meeting of the Provincial leaders of the Andhra Congress. Once all patriotic principles are thrown overboard, nothing remains except factional struggle for power in its crudest form.

Sjt. Kaleswaram, who was the spearhead of attack against the Communists, and his weapons now taken over by Dr. Pattabhi and was quietly edged out of all position. He was quipped away and though specially invited to the APCC meeting refused to come.

The Rajahmundry demonstrations made Dr. Pattabhi think hard. As long as he himself continued the scramble for Presidency, the Prakasmites would heap further indignities on him, a Member of the Con-

(Continued on page 6, col. 5.)



MACARTHUR'S FAILURE IN JAPAN
BRITISH RULERS' PRO-FRANCO INTRIGUES
'GREATER SYRIA' PLOT CONFIRMED

It was the pressing need for a change in the administration of Japan that led to the establishment by the Moscow Conference of the Allied Commission and the Advisory Control Council for Japan.

The most glaring of all was the crude way in which General MacArthur approved of the first imperial declaration of the Emperor, saying that "his action reflects the inevitable influence of a sound idea."

Yet all that the Emperor had done was to reject the conception of his divinity—while simultaneously he stressed his concern over "the spreading radical tendencies" since the end of the war.

And MacArthur's real objective was shown up by the much franker, Sir Robert Craigie, former Far East appeasement expert and British Ambassador.

"Is there not," he frankly asked, "the danger that Japan, if suddenly deprived of the imperial institution under which since pre-historic times she has been governed, may relapse into chaos from which aggressive and militant Communism is the only alternative?"

A commentator in the Calcutta Amrita Bazar Patrika (December 30) reveals still more facts that make crystal clear the real objectives governing MacArthur's regime.

RELEASED IN OFFICERS

(Continued from page 3). "We are grateful to the Congress, Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha and other parties for the work they did to secure our release. It is only the united efforts of all of them which brought us out."

Later in two other speeches Shah Nawaz spoke in a voice trembling with emotion, of the Calcutta demonstrations, "It is every drop of blood shed by martyrs of the Calcutta firing which has saved our lives and brought victory to India."

That blood was the common blood of all sections of our people, irrespective of Party differences. The INA thus far has been a cause which united our people despite all efforts of our leaders to use them for their own partisan ends.

BOMBAY LEAGUE NOMINATIONS

(Continued from page 4.) own group with little regard for patriotic principles or the fundamental freedom idea of the League.

But there is no doubt that the Board in their nominations have hardly taken the democratic wishes of the Muslim and of the League masses into consideration. They have ignored the unanimous decisions and recommendations of local and District League workers, with the result that the Muslim in the entire province are agitated and League workers in districts are thoroughly disgusted.

The Central Parliamentary Board should take note of this situation and of the prevalent opinion amongst the Muslim and of the Provincial Board and see that only such candidates are put up who have proved their patriotic worth in the course of service to the Muslim people and the Muslim League.

and this is why also, of countless men and women jailed by the Imperialist Government, at least 40,000 are still alive in prisons—kept there by MacArthur."

But the trouble with MacArthur's policy has been that Japanese reaction, although he had decided to preserve it for use against the Soviet, was by no means inclined to welcome the role of acting the anti-Soviet tool of U. S. Imperialism.

Instead, according to the Tokyo Correspondent of even the reactionary News of the World, "famine, poverty, unemployment and plague will be goods for fanatical nationalism."

"Even now," he says, "there is evidence of its rebirth." (Times of India, January 7).

"This," he continues, "must be ascribed to the 'deliberate mis-handling by Japanese officials of the relief distribution system, who hope by this means to stir up the population against the occupation forces.'"

That it is MacArthur's own bungling—through keeping the old Fascist bureaucracy in power—that is also responsible for the change in the method of controlling Japan, brought about by the Moscow Conference.

The Allies and Spain

INTRIGUES about the future form of government in Spain are increasing every day. It is well-known that conversations are going on between Don Juan, one of the survivors of the Spanish Royal dynasty and General Franco to bring about some formal alteration in the character of the regime to prevent the people from effecting a real effective change.

Next week talks are due to begin between the U.S., Britain and France with an observer from the Soviet present.

According to the United Press of India, France is for breaking diplomatic relations with Franco; the U. S. is undecided, while Britain is against it. To avoid the danger of the British Foreign Secretary, Bevin, changing his mind after a discussion with Dr. Negrin, the last Republican Premier, "powerful influences are still operating in the British Foreign Office in favour of Franco and they are exerting themselves to the utmost to prevent Dr. Negrin from meeting Mr. Bevin." (U. P. I, January 3).

