

# KHIZAR'S HENCHMEN AXE STRONGEST ANTI-UNIONIST CANDIDATES

## Congress-League Leaders Intrigue, Not Fight Anti-People Offensive

The Unionists' election weapons were reinforced by another ruse which they used on December 18—the date for the scrutiny of nomination papers. People's Age has already reported how Khizar manoeuvred to prevent all but those whose names were on the out-of-date 1941 Electoral Rolls from standing as candidates—bitting hardest at the Communist Party, whose main functionaries were then in jail.

AND sure enough, scrutiny officers rejected all the candidates who were not on these old rolls, though their names had already appeared in the Preliminary Voting Lists published early this month.

No less than six candidates set up by the Communist Party were rejected on this ground. They were:

First, veteran Baba RUP SINGH, founder-member of the Ghadar Party and sitting M.L.A. from Ferozapore. It is almost certain that no one would have dared to stand against Babaji—so widespread and universal is the love and respect of his constituents for him.

Secondly, the renowned hero of the Andamans, Sardar PRITHVI SINGH, who was standing from the General constituency in Ambala and was expected by all—even by opposing candidates—to win by a comfortable majority.

Thirdly, Hibi RAGBIR KAUR, sitting Sikh Women's M.L.A., who defeated her rival in the last elections by 5,000 votes and had a good chance of winning again.

Fourthly, ACCHAR SINGH CHINNA, President of the Punjab Provincial Kisan Sabha, whose excellent chances of success were admitted even by the Akalis who were to oppose him.

Fifthly, Master GAJJAN SINGH

Then the Communists have in this scrutiny lost altogether one certain seat and their best candidate in seven more constituencies.

The Unionists' attack was, of course, not confined to the Communists, though they are undoubtedly the most severely hit. League candidates were rejected for both the Lahore-Urban seats—where there was not the slightest doubt that all their rivals would have lost their securities. They were rejected on the flimsiest of technical grounds.

Similarly in Sialkot, Chaudhri IQBAL CHEEMA, a progressive League candidate, was rejected though here fortunately there was a second League candidate. In Batala-Gurdaspur the Congress candidate for the Sikh seat was also rejected, but here too there was a second candidate to replace him.

This is but a foretaste of the Unionist ways in the coming election. Instead of coming against the Unionists' common offensive on all patriotic parties, rival political parties are only gloating over each other's difficulties. All the Hindu papers

splashed in banner headlines the rejection of the League and Communist candidates.

### Scramble Over Those Left

And now the League and the Congress are vying with each other in trying to win over disreputable candidates, who have escaped the Unionist axe, to contest Lahore seats on their tickets! The League has secured one Wazir for one seat, who filed his paper as a Congress candidate. Wazir was a volunteer bodyguard of the Congress President but suddenly switched over to the League with the prospect of election on the League ticket following the rejection of the official League candidate.

Similarly, for the other Lahore seat, the League is busy negotiating with the Congress candidate, Babu Mohammad Din. It is expected he too will join the League.

While Congress and League leaders thus scramble over such unstable candidates, the Unionists continue their drive against all.

## Full Story

### Rajput Leaders Back Prithvi Singh, But Nomination Invalidated His Appeal To Vote Congress

THE nomination papers of Sardar PRITHVI SINGH AZAD, whom the Communist Party wanted to put up as a candidate in the forthcoming elections to the Punjab Assembly, have been rejected. How this came about is a shameful story.

Prithvi Singh needs no introduction. From the age of seven when he joined the Ghadar Party, he has been a life dedicated to the service of the country. Sentenced to death in the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1914-15, he escaped the gallows as the result of public agitation. His epic struggle in the Andamans, his dramatic escape from a running train and the subsequent events of his crowded life—all these are known to every political worker.

Even today Prithvi Singh is not allowed to enter the Punjab, his home province, so dreaded is he by the present Punjab Government.

He, therefore, went to Saharanpur (U.P.), the district adjoining Ambala division (Punjab) where his constituency lay. Here he was met by Thakur Phul Singh, a Congress M.L.A. from the U.P. and Chaudhary Ratan Singh, the prospective Congress candidate from the Ambala constituency, both of whom assured him that if he agreed to apply for the Congress ticket, they would do their utmost to secure his nomination as Congress candidate.

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### Congress Candidate's Objection!

Besides Prithvi Singh, there were three other Rajput candidates—Rao Jagdish Singh (Unionist), Kunwar Munraj Singh (Independent) and Chaudhary Ratan Singh (Congress). Rao Jagdish Singh, it seems, was being set up by the Unionists only to split the Rajput votes to help Chaudhary Ratan Singh—a Jat—the real Unionist candidate.

At a meeting of Rajput leaders of the district the overwhelming opinion was expressed that Prithvi Singh should not be opposed. Chaudhary Ratan Singh—the Congress candidate—himself said he would be happy if the Congress did not contest the seat. Chaudhary Jagwant Singh, one of the leading Congressmen of the dis-

VILLAGE Pul Kanjri (Ajnala Tehsil) was the scene of a most dramatic incident which occurred during a Conference held in connection with the Communist leader SOHAN SINGH JOSHI's election campaign in Amritsar district.

The Conference was the biggest ever held here during the last five years.

Besides peasants from the adjoining Tehsil, fifty workers of Rangharia and Bichhapura (Lahore) had come all the way to Pul Kanjri, a distance of thirteen miles.

The Conference was presided over by JAWAHAR SINGH BURI, a veteran of the Akali and Congress movements in the Punjab. Only recently, he resigned from the Congress as a protest against the disruptive policy pursued by its leadership. He urged the voters to vote for Joshi and thus strengthen the real progressive elements inside the Congress.

One of the speakers whose name had been announced for the meeting was DALIP SINGH TAPIALA, the beloved Communist leader of the Punjab-Kasam. Tapiala is a terror to the Unionist Police and has been to jail six times in the course of his anti-Imperialist, people's service.

Since the end of October, Tapiala has been working underground and the police had been hunting high and low for him.

### Audience Intervenes

When they heard that Tapiala's name had been announced as a speaker at the Conference, the police rushed en masse to the spot. They posted their forces all round in a strong cordon and were sure Tapiala could not reach the dais without falling into their clutches.

But right in the middle, while Communist leader B. P. L. BEDI was speaking, Tapiala appeared on the platform overloaded with garlands—as if dropped from the skies! A thrill ran through the entire audience. The Police were bewildered and tried to rush and arrest him immediately. But the audience surged forward and intervened: the police were warned not to touch him till he had finished his speech!

Such was the temper of the crowd that the police dared not touch Tapiala for fear of being lynched and had to let him speak!

Tapiala made a rousing speech which lasted for an hour and a half, slashed at the Unionists and their British bosses, answered back all the slanders against the Communist Party and appealed to the people to vote for the Party's candidates.

At the end of his speech, amidst thundering slogans, "Communist Party Zindabad", "Unionist Repressor Murdabad", he calmly walked off the dais to the police and offered himself for arrest.

And after that, the Conference continued and ended up with a Cultural show lasting for two hours.