And while these reactionaries are fighting hard to prevent Negrin from seeing Bevin, such is their dishonesty that they simultaneously give for not recognis-

ing the present exile Government the reason that "no Government without Dr. Negrin and without the Communists has a right to expect world-wide recognition" (The Statesman, December 31).

The fact is that reaction in Britain is attempting to save Franco for the same reason as the U.S. wants to preserve the Milado; it is British reaction that saw to it that in the exile Government formed last month, Negrin and the Communists were kept out; and their own agent, Indalecio Prieto is the real boss; but the Communists and Negrin refused to be provoked into opposition and while reserving the right to criticise, pledged their broad support to the Government.

Having failed to completely divide the new Government and the progressives, the British now descend to hypocrisy of which only hard-boiled rulers are capable—to give as the reason for non-recognition, the fact that the Communists are not in the Government!

'Greater Syria'

REUTERS' special correspondent on January 6 confirmed the British plans for a 'Greater Syria' (revealed by The Week, see page 10).

"News has reached Cairo that a further step taken by the Soviet Government indicates the first tentative Soviet alignment with the Egypt-Ibn Saud group against the Hashemite and Greater Syria plans which are generally considered here to be British sponsored."

He goes on to give the first report (not yet confirmed) of Soviet intervention in the Levant, reporting what is said to be the



For Details of 'Greater Syria' Scheme: See Article on page 10.

main points of a Soviet note to the Lebanese Government.

This note is said to emphasise, first, the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of Lebanon and then to state that while the Soviet "cannot advise the Lebanese authorities... if the Lebanon decides to oppose the Anglo-French agreement, the Soviet will support Lebanon."

It is clear enough that events in the Middle and Near East are at the boiling point. So far defeated in Iran, British reaction, which has the prime responsibility for keeping all these countries backward, is concentrating more on the Levant, but it is doubtful if they can put through its plan, considering first, the growing nationalist upsurge in the Middle East and secondly, the certain determination of the Soviet to oppose this plan.

—January 7.

CLOSE-UP OF BRITISH DIPLOMACY IN THE BALKANS

From The Mouths of Members of Britain's Own Political And Military Missions

Among travellers in the Balkans there is pretty wide agreement at least on one point—namely that for the betterment of Britain's policy and situation in those parts a quick and drastic purge of the personnel of the British Political and Military Missions is necessary and indispensable. The position in this respect is very much worse, more damaging and more and more dangerous, than the most suspicious observer from London could suppose.

I MAY say to begin with what with just three exceptions—two in Yugoslavia and one (a borderline case) in Rumania—I was unable to find any member of either the Political or the Military Missions who was not (a) openly and in most cases ferociously hostile to the Government of the country where he is supposed to be representing us and (b) consciously and actively engaged in anti-Soviet activity.

Representative

Sensational, but unfortunately typical, is the attitude of the British Minister—or "Chief Political Representative"—in Sofia, Mr. Houston-Boswell. This gentleman invited me to call upon him, talked for an hour, and gave me to understand that the conversation was confidential.

A week later I found that he had repeated parts of the conversation—some of them in a highly inaccurate form—to numerous persons in Sofia. Furthermore he had actually shown to another British journalist a copy of a report on a part of this conversation—an inaccurate report: it is true—which he had sent to the London Foreign Office.

In these circumstances I conveyed to him my realisation that I had evidently been under a misapprehension as to the confidential nature of the conversation, and felt myself at liberty to use it in any way I saw fit.

I may add that a few days later he repeated his observations to me in almost identical terms to another journalist.

Summing up his position he said:—"I hate the Bulgars, I

by Frank Pittsife

should be perfectly happy if they all cut one another's throat. My job here is to fight this bloody Russian influence."

To the other journalist he explained that although he "hadn't much use" of these "Labour fellows" he did find himself "seeing pretty well eye to eye with Bevin." In his inimitable Edwardian accent he further explained that "reading between the lines of Mr. Bevin's policy I take it that our job is to oppose the Russians at every point, which is just what I've been doing all along."