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### Final List

## PUNJAB COMMUNIST CANDIDATES

The following is the final list of the Communist candidates for elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

1. MASTER HARI SINGH (Kangra & North West Punjab, Sikh)
2. SARDAR DASGONDHA SINGH (Hoshiarpur South, Sikh)
3. DR. BHAG SINGH (Hoshiarpur West, General)
4. BABA KARAM SINGH CHEEMA (Jullundur East, Sikh)
5. SARDAR HAZARA SINGH BABAR (Jullundur West, Sikh)
6. SARDAR SARKIS SINGH (Ludhiana East, Sikh)
7. SARDAR GUDESI SINGH RAJOHIA (Ludhiana West, Sikh)
8. SARDAR AJINDER SINGH BHEROO (Ferozpur West, Sikh)
9. BABA HIMAN SINGH (Ferozpur South, Sikh)
10. SARDAR TESHAL SINGH (Lahore West, Sikh)
11. SARDAR SOHAN SINGH JOSHI (Amritsar North, Sikh)
12. BABA BIR SINGH VERMA (Amritsar Central, Sikh)
13. BABA SANYA SINGH GANDWIND (Amritsar South, Sikh)
14. BIR SANY KAUR (Amritsar Women, Sikh)
15. SARDAR DEVA SINGH SWATANTRA (Gurdaspur North, Sikh)
16. SARDAR VADEV SINGH (Batala Gurdaspur, Sikh)
17. SARDAR PRAMA SINGH AGRI (Gurdaspur, General)
18. SARDAR CHANCHAL SINGH CHANRA (Gyalpur West, Sikh)
19. SARDAR JAGTIP SINGH JYAMPURI (Gyalpur East, Sikh)
20. B. P. L. BEDI (Ganga Union Labour)
21. ABDUL GHAFFUR TALIB (East Punjab Non-Union Labour)
22. FAKAL HANI GORAN (North Punjab Non-Union Labour)
23. SARDAR MOHARAT SINGH (Gujranwala-Shahdara, Sikh)
24. MANGE RAM VAITS (Shajlar, General)

in Ludhiana whose great personal prestige in the constituency had secured promises of support from scores of villages and whose victory was expected by all local parties in the district.

And sixthly, RAM SINGH DUTT, Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Trade Union Congress. Dutt had made a tour of the constituency where he has a big following among the peasantry and was receiving wide support.

Thus it was that the nomination papers of six of the strongest Communist candidates were rejected. But this was only the beginning.

### Rejected On Flimsy Grounds

Communist candidates for three seats were rejected on the flimsiest technical excuses.

In Ferozapore for Baba Rup Singh's constituency, which every Party admits was the safest Communist seat, there were two substitute Communist candidates who filed their papers along with Babaji as it was expected that he himself would be rejected on the grounds of being a new voter.

But it was not only Babaji who was rejected, but all the three Communist candidates. The reason given for this rejection was that they had not given the address of their Election Agent! Nowhere else in the whole province is this insisted upon. Even in other constituencies in Ferozapore itself the Deputy Commissioner ruled that this omission was no ground for rejection.

Yet the Returning Officer (who is said to be close to the Unionist Minister, Baldev Singh, and the Akalis) rejected all the Communist candidates. Thus in their strongest constituency, the Communists to-day are left with no candidates at all.

In Amritsar, for the Non-Union Labour constituency, the Communists have been campaigning for some time for Jagatram Dutt—one of the finest working-class Trade Unionists of the province, victimised from a local factory and loved and respected by the workers of Amritsar.

Jagatram Dutt's nomination papers were rejected. I understand, on the ground that his Urdu was not perfectly legible—that the letter "meem" of the word "Ram" was curled up and looked like "geem" (sic).

### Rai Bahadurs Delighted

Fortunately here the Communists had a second candidate, ABDUL GHAFFUR TAISH (veteran Amritsar Trade Unionist) and as his papers were accepted, he will stand in Jagatram's place.

For the Labour Union Railway Constituency, MIRZA MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM, Communist worker was disqualified. The technical ground was that he was still a Railway worker, and as such a Government servant, and Government servants are not eligible for election. Mirza had resigned his job in the Railway Workshops, but the Administration had refused to acknowledge this in time. Thus, with the help of the Administration, Mirza was rejected to the delight of his opponents—three rich Rai Bahadur founders of the worst type, with bad records of oppression of workers in their own factories.

In Mirza's place now will fight B. P. L. BEDI (well-known Communist leader of the province) whose nomination papers have been accepted.

# AGAINST POLICE ATROCITIES

## People's Protest Movement: General Strike in Kottayam

### Congressmen-Communists Stand Together

A mass meeting held at Kottayam (Travancore) on December 15 attended by 12,000 people, was symptomatic of the great protest movement that is sweeping over Travancore State against the repressive regime of the present Dewan, Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. All progressive forces in the State are in it. Strangely enough, the story has so far been blacked out in almost the entire Nationalist Press outside Kerala.

**THIS** is how the whole movement started.

#### Students on the Move

A student went to Sathar's cloth shop at Kottayam to purchase some cloth. Sathar who has the reputation of being a notorious blackmarketeer refused to oblige the boy, but at the same time, some other persons were supplied with the cloth he wanted. When the student protested, he was assaulted by the shopkeeper. Hearing about the incident, all the students of Kottayam came out of their classes and staged a demonstration against the cloth dealer. A public meeting was held to condemn his high-handedness.

It was at this stage that one Nallamuttam Pappu Pillai, the most hated Inspector of Police, appeared on the scene. This Police Inspector has to his credit the worst atrocities committed against the people of Travancore, since the days when the State Congress movement for a Responsible Government came into existence in 1938. When the students were dispersing in this case after their peaceful demonstration the Inspector pounced upon them. An innocent boy, the fourteen-year old son of a Professor, was hit on the stomach. The boy fell down unconscious and had to be removed to hospital.

This created a stir throughout the town and the people took up the challenge in right earnest.

The next day (Dec. 12), a huge public meeting was held to protest against the behaviour of the shopkeeper as well as against the interference of the Police Inspector. P. Bhaskaran Nair (more commonly known as Bhasi), the well-known Communist leader and Municipal Councillor of Kottayam, presided. A. K. Thampil, Communist student leader and a member of the Executive Committee of the All-India Students' Federation and P. N. Kesavan condemned the atrocities committed by Pappu Pillai and exhorted the people to stand united in defence of their democratic rights.

#### General Strike of Kottayam Workers

At about midnight, Pappu Pillai with a posse of constables raided the house of Bhasi, and tried to frighten his mother with revolver shots fired in the air, hurled filthy abuse against his brother and other inmates of the house. Bhasi was arrested and removed to the police lock-up.

Next day, Bhasi was seen drenched in blood lying on the bare floor, unable to move. He had been brutally tortured in the lock-up. "This would be the fate of every Communist"—threatened the Inspector.

This news spread like wild fire in the town and crowds of people thronged to the Police station and were shocked to see the Communist leader lying in a precarious condition, all in blood, not able to utter a word.

Bhasi's brother filed a petition to the higher authorities. It was only then that Bhasi was removed to hospital in an ambulance car under Police escort. Huge crowds of people followed him to the hospital. The police looted their houses and arrested the Communist student leader, Thampil.

Thampil's arrest was the last

by Our Correspondent

straw. The entire working-class of the town went on a general strike. Not a rickshaw filled the streets. Not a single press worker went to work. Even beedi workers struck work. All the four dailies of Kottayam had to suspend publication on Saturday, December 15.

This was the first time in the history of Travancore that a general strike resulted in the suspension of all the daily newspapers in the town.

#### All Political Parties Together

All the political parties of the State joined together to lead the people against the Police zoolum. Forgetting their differences, State Congressmen and Communists joined hands and held joint meetings at Kottayam.

Miss Aldamma Cheriyan, a member of the Working Committee of the State Congress, presided over the protest meeting. S. C. Kesavan, another State Congress leader, one of the most respected Ezhava (Untouchable Community) leaders of the State joined hands with Communist leaders like M. N. Govindan Nair, C. S. Gopala Pillai and Varghese Vaidyar.

All of them spoke against the Police atrocities and demanded the immediate dismissal and prosecution of the notorious Inspector. A Defence Committee was formed to conduct the case of the arrested persons. More than Rs. 500 were collected towards the defence fund at the public meeting. One beedi which was contributed towards the fund, was auctioned and it fetched Rs. 100!

At Trivandrum, Miss Annie Mascarene, another State Congress leader, politically hostile to the Communists, presided over the protest meeting and "K. C. George, President of the Travancore Communist Party, spoke condemning the atrocities and demanding the dismissal of the Inspector. In other towns also similar meetings were held.

#### Municipal Council Adjourns

The Municipal Council of Kottayam, for the first time in its history, adjourned as a protest against the Police terror. All the four dailies of Kottayam (Bhasi, the Bhushanam, Deepika, Pauraprabha and Pauradhvani) have written editorials demanding a public enquiry.