What Terror Means

To me he observed that he considered the Bulgarian Government absolutely terroristic. Asked to explain further he replied, twirling his curious moustaches, he stated the very correct Government policy of control of Labour in this fantastic manner: "Well, I mean to say, couple of fellows like us, here we are sitting and one of these fellows comes in and says: 'Well, you'd better get on with some job of work or other,' and next day he comes back and he says: 'Did you get on with that job of work?' And we say 'No, of course not,' and, by Jove, do you know this fellow can order us off to jail!"

To the other journalist he said that he really could not see any possible alternative to the Fatherland Front Government in Bulgaria but "damn the Russians are backing it, I'm opposing it for

all I'm worth."

As a character in a farce the Chief Political Representative in Sofia is almost perfect—as a principal representative of Britain in the Balkans he is not so funny, and the farce takes on a tinge of tragedy.

The Right Man

Principal Economic adviser to the Mission in Bulgaria is one Bailey former British Liaison officer and friend of the collaborator Mihailovitch. Being unable to return to Yugoslavia, for obvious reasons, he now promotes international goodwill in Bulgaria. He remarked a few weeks ago that Britain really had no large economic interests in Bulgaria but that his job was to combat the Russians.

It may be noted that among those in Bulgaria and Rumania who have been appointed for important and often delicate posts—including those of liaison officer with the Russians—are a Finn (of the old regime naturally), a Russian (counter-revolutionary, of course), a passionate anti-Semite who considers the Rumanians "lower than the African natives", a Pole (breathing furious anti-Russianism from above his British uniform collar), and a Ulsterman who spends a good deal of his time collecting the most fantastic "atrocity stories" from Oppositional Bulgarians and solemnly cabling them to London, (not to mention smuggling Oppositional agents across the frontier into Greece or Italy)!

Their Friends

In Rumania members of both the Political and Military Missions make no bones whatever of their bitter hostility to the Rumanian democratic Government, of their profound sympathy with the sinister Maniu, and with the obstructionist King, ("the only man in Rumania on strike") and of the fact that their principal information on the economic state of the country comes from an individual who was for years an

employee of one of the principal foreign oil companies in Rumania.

In fairness it must be stated that the Chief Political Agent, Mr. Le Rougetel, did recently feel constrained to inform certain Oppositional leaders that Britain was not about to declare war on the Soviet Union—a declaration which they frankly disbelieved. Their disbelief was hardly surprising in view of the general attitude of the majority of members of the Missions who rival the Oppositional reactionaries themselves in their fondness for spreading calumny and suspicion against the policy of the Soviet Government.

The Trouble-Makers

The more or less openly avowed policy of the British Mission in Rumania at the moment is to seek to foment dissension between the working-class Parties, and to create trouble for the Government by putting up the small extreme Right of the Social Democrats—already the refuge for many of the shadiest reactionary and near-fascist elements in the country—into a new Opposition on which the British Mission can bet its money in place of the admitted, though regretted, failure of the so-called "historical" Opposition Parties of Maniu and Bratianu to come up to scratch.

At the same time, by constantly accusing the Government of "terrorism," and representing such mild measures of control as exist in Rumania as "anti-democratic," they have the effect of appearing to spread the British umbrella protectively over every anti-social, reactionary, racketeer, black-market operator and speculator in the country.

(Continued from page 8).

gress High Command. The gospel of the faith that he had preached against the Communists might even be used against him. The Madras Premiership also seemed to be receding into the background.

Characteristically enough, Dr. Patil's new line was announced in an article contributed to the Andhra Province by his own supporter V. Raghaviah whom I have already mentioned. The thesis of his article was that the Andhra Province has not had representation in the Congress Presidential for many years. That a deputation of Andhra Congressmen should wait on Gandhi when he came to Madras in February and press Andhra's claim. The suggestion was obvious.

Dr. Patil's would let Patil's name get in no Premier if he could. He himself would try for the Congress Presidency. And the Provincial Parliamentary Board would also be controlled by him through his majority.

This in the meaning of Dr. Patil's real intentions. The personal greed for power remains, only it has shifted from Patil's hand, to Congress Presidentialship.

IS PANDIT NEHRU CATCHING IMPERIALIST CONTAGION?

"The impression increases... that Russia whose political system these three countries (Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary) are patterning has staked out these countries as her post-war satellites," so wrote last August the voice of imperial reaction, Eogoe Drummond, The Statesman's Washington Correspondent; and this is the most common angle from which the Imperialists consistently attack Soviet policy in the Balkans.

LAST week, however, saw a strange recruit to this band of anti-Soviets—no less a person than the great anti-Imperialist Pandit Nehru, himself.

Speaking at the All-India States Peoples' Conference at Ludhiana, he made an analysis of the international situation in which he said:

"The Soviet Union has built up a number of client states and in this process put an end to many policies of feudalism in Eastern Europe." (The Times of India, January 1).

I suppose one should not be surprised at the great anti-Imperialist echoing the international slogan of reaction—when inside India itself he has suddenly begun to praise the worst agents of British Imperialism, the ruling Princes of "ancient houses faithfully connected with history and tradition".

I remember too how Panditji confessed at a Press Conference in Bombay last October that he had no time to read the papers and therefore could say nothing about Europe.

Without Facts

The fact is—as I will show from his speech itself—Panditji does NOT know his facts.

In another place in his speech, Panditji says that the "resistance movements to which the war gave birth find it difficult to fit into the existing framework."

But why does he not say what anybody who looks at Europe and Asia will readily acknowledge.

It is in Greece, Belgium, France, Italy in the West, and in Asia, in Indonesia, Burma etc. in the Allied-occupied zones that the resistance movements find it difficult to "fit".

In contrast, in Eastern Europe, in the Soviet zone, the Governments of Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, are entirely Governments of the resistance movements themselves!

Panditji makes a crude and facile comparison between the "expansionist" policy of the U.S. and the Soviet, both of which are "trying to consolidate their position and extend their influence."

But again, does he not see that while in Eastern Europe, have appeared a number of States friendly to the Soviet; they are friendly NOT because they are 'client states'—but because the Soviet by its defeat of Hitler has made it possible for them to tread the road of democracy—industrial and agrarian reform—has made it possible for them to overthrow the old moneyed Imperialist agents and to govern themselves.

Would he call Burma a client state of India, were both our countries free and people's democracies, and bound together in friendly alliance?

Surely Panditji should be able to see that "friendliness" of a small power to the Soviet does not make it the Soviet's client state; just as a free Burma's friendliness for a free India would not make her India's client state!

Obviously the states of Eastern Europe could be called client states, only if the Soviet was doing to them, what, for instance, Britain has done to India.

But while British rule has carefully preserved landlordism, the Princes, the monopoly of British industry and has stood solidly in the way of agrarian reform—in Eastern Europe, the Soviet has given full freedom to the people's Governments to carry out

whatever measure of reform they wish to, so that each Government has effected big reforms—depending upon the degree of their strength, the more solidly based the Government, the more solid the reform, as in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

Soviet And U. S.

According to Panditji, the U.S. and the Soviet have got 'expansionist' aims. How is it, then, that their policy is so different in practice?

Here are the unprejudiced testimonies of two newspapers, a left-wing Liberal and a right-wing Tory, both of which I know Panditji used to read until he found that he was too busy. Commenting on Soviet policy in Germany, the New Statesman and Nation wrote last week:

"The Russian policy in East Germany was given high marks by the first group of correspondents, being permitted freedom to make inquiry into the conditions of the Soviet zone."

"Workers are finding life under Soviet rule tolerable; they are being given increasing responsibility for managing their own affairs and their living standards though seri-

ously reduced, are above starvation level. Revival of the coal industry has actually brought the production almost up to the pre-war level.

"German industry though stopped on a large scale for reparations, is not crippled and production for civilian needs is being encouraged."

"The Russian Military Government is allowing the German Provincial Governments a large measure of autonomy. The Provincial Administrations are responsible for direction of the planned economy now functioning throughout the zone and it also has carried out the long overdue redistribution of Junker Estates to more than a quarter of a million peasants, who have received gifts of 10 to 20 acres and livestock and tools."

"The reform with purge of the officials and businessmen, and the association of industrial workers in the management, has meant the virtual elimination of the social class in which Nazism has struck its hardest root."

"Doubtless, this legislation has been ruthless, but it is more logical than the British policy which though more humanitarian has left the Nazis in authority."

In contrast here is what the right-wing Tory Spectator wrote about U.S. policy in Japan:

"The Moscow decision to establish a Far Eastern Commission in Washington and an Allied Control Commission in Tokyo on each of which the U.S.S.R. is represented, recognises Russia's vital interests in the Far East and her right of a large share in determining the future development of Japan... The policy carried out by Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger has certainly will be reflected in the Commission and the Council."

"The Japanese Commander until now has been loath to enforce the Surrender Terms and Governmental reforms required in Japan through the same Governmental machine and the same ruling class that was previously employed for furthering Japan's ambitions for world conquest. There is no indication that either he or his Government will recognize the need for fundamental reconstruction of Japan's social and political system. This attitude is likely to provoke considerable opposition from the Commission and the Council."