As a result, Bhasi and other arrested persons were released on bail, but the people's anger did not subside.

Faced with such a mighty united people's demonstration, the authorities climbed down quickly. The Assistant Inspector General of Police hurried to the place and immediately suspended Pappu Pillai until further orders. This was the first victory scored by the united movement of the people.

The Mathrubhoomi (Congress daily of Calicut) and the Paurasathi another daily from Calicut, have also written editorials against the high-handedness of the Inspector and demanding a public enquiry.

After the above incidents, while they had to climb down in Kottayam, in other places the State authorities are in retaliation launching wholesale repression under one pretext or another against every section of the people.

#### Bans And Arrests

The President of the Kerala Catholic Congress has been arrested and jailed on the ground of association with the subversive activities of the Communists.

A Muslim Conference fixed to be held near Trivandrum on December 23 was banned on the ground that "it was planned under Communist inspiration to embarrass the administration."

Malabar Mail, a Malayalam paper published from Ernakulam, has been banned throughout Travancore State.

But the incidents of Kottayam show what the temper of the people in Travancore State is today. Every section and every political party has been roused and is declaring that it has had enough of the tyrannical rule of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer's ad-

# Lahore Municipal Elections

## EX-TONGA DRIVER AS COMMUNIST CANDIDATE For New Deal For City People

**T**HE people of Lahore will go to polls on January 9 to elect their representatives to the Lahore Corporation.

SANDHI KHAN is contesting the Naulakha Ward seat as a Communist candidate. He is one of the tonga-drivers who was refused a licence by the Municipality after the 1935 Strike.

A born fighter, Sandhi Khan has many working-class victories to his credit. During the last war, he organised a sit-down strike of labourers in Iraq as a protest against bad conditions of work.

On his return, he worked for sometime as a railway worker but was soon forced to leave his job. He took to tonga-driving and was one of the leaders of the 1935 strike.

Since then, he has been an active worker of the Tonga-Drivers' Union and for many years now its General Secretary.

In 1939 he joined the Communist Party.

#### His Work For People's Food

To the people of Naulakha Ward he is not only known as the beloved leader of the tonga-drivers, but also as the one man who stood by them during the days of scarcity of sugar, kerosene, oil and wheat. Sandhi Khan led a campaign in this area for rationing. It was he who formed a net-work of All-Parties People's Food Committees to fight black-marketeers

and corrupt officials. "Service at De-pots was his daily work and he built up a volunteer corps for this purpose.

The Rationing authorities offered him a medal as the best non-official worker for rationing. Sandhi Khan refused the medal—his reward was the love of the people, not a lustrous decoration.

During the cholera epidemic, Sandhi Khan organised squads from his Mohalla to clean streets and to organise inoculations.

#### Who Opposes Him?

Opposing Sandhi Khan is one who too was once a worker—a railway coolie—Nieter Mohammed Jau Butt. But he soon decided to work not for the Union but for its enemies and the bosses. In the famous 1935 railway strike, he was one of those who refused to come out and worked to break the strike.

This "service" won him rapid promotion and he soon became Jamadtr. As such he squeezes hard work out of the railway coolies under him. His job is to employ coolies and get Rs. 2-4 per month from them. Actually the coolies say he makes them pay Rs. 18 per month and more.

Sandhi Khan and his comrades are going round the area explaining his election programme which includes:

"Better housing and transport facilities for workers.

"Right to strike for Municipal employees.

"Co-operative stores for supplying people's most urgent needs.

"Compulsory education for children.

"Ending of Police and Corporation zoolum against tonga drivers.

"Better roads.

"Burden of taxation on the rich to pay for amenities for the common people.

ministration. And the people's movement will not stop until this administration quits and makes way for a genuine people's Government.

# A Patriot's Notebook

## BENGAL WOMAN LEADER'S APPEAL TO CONGRESS

**L**OOKING through the Calcutta Amrita Bazar Patrika of December 25, I came across the following headlines:

"ABUSE OF CONGRESS FLAG—ATTACK ON LADIES.

MRS. MAHALANOBIS'S STORY OF POLITICAL GOONDAISM."

Below there was a statement issued to the Press by Shrimati Rani Mahalanobis, President of the Bengal MAHILA ATMA RAKSHA SAMITY (Women's Self-Defence Organisation) (MARS), herself a respected name among Calcutta women and wife of Prof. Prasant Mahalanobis, F.R.S., one of India's foremost statisticians.

Shri Rani Mahalanobis herself emphasizes that the MARS is a non-party women's organisation which has a membership of 40,000 all over the Province and whose object is "to unite all sections of women in a common endeavour of service." Among them there are Communists as well as Congresswomen and many, like herself, who do not belong to any political party. Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta (Congresswoman) was the President of the Samity last year.

#### "Cowardly Attacks On MARS Workers"

The statement then declares: "Certain cowardly attacks on some of the workers of the Mahila Atma Raksha Samity made it necessary for me to issue this appeal to the general public to see that we are allowed to carry on our work unhampered by party strife. About ten days ago a group of young men wearing Gandhi caps and carrying Congress flags accosted the woman worker in charge of the Samity's school for poor children in Bowbazar and shouted, 'We shall not allow any Communists to live or work in this quarter.' They created so much trouble that our worker was forced to close down the school.

"The same thing happened the next day and we thought it advisable to approach Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who was generously kind enough to hear of these incidents. She herself phoned to Mahalana Aabid Khatun Aabid and arranged for us to see her.

"The Congress President listened to us with great sympathy and de-

clared that life in Bengal would become impossible if people could not carry on with complete freedom such work as we were doing. He assured us that he would do everything in his power to help us. The very next day, Mr. Kalipada Mukherjee, Secretary, B.P.C.C., was sent for by the Congress President to the Samity's office to make enquiries and since then he has repeated his visits a number of times.

"The matter, however, did not end here. A little later a still more ugly incident took place. Some of our workers had gone to the school and were waiting there for Kalipada Babu—but before he arrived there a group of miscreants threatened and shouted at our workers, and a ruffian was even shameless enough to assault physically one of the ladies.

"It is not necessary to make any comments. It is the responsibility of the Congress to see that its name is not associated with such hooliganism and of the general public to see that such incidents are not repeated.

#### Mahalana Aabid's Silence

Shrimati Mahalanobis's statement speaks for itself. All that I shall add is that as early as December 12, a group of Calcutta Communist workers met Mahalana Aabid, gave him factual reports of assaults on the Communists in the name of the Congress and appealed to him to issue a statement condemning such hooliganism.

The Congress President disregarded the appeal and did not issue any public statement. He contented himself with telling them that the Congress creed is one of non-violence; that people who shout Congress slogans are not necessarily Congressmen; and that in any case, the Communists were the first to start violence in Bombay and Poona!

It was this last part of his statement which was splashed most prominently in the all-India Nationalist Press! Did it not amount to an indirect encouragement to the goondas to go ahead against the Communists?

Even when the MARS deputa-tion met him, the Congress President did not issue a public statement, but asked private "enquiries" to be made on the spot.

It was left to that grand old lady, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, to come forward and boldly denounce such goondaism at a public meeting in Calcutta.

Our experience in Bombay has been similar. Congress leaders ignored our repeated appeals and kept silent on such incidents. It was only the sheer pressure of events that in the end drove Sjt. S. K. Patil to issue a belated public statement condemning goondaism against political opponents.

Goondas are only encouraged by such silence on the part of the leader of the foremost freedom organisation in the country. As a result, not only elementary democratic values, but even our ancient civilised tradition of respect for womanhood, is being thrown overboard by such elements.

#### Bombay Example: Spreading Canker

The latest story I have from Bombay shows how the poison is spreading.

In Bombay too, Mahila workers were being abused and treated vulgarly by hooligans. The other day, an Ahalya Rangekar, a Communist girl worker of the Parel Mahila Sangh, was leaving Parel Railway station, three or four students hooligans who have made it a habit of passing indecent remarks at Communist girls, accosted her saying:

"O Communist girl, please look at us, we are handsomer than your Communist comrades."