Two Policies

Does not Panditji acknowledge that there is some difference between the two—and also that it is the Soviet's policy in strengthening the people and liquidating reaction that is the people's policy; it is the U. S.-British policy of maintaining Jap and German Fascism that is the reactionary policy?

Or does Panditji think that the Soviet just should not have any policy—in Germany, Japan, Eastern Europe and the rest, thus leaving the field clear for Anglo-American reaction to play hell and build for a new World War?

Cannot Panditji see this straight—that just as a free Indian Government could and should have a foreign policy which will aim to help the world progressive forces and fight world reaction, so also the Soviet has such a policy; and if he studies the facts of what is really happening in India and the world, he won't find himself in the doubtful role of the praiser of the Indian Maharajahs and the slanderer of the Soviet.

—Mohan Kumar Mangalam

"Greater Syria" Scheme

BRITISH INTRIGUES TO DOMINATE ARAB WORLD

(The key to all Britain's intrigues in the Middle East is its plan for the creation under its domination of a "Greater Syria". It is expected that this plan—whose description from the London journal, THE WEEK, we give below—will be thoroughly discussed during the visit to London next month of No. 1 British Agent in the Middle East, Emir Abdallah of Transjordan.—Editor.)

NE of the most important political projects furthered by Britain to safeguard and extend her domination in the Near East is that for a "Greater Syria."

This project, so much discussed in recent months, was first considered during the war. Its principal promoters are two quasi-official personalities known for their close connections with English Conservative circles. One is Doctor Magnus, well-known Zionist, and the other, Nuri Said Pasha, ex-Premier of Iraq.

For many years both have served British interests in the Arab countries and played a part in all reactionary and imperialist grasping, directed against the national liberation and democratic movement of the Arab peoples.

How It Will Work Out

What is the Magnus-Nuri Said plan? To create a new Arab state, consisting of Syria, Transjordan, a part of Palestine, and a part of Lebanon. Before the last war, these countries formed part of the Ottoman Empire, and in 1919 Palestine and Transjordan were placed under British mandate, and Syria and Lebanon under that of the French.

According to the new plan, Palestine is to be divided into two, one part to belong to the new state, while the other will constitute a Jewish area destined to become a Jewish home.

Lebanon will be deprived of its northern and southern regions, and will become once more what it was under the Turks, "Little Lebanon" consisting of the mountain and other districts together with the town of Beirut. The rest with Syria, the Arab part of Palestine and Transjordan, would become a state, and the throne would be offered to the Emir Abdallah of Transjor-

It would strengthen the influence of the Hashemite royal dynasty which would thus rule two important Arab countries, Iraq and Syria. And with these two crowns deeply devoted to her cause and their two countries therefore forming a solid bloc directly under imperialist leadership, Britain would balance the relations of power against two other Arab sovereigns—Ibn Saud, who is playing an American game, and Farouk, who is trying to manoeuvre between Britain and the U.S.

By establishing herself in Syria, Britain would maintain direct contact with Turkey which is surrounded practically on all sides by democratic countries friendly to the Soviet Union, and which the British are afraid might also venture into a policy of close friendship and alliance with its great neighbour, even though at present pro-British anti-Soviet forces are in the ascendant.

Since Greece cannot be counted on indefinitely, it is only from Syria that Britain can exert influence on Turkey and maintain the strong position already established there.

These are the principal advantages Britain would gain from this "innocent" project. But it is still only a project—and the violent reaction in nationalist and popular Arab circles at the time of its publication was not a good omen for its realisation.

Arabs Fight Back

The Magnus-Nuri Said plan was received with enthusiasm only by a few hangers-on of British reaction, naturally supported by court circles in Baghdad and Amman, but the mass of the Arab people and the nationalist bourgeoisie have fought it, from the first moment.

They see in it an obviously imperialist aim of a fully anti-democratic and reactionary character, having as its principal objective the breaking of the national liberation movement in the Arab countries and the continuation under another form of foreign domination.

BIRLA MILL STRIKE

(Continued from page 1.)

ed abusing Snehanga and other Communists present, saying that when the Azadi ki Lari began in 1942, the Communists had betrayed it. But we did not answer; the workers themselves retorted: "What type of Azadi ki Lari are you conducting under Police protection?"

The Labour Welfare Officer seeing Prof. Chattopadhyay came to him and admitted the "regrettable incidents of yesterday." But it was obvious that he had no control over the men like Bijoy Bahadur who were the favoured agents of the Birla Bosses.

Soon after Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay and Snehanga had left, the Deputy Commissioner of Police appeared. He made insulting references to Snehanga and threatened the workers that unless they went back to work, they would be thrown into Police custody and starved and beaten. Parooqui protested against such Police interference, but the Police Deputy Commissioner did not cease his threats.

The Police Bura Sahabs were thus openly taking sides with the Birlas.

On the 4th morning, the picketing continued and more successfully. Sri MRINAL KANTI BOSE, President of the A.I.U.C. (All-India Trade Union Congress) came and spoke at the workers' meeting in the afternoon encouraging them in their struggle against the Birlas.

Meanwhile, the Birlas have announced that the mill would be

opened for work on the 5th. To deceive the workers who had gone home, their delat sent wires saying that the mills were working and asking them to come back.

But these workers on return are reporting at the Union Office. The morale of the workers is very high and they are ready to take up and answer the challenge of Birla to march the Red Flag.

Dr. B. C. ROY, meanwhile interested himself in settling the strike. He approached the Union, asking them to state their minimum terms. The Union gave them an one-month's bonus, non-victimisation of workers, and withdrawal of Police cases, and warrants.

Birla's Latest Move

But after a few days when Dr. Roy met Snehanga, it was obvious from his talk that the Birlas were obstinately determined to hold out. It is understood that they are ready to close down the mill for two months rather than grant one month's bonus to the workers. Such is the "patriotism" of those who are regarded as "great Congress patrons"!

And on which side was the Hindustan Hindoo Soviet League during this struggle?

Suresh Banerji, their leader, was nowhere to be seen during this heroic struggle of the workers. And, sad to say, not a single top Congress leader of Bengal cared even to visit the spot where peasant Satyagrahi workers were being broken by hired goondas with the connivance of the Police.

A NEW LIFE - FOOD, JOBS, FOR ALL

(Continued from page 2.)

our quarters may, has become the land of famine where we all suffer. The Bengal famine was no sudden outbreak, it arose directly from the gradual evolution of the way our daily village life is going under British rule aided by these three village leeches.

For it is these three who keep the village down; they link the village with the foreign market in the interests of their British masters and profiteers of British Big Business; they do it to further their own selfish interests, to continue to live their life of corruption, greed and wanton luxury.

Through unprecedented hoarding and land-grabbing during the war years, these three leeches have become fatter and stronger than ever before. Through bribery, the officials of the British Government are literally in their pockets and therefore the whole village lies at their mercy.

Seri Village of Today

No peasant land is safe. No peasant elder knows what price he will get for his crop and how he will carry on the next season.

No peasant Ma knows how long the honour of her own daughter is safe at the hands of the goondas of these parasites and brutes.

No peasant youth has any chance of good education and of a life of creative endeavour for himself.

Inside India's villages to-day only devastation and darkness reign. And with no regular and growing supply of food for all, the prospect of chronic famine faces the townsman.

The Communist Party pleads with all its strength that the longer these three leeches are allowed to stay in our villages, the sooner will our villages become burning ghats, the sooner will more and more and worse and worse famines face the people in the towns.

Warning And Call

The Communist Party warns all honest men in towns and villages that these leeches who have so far acted as the agents of the British, both against our freedom movement and for the exploitation of our villages are to-day getting inside the two main patriotic parties of our people; this is how they hope to be able to exist longer and to carry on their life of greed, lust and luxury undisturbed by the people's anger and the people's strength.

The Communist Party is convinced that the very existence of our people both in the towns and the villages, demands that an immediate reconstruction of our rural economy be undertaken without further delay.

Three New Laws

The Communist Party pledges to the people that it shall not rest till the new Popular Ministries pass within the very first year of coming into power three new democratic laws; only the enactment of these laws and their ri-

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gorous application will end the domination of the feudal parasites, black-marketeers and usurers, over the economy of the village and ensure the entire people their daily food, thus preventing the calamity of new famines.

A LAND ACT, ensuring,

- abolition of landlordism;
- nationalisation of land so as not to leave any individual holding of above 100 acres;
- redistribution of land through elected democratic Committees;
- these Committees working in co-operation with agents of the People's State, will aim to transform uneconomic holdings of the poor peasants into consolidated economic holdings and to make large-scale co-operative farming possible.