Ahalya saw only one effective way of defending her self-respect and teaching these boys respect for womanhood. She went up and slapped a student on the face and said: "Are you not ashamed of yourself? Have you not got sisters and mothers of your own?" A crowd collected and Ahalya told them what the boys had said. They all backed her and the student hooligans had to beat a retreat.

In the very land of Ram Mohan, the battle which he fought a century ago has, it seems, to be fought all over again to-day!

Once the poison begins spreading one does not know where it will end unless checked in time. Instances of Leaguers using similar goondaism against veteran and respected Nationalist Muslim leaders are becoming widespread. The entire Nationalist Press and all Nationalist leaders are denouncing it most loudly—and rightly of course. But does it not occur to them to speak up against similar goondaism in their own ranks and tear the Congress mask from the face of such elements?

M. K. Krishna Rao

# BEHIND G. M. SYED'S REVOLT

## FULL STORY: ITS MEANING FOR ALL

Mr. G. M. Syed's revolt against the High Command of the Muslim League has been hailed by the Congress Press and Congress leadership as a great triumph of democracy. Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai thinks that:

"Mr. G. M. Syed, has done real service to the Muslim community by upstaging the leadership of the League from the League platform." (National Herald, Dec. 25.)

Both the National Herald and Mr. Kidwai hope that Mr. Syed will now come in to the Congress.

"His place is in the Congress to which he once belonged." (National Herald, Dec. 25.)

**S**ARDAR Vallabhbhai Patel, in his recent Bombay speech justified the present Congress policy towards the League and proved to his satisfaction that no democrat can have a place in the League.

The League press and League leadership, on the other hand, are vehement in their condemnation of Syed's action. Mr. Yusuf Haroon, newly elected Central M.L.A. on the League ticket, thinks that he has said the worst that could be said against Syed when he ends up his statement with these words:

"Mr. Syed loudly proclaims that he was a Congressman once. His loyalty to the League has also been brief. One is led to believe that the days are not far off when Mr. Syed would openly ally himself with the Congress and the Hindus." (Bombay Chronicle, Dec. 30.)

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the League, imagines that Syed has been all the time disloyal to the League and his worst crime is that he "conspired" with the Hindus.

"He has all along been trying to have the key position for himself in Sind's power politics and has not hesitated to even conspire with those Hindus of his province who are sworn enemies of the Muslim League." (Bombay Chronicle, Dec. 30.)

### Does It Help Congress Or League?

Strange that the Nawabzada should discover such a serious 'crime' of one of his closest colleagues, a member of the Working Committee, of the Council of Action and President of a Provincial League, so late in the day!

The fact of the matter is that our Congress and League leaderships have become so blind and so confirmed in their prejudices against each other that they do not see that disruption, growth of reactionary tendencies in any big democratic party injures not only that particular party and the masses following it, but also its brother parties.

If Syed is a democrat, if he is a man of the masses, as Sardar Patel suddenly finds him to be, would his exit from the Muslim League help to bring the Congress and the League together? Would it help the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity? Would it help the people of Sind?

Only if we look at the matter from this point of view would it be possible for us to form a correct estimate of the situation arising out of Syed's revolt.

### Sind Political Background

One should remember that Sind is politically one of the most backward provinces of India. It is a province of big jagirdars and zemindars, where the *malhotras* and *haris* (tenants) are the most oppressed. The Sind *haris* have no rights over their lands—forced labour, illegal extortions, barbarous exactions—such are the conditions under which they have to live.

The advent of popular Government since 1937 has hardly brought any relief to the Sind peasant. The reason for this was that neither was there a strong peasant movement, nor did the Congress ever become a mass movement in Sind as it did in the U.P. and Bihar. The Sind Congress remained a preserve of the

Hindu Amils and the Bhalband. (The Amils are the traditional Hindu intelligentsia of Sind, belonging to the old official class, the Bhalband are the Hindu mercantile community). But out of a total population of 45 lakhs, 32 lakhs are Muslims.

Without the Muslim peasant masses behind it, the Congress in Sind became a minority movement of the upper classes. The result was that most of the Muslim seats in the Sind Legislative Assembly were captured by big jagirdar and zemindar factions. These also were by no means united—they had their ancient tribal and factional quarrels.

### Groupings Inside The Assembly

Thus, in the Sind Assembly there is the group of the Mirs, headed by the Hon'ble Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur. He is the leader of the ancient Jagirdars—the

feudal chieftains of Sind. The next group is that of the big zemindars—grown rich as a result of the Sukkur barrage—they dislike the jagirdars, but unite with them against the *haris*. They are led by KHURO, the ex-Minister who was tried on a charge of complicity in the murder of Allah Bux.

Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, the Premier, belongs to neither of these groups. But he leans on the Mirs and big zemindars' group. He himself has lately acquired large tracts of barrage lands and has blossomed forth into a big zemindar.

G. M. SYED is the leader of the Syed group who are also powerful zemindars, but who are traditionally opposed to the jagirdar group of Mirs. They represent the interests of small landholders and usually take a liberal view of the peasant problem. Sheikh Abdul Majid, the ex-Khilafat leader, has joined this group.

The few independent Muslims, belonging to the late Khan Bahadur Allah Bux's group are also zemindars. K. B. Allah Bux himself was a big zemindar. His brother Moulvi Bux now heads this group.

Pir Iqbal Bux, is the leader of a small group of two or three, hobnobbing with all, but in practice standing with Sir Ghulam Husain.

### Result of Ministerial Corruption

Thus, even though the Muslim League claimed 31 seats out of 36 total Muslim League seats, the League bloc in the Assembly has never been stable—selfish interests had always been warring against each other—and all have used the party label only to advance their group or personal interests.

During the war years, the Sind Ministry became a byword for nepotism and corruption. Lokhs were made by the Ministers and their hangers-on. The Grain Syndicate, formed to buy up the whole surplus wheat of Sind was the biggest scandal of all. Profiteering, corrup-

tion and blackmarketing reached their zenith. Civil liberties were ruthlessly crushed.

The League Ministry was a tool in the hands of the Governor and the bureaucrats. Congress patriots were thrown into prison at their bidding. Even the President of the Sind Muslim League, Mr. G. M. Syed, was not spared and a warrant of arrest was issued against him. Lately, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, was arrested for heading a procession on the Palestine Day, celebrated at the behest of the All-India Muslim League.

### Syed's Record

It must be said to the credit of G. M. Syed that he was the one man in the Sind Muslim League who consistently stood up for popular causes.

When the powerful Mir group in the Assembly tried to bring pressure to amend the Jagiri Act in their favour (the Jagiri Act had merely abolished the system of share-cropping, *batai*, and introduced payment in money by the tenants), Syed led a popular agitation against this reactionary move which forced the Mirs to keep quiet for the time being.

G. M. Syed also favoured the passing of the Tenancy Act, which protected the rights of the *hari* tenants in the zemindari areas. In general he supported the *hari* movement. This Act has not yet been passed by the Ministry.

He openly condemned the corruption and profiteering going on with the connivance and compli-

tion of the next Assembly.

They feel that this can be done only by breaking the power of G. M. Syed and his group—who have all along been a thorn in their sides.

In July last, the situation was that whereas G. M. Syed, with the backing of the Provincial League had set up a Provincial Parliamentary Board, to select League candidates for the coming elections, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and men of the Mir group opposed Mr. Syed and went about openly saying that if Syed had his way in the League, they would oppose the Muslim League.

Mr. Ghulam Ali actually wrote to Mr. G. M. Syed that if their group did not have a majority in the Election Board, he would form a parallel Muslim League.

### Mr. Jinnah's Visit To Karachi

In September 1945, Mr. Jinnah visited Karachi and asked Mr. G. M. Syed, to reconstitute the Parliamentary Board. The reconstituted Board consisted of G. M. Syed (President), Hidayatullah, Khuro, Syed Khair Shah, Ghulam Nabi Pethan, Mir Ghulam Ali and Pir Iqbal Bux. Thus, three members belonged to the Syed group (including Syed himself) and four were the leaders of the other group. Syed was outnumbered.

When they sat down to select candidates, they quarrelled; Syed walked out of the meeting with his two supporters—while the

## HIGH COMMAND APPEASES REACTION

rest of them proceeded to select candidates without the others. Needless to say, the worst type of men were chosen—some were not even primary members of the League or had opposed it on many occasions.

But it was a factional fight with a vengeance. Everyone who was considered to be loyal to a particular faction and opposed to Syed was considered to be a good-enough/League.

G. M. Syed appealed against all these irregularities to the League Centre. Finally, it was decided that the League Central Parliamentary Board should select all the candidates.

In the meanwhile, factionalism became rampant in the camp of G. M. Syed as well. The Provincial League met on October 14th and decided that in selecting candidates, the Central Board should consult a Committee chosen by the Provincial League.

### How The Final Break Came

The Central Board (consisting of Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan and Mr. Husain Imam only, the third member, Chaudhri Khalique-uz-zaman, was not present), ignored this resolution of the Provincial League Council, and finally selected 37 candidates.

Before announcing these names they wanted G. M. Syed to give them the undertaking that he would support their nominees. G. M. Syed refused to do this. Finally, when the names were announced, it was found that groups opposing Syed had a large majority. Only seven seats remained to be nominated.

G. M. Syed's attitude infuriated the Parliamentary Board. Mr. Jinnah was also now in Karachi. He called Syed and roundly rebuked him, telling him that he was a disgrace and deserved to be kicked out of the League. To all this fury, Syed's reply was that he would do as the League Council wanted him to do. At this Mr. Jinnah railed against the Council saying: "You have collected in your Council a riff-raff mob."

### Mir-Pir-Sir-Khuro Alliance

It was but natural that with the prospect of new elections, all the inner rotteness of the Ministry should come to the surface and all unprincipled conflicts among the various League factions should break out in a violent form.

Mr. Khuro, after his acquittal from the Allah Bux Murder trial has also stepped in and formed a combination with the Mir Group, Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Pir Iqbal Bux. The aim of the Mir-Pir-Sir and Khuro set-up, as it is called in Sind, is to monopolize the Ministerial posts in

The rift was now well-nigh complete. Syed's opponents were jubilant. Once again they had out-manoeuvred him, and put him on the wrong side of the League High Command. They now worked furiously to widen this breach.

On the other hand, the factionalists in the League Council were pressing on Syed to declare an open revolt against the League. But Syed hesitated. At the Provincial League meeting held in November at Nawabshah it was decided to leave the whole matter in Syed's hands.

In the meanwhile came the Central Assembly Elections. And one Mr. Rashidi, who belonged to the Syed Group chose to set himself up against Mr. Yusuf Haroon, the League nominee.

Syed did not, of course, oppose Mr. Haroon, but it was alleged that some of his supporters did.

Anyhow, when the Central Board visited Karachi again in December, Syed seemed to have decided that he would abide by the decision of the Central Board, now consisting of Nawabzada Liaqat Ali and Qasim Isa.

But the group opposing G. M. Syed would not let the matter rest there. They succeeded in persuading Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan to cancel the nomination of four of Syed's supporters—nominations which had already been made by the Board. The charge against them was that they had worked against Mr. Yusuf Haroon and in favour of Mr. Rashidi during the Central Assembly election.

This was the last straw. His opponents had driven him into the corner, at any rate, as far as the elections were concerned. The choice before Syed was either to submit, give up all idea of having any voice in the Provincial Sind Assembly, or to revolt against the League Centre's decision. He has chosen the latter path.

### Prospects Ahead

What will be the repercussions of Mr. Syed's action and his expulsion from the League? There is no doubt that in the new 'official' League which is going to be formed in Sind, the worst reactionaries would come on top.

On the other hand, it is also clear that Mr. Syed too would go more, and more the factional way, in order to fight the 'official' League, he would rely, as he has already done, on rival landlords and selfish careerists.

Without any organised mass peasant movement to support him, which he never tried to build up, seriously deprived of the official backing of the All-India Muslim League; Mr. Syed is bound to lose more and more the support of the Sind Muslims.

The most that his "revolt" would do is to make the League lose a few seats and thus make it difficult for the League to form a stable Ministry in Sind even though it (League) might win a majority of Muslim seats.

The responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs must be placed on the disastrous policy of appeasement of reactionaries in order to win the elections which the League High Command is pursuing all over the country. The League leadership thinks that so long as it wins the largest number of seats it does not matter who the people are who get elected on the League ticket.

It imagines that by winning a majority of Muslim seats in the next elections it will prove the justice of its case vis-a-vis the British. It forgets that not electoral victories, but the freedom loving Muslim people are its real source of strength. The more it accommodates corrupt Ministers, oppressive feudalists, reactionary title-holders, the more will it lose the confidence of the common people.

Syed's revolt is a dangerous portent for all patriots; for the League because it will strengthen anti-democratic reactionary elements in it; for the Congress because it will weaken the proximity, freedom bond inside the League.

- ★ Congress Students Speak Up Against Patil's Move
- ★ Anti-Rajaji Factional Drive Continues
- ★ Where Do Sapru Committee's Proposals Take Us?

As soon as anti-Communism began inside the Congress, our Party pointed out that the exclusion of the Communists was only the first step towards factional disruption and the growth of authoritarian tendencies inside the Congress; and that it would only strengthen the hands of reactionary elements inside the Congress leadership who were out to drive the Congress into an alliance with the vested interests.

**W**HAT has been happening since then bears this out. It was Sjt. S. K. Patil who started the drive against the Communists in Bombay under the slogan, "One Party, One Leader, One Programme"—a slogan made notorious by the Fascists, and which has nothing in common with any democratic people's organisation. Sjt. Patil, however, exploited anti-Communist prejudices of honest Congress workers and the Congress mass in order to carry through his offensive against the Communists.

Having done that successfully, he is now using that very slogan to put down progressive and radical elements inside the Congress who will not submit to his domination.

The Bombay Congress is being split into warring factions due to Sjt. Patil's factional drive.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC), under his lead, recently passed a resolution recommending to the Working Committee an amendment to the Constitution of the Indian National Congress which aims at banning all political groups and parties within the Congress.

**For Democracy**

Rightly enough, the BPCC resolution has produced an uproar among the radical Congress-minded students of Bombay. The subject came up for discussion at the recent session of the Bombay Students' Congress held during the last week of December. After a most heated discussion, a resolution was carried by the Conference by 204 votes against 181, which declared:

"This conference views with concern attempts to prohibit the existence of groups and parties in the National Congress. As the history of the Congress amply shows, its evolution has been furthered through the formation of groups and parties; ever since the Congress came of age in 1904. Such groups when based on ideological differences are expressions of health and vitality in the Congress.

"To seek to organise the Congress on the basis of one party, one leader, one programme, means to destroy the democratic character of the Congress and fatally weaken it as a united front of India's fighters for freedom."

Every freedom-loving patriot will welcome this stand taken by the Bombay students in defence of democracy inside the Congress.

**Stifling Even Discussion**

But the most alarming feature of the whole affair was the way in which Sjt. Patil and the entire official Congress leadership in Bombay tried to stifle even any discussion of the issue at the Students' Conference. Two days before the Conference, the organisers were told that if this resolution was brought forward at the Conference, the BPCC would "withdraw their support" from it. Offices of Nationalist papers were rung up and given this information by Sjt. Patil.

Even the Congress High Command was pressed into service to prevent the students from expressing their free opinion on such a vital issue. Sardar Patel who was to have inaugurated the Conference refused to do so at the last moment, just because the students insisted on discussing this resolution and voicing their democratic opinion.

At the Conference itself, the leaders of the C. S. P. (like Sjt.