AN ANTI-USURY ACT, ensuring,

- abolition of usurious money-lending to the agriculturists and the artisans;
- guaranteed credit to the peasants and artisans through co-operatives; such co-operatives shall be democratically controlled and shall mobilise the credit resources of the peasant money-lenders at a suitable rate of interest.

AN ANTI-PROFITEER ACT, ensuring,

- elimination of the profiteer from trading in people's food;
- abolition of the monopoly grip of rural wholesalers over

leaving them not more than Rs. 5,000 of the rental received by them per year.

The above measures are only the beginning towards fundamental village reconstruction. They do no more than give badly needed and prompt relief to the poor peasant and the landless labourer; they get from the parasitical landlord a portion of his ill-gotten gains; it is with this that all honest villagers will begin the battle for village rehabilitation and for production of more food for the people.

Against The Three Leeches

The Communist Party shall rouse, as an integral part of the battle for India's freedom, the entire village against its worst and traditional enemies, creations of British rule.

The Communist Party puts forward its agrarian programme as guaranteeing the safety, security and prosperity of all sections of the village who toil and labour and who agree to work their hardest for the common good of their own village.

The Communist Party shall not touch the small zemindar or the rich peasant but shall open before them the prospect of becoming the best of the farmers and cattle-breeders, reputed members in their own village. It shall not allow them to go the way of the traditional leeches but shall appeal to them to use their leading position in the village to start a new life of useful labour and

are Hindu and Muslim, Touchable and Untouchable, Sikh, Gurkha, Garhwali, Manipuri, Bengali, Malayali, Andhra, Tamil, Kannadiga and Maratha.

To Untouchable Humanity!

The Communist Party appeals to millions of UNTOUCHABLES wherever they live that through the battle of our Party for new villages and new towns, they will gain the most as the most oppressed section of our people.

The Communist Party assures them that it shall always fight against every form of social oppression, from which they suffer and for securing equal economic and political status for them in the government of the country.

In implementing the programme for settling landless labourers on fallow land, the Communist Party shall insist that Untouchables, who form the large bulk of landless labourers, be given first and special attention.

To Mothers And Sisters!

The Communist Party appeals to all WOMEN with the confidence that they will see in the programme of our Party the prospect of new and happy homes for themselves here and now and a life of purposeful endeavour for their sons, brothers, husbands and for which they must actively work in every way open to them.

The Communist Party is pledged to fight for complete equality

but puts forward the basis for uniting all freedom-loving Indians.

○ The Communist Party alone does not look towards Lord Wavell but faces its own brother parties.

○ The Communist Party alone makes no exclusive claims to patriotism and wisdom.

○ The Communist Party alone offers a programme and makes concrete proposals that should unite here and now all freedom-loving Indians and their parties. It readily admits the just aims of all and firmly denies all unjust claims. It appeals to all to apply the principles of freedom all round, on the basis of justice to all for the cause of all, freedom against the British and freedom among ourselves, and the establishment of People's Raj all over our vast country.

○ The Communist Party has the one single aim of uniting all freedom-loving Indians inside one Freedom Front for the final battle for Indian freedom and for the emergence of India as a great family of free nations; an India that shall play a liberating role in Asia and a progressive role in world politics, in alliance with all freedom-loving democratic forces and against World Imperialist Reaction.

Vote Communist!

• AGAINST THE BRITISH IMPERIALIST PLAN, FOR A TRULY INDIAN PLAN.

Vote Communist!

• AGAINST WAR AMONG FREEDOM-LOVING INDIANS.

FOR UNITY OF ALL FREEDOM-LOVING INDIANS.

Vote Communist!

• AGAINST THE ILLUSION OF UNILATERAL SETTLEMENT WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

FOR UNITED STRUGGLE AGAINST BRITISH DOMINATION.

Vote Communist!

• FOR CONGRESS-LEAGUE-COMMUNIST UNITED FRONT FOR THE FINAL BATTLE OF INDIAN LIBERATION.

Vote Communist!

• FOR FREE VILLAGES, FREE TOWNS, FREE HOMELANDS IN A FREE INDIA.

Vote Communist!

With the image of Indian martyrs in your heart, remember that the earliest living Indian revolutionaries, the Ghadar Babas of the Punjab, the comrades of Bhagat Singh, the Chittagong Armoury Raiders and all the young leaders of the terrorist upsurge of the thirties in Bengal, are with in the ranks of the Communist Party.