Purshottam Tricunddas), who, in words do the most "revolutionary" phrase-mongering, told Sjt. Patil's line in the most opportunist manner—even though Sjt. Patil's resolution was directed against Socialist groups as well. They wanted Sjt. Patil's support for positions inside the Congress and to fight the Communists.

**Leaders' Opportunism**

Among the leadership of the Students' Congress itself, the dominant section (Prabhakar Kunte, Shanti Shah) led by the C. S. P. openly spoke against the protest resolution and asked the students to overthrow it. A member of the Working Committee of the All-India Students' Congress also came forward to appeal against the passing of the resolution. Even bogus delegates' cards were

distributed by these elements to get the resolution defeated.

It was against all this that the healthy democratic instinct of the student masses asserted itself and passed the resolution condemning the Patil line. What a student delegate said, supporting the resolution, echoed the voice of the majority:

"If we are to owe our loyalty to the Congress, it is our business to see which way it is going and if needs be, even to correct our leaders. If there is any split, it is started by Mr. Patil. All we are endeavouring to do is to keep the Congress united."

All those who once supported Sjt. Patil's drive against the Communists can now see where Patilism is leading the Congress. Sjt. Patil's game is to divide the progressive forces, play one against the other—and thus carry through his drive against each in turn; the age-old game of reaction everywhere.

**Inside Tamilnad Congress**

What Sjt. Patil is doing to his opponents inside the Bombay Congress, his friends in the South—the dominant clique in the Tamilnad, Andhra and Kerala Congress leadership—are doing to Rajaji and his followers.

In P.W. No. 21 of November 19, our Madras Correspondent had given the story of the Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committee (PCC) and Congress Workers' meetings held near Madurai and the sordid and unprincipled methods (including goondagiri and violence used even against a most respected person like Sjt. Gopalaswamy, Secretary of the Tamilnad Harijan Sevak Sangh and of the Tamilnad Kasturba Fund Committee), used by the Tamilnad Congress leadership to oust their political opponents.

Out of 190 members of the Tamilnad PCC 90 to 110 were Rajaji's followers. Among them are some of the oldest Gandhian leaders in the Province like Sjt. Vaidyanath Iyer; able and respected ex-Ministers like Dr. Rajan, who had the cleanest record in the last Congress Ministry; and a section of the District Congress workers and leaders like Sjt. Sivagnana Gramani (as in Madras and Coimbatore) who went to jail during the struggle after August 9, but are opposed to the present policy of the Provincial Congress leadership.

The men who control the Congress in the South to-day are going all out to ensure key positions in the coming Congress Ministry and are using all means to oust their opponents and dominate the Parliamentary Board themselves. Their allies are the most notorious zamindars in the South like the Rajah of Chhappalli who till recently were bitterly anti-Congress loyalists; backing them up is the press of Big Business, of Goenka, the Birla of the South.

**"Demonstrations"**

As the result of a deputation which went on Rajaji's behalf to Calcutta and met the Congress High Command, Mr. Asaf Ali was sent to Madras by the Working Committee to unite Tamilnad Congressmen.

The scenes which were enacted at Madras when Asaf Ali arrived there, are a disgrace to the fair name of the Congress. At the Railway Station itself, rival Congress groups openly demonstrated against each other and a Congress volunteer who was shouting slogans in support of Rajaji was beaten severely. People around were b-

wildered at the whole thing.

Five hundred volunteers were specially brought to Madras from the districts by Sjt. Kamaraja Nadar (President of the Tamilnad PCC) to "demonstrate" against Rajaji and make it appear to Mr. Asaf Ali that "the entire strength of public opinion" in the Province is against Rajaji. The whole thing was a rook's-up affair—unworthy of any democratic people's organisation. The official Congress Press and Congress leaders ran a vile slander campaign against Rajaji.

Here is just one incident which illustrates the way they offered "evidence" before Mr. Asaf Ali. A "deputation" from South Arcot District led by Sjt. Omandur Ramaswamy Reddier (a Congress leader) went and met Mr. Asaf Ali and submitted an anti-Rajaji "memorandum" signed by 45 persons. And when Mr. Asaf Ali began to examine the names of signatories to the memorandum, it turned out that some of them were bogus! Asaf Ali was so disgusted that he threw up his hands in the air in despair and exclaimed to one of the deputationists: "God alone must save the Congress from your hands."

**Patched-Up Settlement**

As a result of Mr. Asaf Ali's visit and subsequent strong pressure from the Congress High Command, a patched-up settlement has been arrived at.

The result of this patched-up settlement is that a Parliamentary Board has been set up for Tamilnad with five representatives from the Kamaraja group and three from the Rajaji group with the provision that Rajaji should be consulted at all stages.

But there is no political principle behind this settlement; not a single one of the absurd political "charges" raised by the Kamaraja group against Rajaji and his followers has been silenced by Mr. Asaf Ali. The Kamaraja group is banking on the fact that Rajaji himself has been excluded from the Parliamentary Board and that they have a majority in it. Their factional intrigues are going to continue—as is already clear from the statements issued by some of them like Sjt. Mathuranga Mudaliar.

Our Madras Correspondent writes that both groups are accepting applications from their own candidates. Thus the fight will be carried on inside the Par-

by N. K. Krishnan

# Attack On The Press

THE U. P. Government continuing the evil traditions of Hallet (ex-U. P. Governor) struck against three leading nationalist daily newspapers of the province in a single month. The *National Herald* and the *Sainik* (of Agra) were asked to deposit heavy securities and the security of the *Sansar* was forfeited earlier.

The Bihar Government had similarly demanded a security from the *Searchlight*.

The chief crime of these newspapers seems to have been that recently they published reports of the atrocities committed by the military and the police in certain districts during the August 1942 days. The Government dared not deny the allegations, it dared not refute the charges. So it resorted to the only weapon which those politically bankrupt and morally conscious of their guilt can wield—the weapon of the big stick.

This is how the much advertised "forgive-and-forget" policy of Lord Wavell is implemented; this is how the promise of "free and fair elections" is carried out. True to its traditions, the Government continues to combine sweet words with ruthless deeds.

The entire country must protest against these attacks on the Press. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference must take up this issue immediately. The Government must be forced by popular pressure to rescind their orders.

liamentary Board and it is likely that two rival lists will be submitted to the Central Parliamentary Board.

Similar reports have come from other provinces too—like Andhra, Punjab and Bengal.

**Inside League**

Still worse is what is happening inside the Muslim League. The story of Sind is told by Sajjad Zaheer on the opposite page; and things are no better in Bengal, Bihar, the U.P., Bombay.

This is the inevitable result when the two foremost freedom organisations in the country do not join hands to fight the common enemy, but prepare to fight each other and their other brother-parties; the worst and the most factional inside each come to the fore.

**Sapru Committee's Proposals**

A LENGTHY summary of the proposals of the Sapru Committee has just been published. Its main conclusions are the same which came out last April in their Interim Report. We criticised them in detail at that time (P.W. Vol. III, No. 42, of April 15 and No. 43 of April 22).

Conciliation of the Princes, the most rotten feudal props of Imperialism in this country; outright rejection of the right of self-determination of nationalities without which there can be no joint Hindu-Muslim front of struggle against Imperialism in our land; forcing of joint electorates on the Muslims without their willing assent (which means in the present state of our politics, denying the suppressed sections of our people the right to choose their own delegates in whom the majority among them have confidence) — and threatening the Muslims that if they do not agree to this, the Hindus would demand of the British revision of the Communal Award; and lastly, unashamedly appealing to the British Imperialists to impose their Award in case our Muslim brothers do not agree to these conditions;—such are the main conclusions of the Sapru Committee's proposals.

It is significant that even the Nationalist Muslim Press, bitterly hostile to the League, condemns the Sapru Committee's proposals.

**Whom Do They Help?**

Ansari, the leading Nationalist Muslim daily of Delhi (organ of the Jamiat) writes:

"The Sapru Committee's stand that it will not be correct to accept the right of secession for the different territorial units on any ground or principle whatsoever, is against both the Nationalist Muslim and Congress points of view.

"Just as a British imposed Pakistan can never be acceptable to the people of India so also a super-imposed constitution of an United India cannot be accepted by them. The only guarantee of a bright future for India is that all political parties and communities must settle their differences in a spirit of self and mutual confidence and thus frame an agreed constitution for themselves." (Ansari, Delhi—31-12-45).

To support the Sapru Committee's proposals (as Sjt. Kripalani, General Secretary of the Congress, has already done) is to invite fratricidal war between Hindus and Muslims and help the bureaucracy to play their game of divide and rule.

Not forge the united strength and will of our peoples against the British plan and for our own freedom but help the Imperialists to carry through their plan—this is what the Sapru Committee's proposals will mean.

**CORRECTION**

**Freedom Week Appeal**

In the Communist Party's appeal on the Freedom Week in the current Supplement, No. 8, Jan. 6, 1946:

In the para under the sub-heading — FOR VILLAGE, read, "Guaranteed credit to peasants at 3% instead of 'at 3%'".

We regret the printer's error which has crept in.



# COMMUNISTS INVITE AKALI OPPONENTS TO SPEAK FROM THEIR PLATFORM

## People Judge What Each Side Says

By Wire: From Our Lahore Correspondent, December 31, '45.

In sharp contrast to other parties who ask the people not to attend meetings organized by their political opponents, the Communist Party in the Punjab invites the opposing candidates to come and address their election meetings from the same platform.

**I**N Amritsar where Sohan Singh is being opposed by the Akali candidate, Ishwar Singh Majhail, the latter actually came to four meetings organized by the Communists. On November 23, both Sohan and Majhail spoke from the same platform at village Nowshera-walla.

Josh put forward the Communist programme of unity and freedom, of building free and happy villages and sharply criticised the reactionary policy of the Akali Party. Majhail on the other hand had nothing to say on politics. "Josh clipped his beard while he jell" was his main attack. Also "he used to eat holes" (type of meat Sikhs are supposed not to eat).

He repeated the same 'charges' at other meetings.

Such was the effect on the people of these and other meetings that one Akali leader, Bishan Singh, openly stated that in his opinion there was no need for election meetings at all.

Another typical Communist meeting was held at village Gurrai in Ludhiana district, which was attended by 1,000 kisans, including 200 women. A drama depicting the lives of the kisans and mazdoors drew tears from the people. An old man of seventy, formerly a bitter opponent of the Communists, was so moved by the drama and the speeches that he bought Communist literature and promised to vote for our candidate. Fifty Kisan Sabha members were enrolled on the spot.

### Who is Irreligious?

In Gurdaspur where the Communist leader, Teja Singh Swatanter is the candidate, respected Akali leaders like Bhai Kishan Singh of the Namunagar Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee are touring with him. The Akalis call Teja Singh *naastik* (irreligious). To this the answer that these patriotic Akalis gave is:

"Swatanter fights for the poor and the oppressed, and one that does so is no *naastik*. Gurus have said that the real *naastiks* are the exploiters and the rich and so this term should be used for the *Naastik Board*" (the Akali body set up for fighting elections).

So great is the respect for Swatanter among Congressmen that the Gurdaspur District Congress Committee adopted a resolution that no Congress candidate should be put up against him. But even against such a man the Akalis do not hesitate to spread calumnies.

At one meeting a man who accused Swatanter of embezzling Akali Party funds was answered back with facts and figures by Swatanter himself, but the crowd got so enraged that but for the

protection given by our comrades, he would have been soundly thrashed.

### People Give Money

We are collecting money for the election from the people themselves. At a kisan rally at Bhabha road over and addressed by Sohan, Rs. 500 were collected on the spot. From a village in Lahore district, our squad collected Rs. 20. On occasions like wedding and such ceremonies the kisans are bringing a certain amount earmarked for the Party's election fund.

### Cultural Squads

Our cultural squads are proving a powerful weapon in the rural areas. Lekha Singh Johar, a kisan poet, and his squad covered more than 35,000 persons in a single week. Their songs and dramas were so effective and attained so much popularity that after their visit in many villages, people stopped singing cheap cinema songs and adopted these.

At Kalsote in Guchhapura, one Darsan Singh, an optimist, was yet to shake by what he saw and he promised never to touch opium again and join the Kisan Sabha.

This is how we are trying to fight the elections—insisting on the maintenance of democratic procedure, collecting cash from the common people, rousing their patriotism.

As for the other parties among the Sikhs, the Congress has not yet started a mass campaign. After their deal with the Akalis for a united fight against the Communists, the Congress Sikhs have been placed in a most embarrassing situation. At Lyallpur, where the Congress has put up two Sikh candidates, when the Congress leaders approached the voters for support against the "toady Akalis," the average Sikh got puzzled and asked, "How do you justify collaborating with them over certain seats and get call them toadies?"

For the Akalis the main weapon is communal demagoguery. "Don't vote for the Communists for they are irreligious"—is the burden of their speeches.

Another weapon in Akali hands is hoodlumism. In the Central Assembly elections, as already reported, they beat up Congressmen, burnt up rostrums raised for Pandit Nehru's meetings etc. They have already started disrupting Communist meetings. But so far they are not successful, as people are already vigilant and they do not like such tactics.

In a village, on November 22, the Akali preacher, Mohinder Singh, tore up the Communist election poster. A local Communist got round the villagers and explained how it is anti-democratic to disrupt other parties' campaign. People saw sense in his arguments and sent for Mo-

hinder Singh. "You will have to put up a new poster there with your own hands" they said, and he was made to do so.

### Repression to Full Swing

The Government is helping the Akali Party with all its strength. Though their main fire is against the Communists, even Sikh Congressmen do not escape its fury. Master Mota Singh, veteran Congress leader, has been arrested for an election speech. The Communist agitator Dalip Singh Tapiala has also been put behind the bars. Gurubux Singh Atta and Vishnu Dutt, Communist leaders of Jullundur, were arrested but have been bailed out on Rs. 1,000 each.

In Gujranwala, the Deputy Commissioner directed the Communist Party not to stage any drama before the entire script had been scrutinised and passed by him.

Despite bureaucratic repression and calumnies, the Communist Party campaign is going ahead. People are more and more speaking up on their own and fighting back slanders. On December 4, there was a gathering at Bareth Saheb. The Akali leaders started vomiting venom against the Communists. People resented this and asked a Communist worker

present to reply.

They also put a barrage of questions to the Akali speaker, "What have you done with Gurdwara Funds? How many schools have you opened?" This was too much for him. He would not allow the Communist to speak and suggested, "Let us stick to religious matters only. Let there be no discussion on politics."

In Master Hari Singh's constituency, an Akali leader called him a Government agent. This annoyed people round him. "You call him a Government agent? Hari Singh has been fighting for us before you learnt the A.B.C. of politics." The Akali had to stage a hasty retreat.

This is what is happening in eighteen out of the thirty-two Sikh constituencies where the Communist Party has put up its candidates. Every honest man knows that man to man, the Communist candidates are far superior to their opponents. It is no wonder that a prominent Congress leader said, "The man who is opposing Karam Singh Cheema (one of the founder-members of the Ghadar Party and a Communist candidate for the coming elections) is not competent even to touch his shoes." He hopes that he is not asked to go to his District, lest he has to work against Cheema.

## Assam Tribal Leader Wants Communists In Assembly

By wire. BHIMBAR DEBURI, leader of 10 lakh people of different tribes of Assam, has issued the following statement:

"I have not studied the basic principles and ideology of the Indian Communist Party and do not intend to comment on them.

"The Party activities of recent years are surely before us. The Party is honest and earnest in its endeavour to unite different Indian Parties and form a common front against foreign domination.

"They want to do and are doing it by convincing every Party and Community that the only and the best way for forging such a common front is conceding the just demands of other parties.

"It is, therefore, clear that if the Communist Party can send representatives into the Assam Assembly they will be a mediating and moderating influence in our hard task for unity and forming a stable Provincial Government.