FOR THE CAUSE OF INDIAN REVOLUTION, IN THE BATTLE FOR INDIAN LIBERATION!

—Central Committee of the Communist Party of India

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people's food and peasants' needs;

- introduction of large-scale Sales-Purchase Co-operatives, run on democratic lines and not ruled over by the bureaucracy; these Co-operatives shall guarantee the peasant a fair price for his surplus produce and make available to him his daily necessities at cheap rates.

Immediate Measures

The Communist Party shall demand that the Popular Ministries use all steps, administrative and executive and pass People's Ordinances for the immediate introduction of the following measures so that the vested interests get no time to rally their forces and the toiling people of the villages get their urgently needed relief.

- (1) All available fallow land whether of the landlord or of the Government to be given to the landless labourers and poor peasants for producing food grains;
- (2) Guaranteed minimum wage to agricultural labourers;
- (3) A substantial reduction of rent for all tenants with uneconomic holdings in order to stabilise their own family economy and to encourage and intensify food production.

(4) Immediate strengthening and democratisation of the co-operative movement; this must be done by the People's State by:

- (i) subsidising sales-purchase co-operatives to fight the village black-marketeer;
- (ii) declaring and guaranteeing a fair price for agricultural produce;
- (iii) supplying industrial goods to villages at non-blackmarket fair rates;

(5) New and more schools and hospitals in the rural areas and immediate prospect of new jobs for the educated village youth;

(6) Immediate arrangement for training peasant youth in new methods of agriculture and for running rural co-operatives and new cattle-breeding farms;

(7) Big statutory landlords to pay over and above land revenue, a steeply-graded agricultural income tax; this must be levied on all agricultural incomes,

co-operative effort.

The Communist Party shall unite every section of the toiling peasantry whose true interests our programme will reflect.

The Communist Party shall appeal to the peasantry to support the demands of landless labourers, to build and preserve the unity of the village, to gather unconquerable strength against the enemies of the village.

The Communist Party shall appeal to the landless labourers to seek unity with the peasantry in the common interest of the battle against the three leeches, their own worst oppressors.

The Communist Party shall seek the support and alliance of every decent element in the village, teachers, doctors, etc., in rebuilding a new village.

The Communist Party shall rouse and unite the entire village:

AGAINST THE THREE LEECHES! FOR NEW LIFE IN EVERY VILLAGE!

FOR NEW STRUGGLES OF UNITED VILLAGERS AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE ENTIRE VILLAGES!

FOR FREE VILLAGES IN A FREE INDIA!

V. Communist Party Appeals:

To Worker-Peasant Brothers!

The Communist Party appeals to all WORKERS for support as the organiser of their own Trade Unions, in the name of the unity of their own class, for the coming mighty battles and in the honour of their own Red Flag.

The Communist Party appeals to all PEASANTS and agricultural labourers for support, as organisers of their own Kisan Sabhas, in the name of their own Red Flag, for an unending round of new and great battles against the enemies of their own village and for building up a new and happy life in the very village of their forefathers.

Workers and peasant elders! Only your party is putting forward the best sons of your own class as its candidates and they are the majority among Communist candidates; among them

for women in the laws, economy and political life of our country.

To The Youth!

The Communist Party as the youngest Party of the land makes a special appeal to the YOUTH with the confidence that they will see in the programme of our Party the hope of a new life, better than their own fathers visualised; with the confidence that their fresh minds will respond to true freedom principles and their hearts will echo the urgent call for the final freedom struggle.

The Communist Party is pledged to fight the spectre of unemployment; it is pledged to fight for growing opportunities of creative labour for the youth of our country in rebuilding our national life on new democratic foundations.

The Communist Party shall pay special attention to the needs of the youth; it shall fight for more and better education, more scholarships, more democracy within educational institutions and more facilities in every way for youth of all classes to live the life of their dreams in the service of our people.

To The Freedom-Loving Intellectuals!

The Communist Party appeals to the REVOLUTIONARY MIDDLE-CLASS to see in our Party the unifier of the middle-class with the working-class in the towns and the peasantry in the villages, in the common interests of both and for the cause of the people and against the enemies of the people.

It appeals to them to see in our Party the proponent of the true democratic principles in our own national life, the unifier of all patriotic forces in our country; the party which has only the single object of saving our people at all costs and despite all differences; the party which is unceasingly working to one end—that of bringing together all to fight shoulder to shoulder the final battle for the liberation of our motherland.

To All!

○ The Communist Party alone does not abuse any other Party