"I have no hesitation in saying that the Communist Party should get the chance for sending representatives to the Assam Assembly particularly from the oppressed classes whom they have so long served."

### For Assam Assembly

# SNAPSHOTS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGN

**P**ANDIT Nehru was brought here specially to attack the Communists. Local Congress leaders in their election campaign are concentrating their fire not against the alien Imperialists, but against the Communist! It is unfortunate Pandit Nehru too joined the anti-Communist campaign.

At Patharkandi, in West Karimganj, Communists joined in organizing the reception to Panditji. Thousands of kisans rallied to hear Panditji. Some of the Communist kisan youth came shouting slogans of "Congress-League-Communist unity for Freedom."

Pandit Nehru to whom all "slogans" are anathema and Communists more so, hit out. He said that the Communists were a Party of youngsters who were obstructing the great Congress which had sixty years' experience. He visited every tea-garden in Srimangal where we are putting up SHIV MAHATO as candidate for the Labour Constituency, and carried on the anti-Communist tirade.

At Srimangal, tea-garden labourers came to the meeting with a Red Flag. Congress leaders threatened to thrash them if they did not take off the flag. A clash seemed imminent. Eventually, we removed the Red Flag in order to avoid this.

### Communist Campaign

Our campaign meetings are a sharp contrast. The Sylhet District Committee of the Party held a 6,000 strong Free, Happy India Rally. In West Karimganj from where Communist candidate, BIRISH MISHRA stands, we held six public meetings; total attendance being 4,000. Thirty more closed-door meetings were held. In all these we explain, reason and convince our audience how Indian fighting Indian with arms and blood, cannot lead to freedom.

In Srimangal Labour Constituency the campaign was started in mid-December, and 13 meetings covering 8,000 tea-garden workers, 36 closed-door meetings covering another 1,000 were held. 2,000 leaflets were distributed. 10,000 copies of the Surma Valley Manifesto of our Party is being distributed. We have brought out an appeal against lies and slanders and 20,000 copies of it will be distributed. We meet arrogance with humility, abuse with arguments and slanders with facts and truth.

### Congress Opponent

In Sunamganj, as against our candidate KARUNASIN D H U ROY, the Congress candidate put up is Jatindra Bhadra.

Though a Congressman for many years, he is such that the Sunamganj Sub-Divisional Congress Committee while recommending his name to the Parliamentary Board said that he could not be relied upon where money was concerned. After nomination, he began a slander campaign against the Communists.

Karunasindhu Roy has served the kisans and the people so long that he is known in every kisan home as 'Krishakbandhu'. Even Congressmen admit that Karunababu is the only member who served the people and honestly fulfilled the Congress pledge both in and outside the Legislature. Kisans from a large number of villages asked him to stand for the Elections, promising to vote as well as work for him.

No wonder, Sjt. Bhadra found that his chances did not go down among the people. So he sent panicky reports to Congress Headquarters for more funds and more workers. Bhajodharmayam Choudhury, a big landlord, who left Congress ten years ago, has now come back and is throwing his

full weight in Sjt. Bhadra's favour. He can, of course, help with money and run the campaign through defile and Mahajans, but this will not help Sjt. Bhadra's reputation in the eyes of the people nor enhance the fame of the Congress.

### Kisan Leader's Call

A huge public meeting was held at Silchar on December 26, to campaign for IRAWAT SINGH, Communist candidate, who stands for this constituency.

Irawat Singh is the veteran Manipuri leader, who roused five lakhs of virile but backward Manipuris to national consciousness, built and led the Manipur Projamandal in the fight against the autocracy of the ruler, and built the Surma Valley Kisan movement.

Bankim Mukherjee, addressing the meeting said:

"Irawat Singh's return to the Assembly would far from weakening, strengthen the revolutionary tradition of the Congress. The Communist Party policy was not to fight brother patriots but to unite all freedom forces against the Imperialists by bringing Congress and League masses together by satisfying the just demands of both. Even profiteers, scoundrels and hoarders are now finding places in the Congress. This will only weaken the Congress; on the other hand, the Communist against whom all kinds of slanders are circulated, work for unity of all the people in the village, and of every village in the fight against the foreign imperialists and the native parasites and profligates."

All District Units! P. A. Correspondents!

## KEEP TRACK OF STRIKE-WAVE

### Send News Quick To Party Press

A strike-wave is on. Keep track of it. The Daily Press is blocking it out. Send news QUICK of strikes as they occur to all our Party offices and societies. Give dates when they began, in what mill and owned by whom, how many workers affected, what issues involved, attitude of different parties, of the authorities and story of the struggle.

IT IS URGENT!

-P. C. JOSHI.

# NEW WORLD WAR INTRIGUES CHECKED

## Agreement On Main Soviet Proposals

### Democratic Peace Treaties, Allied Control Of Japan

Three months ago the Foreign Ministers' Conference in London broke down—over what were called by the London Times "deeply rooted differences."

On December 28, it was announced that the Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three Great Powers—Britain, the Soviet Union and the U.S.A.—held in Moscow, succeeded in solving those very same "deeply-rooted differences."

#### HOW did this happen?

For the key points of difference at London—all of which were settled at Moscow—were the following:

#### Peace Treaties

The procedure to be followed over the framing of the Peace Treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland.

At London, the U.S. and Britain wished to have these treaties framed by a general conference of all powers who had fought against Hitler. At such a Conference where obvious satellites of Britain—like India, Egypt and Greece, and obvious satellites of the U.S. like Brazil, would have been present, both Britain and the U.S. would have had plenty of scope to intrigue. They would have used the so-called "small" powers as spokesmen for reactionary proposals.

In contrast, the Soviet Union proposed that the powers which signed the armistices with the different countries should draft the treaties—which would then be placed for approval before a wider Peace Conference. This would have forced Britain and the U.S. to stand on their own legs, made it impossible for them to take shelter behind any subservient small power.

At London, the Soviet proposal (which in fact, had been agreed to at the Potsdam Conference) was condemned as "undemocratic"—and the Conference broke down.

At Moscow, the Soviet proposal was agreed to in toto.

#### Balkan Governments

Recognition of the Governments of Rumania and Bulgaria.

At London, the British and U.S. Governments refused to recognize these Governments as they were totally "unrepresentative." In the words of the Washington correspondent of the Calcutta Statesman:

"In the judgment of Washington—and I believe of London—the Soviet-sponsored regimes in the Balkans are run by Communists, who dominate other parties within the Governments...and represent only a small fraction of the electorate." (Oct. 3, 1945).

The Soviet, on the other hand, has always held the opinion that the Governments of Bulgaria and Rumania were real progressive peoples' governments; the Soviet press has often stated that the opponents of these Governments were partly open pro-fascists or right-wing democrats who refused to participate in the Government first because they wanted a dominating position for their group and secondly, because they expected Anglo-American intervention to win them that dominating position.

In the Moscow Conference, the Soviet stand was accepted; the two Governments will be recognized; the only change will be that two of the right-wing democrats, (men who "are really suitable and will work loyally with present Governments"—and therefore obviously cannot be the neo-fascists) will be included in the Governments.

Thus what happened in Poland last June when Mikolajczyk, having been told that there was no hope of Anglo-American intervention to make him the heir of Po-

This week in place of our usual feature INTERNATIONAL NOTES, we are giving a special article on the Moscow Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Britain—Editor.

land, returned to Warsaw, is happening in Rumania and Bulgaria to-day.

#### Control Of Japan

The method of ruling Japan. At the time of the London Conference, the Americans firmly refused to alter the structure of the occupation authority headed by Supreme Commander, General MacArthur, and only offered to set up a Far Eastern Advisory Commission of which all interested powers would be members. Britain accepted this position and the Commission was set up.

The Soviet refused to accept the position and did not participate in the work of the Commission—since its powers were only Advisory. It demanded instead a Commission that would have the right to direct the Supreme Commander.

At Moscow, the three Foreign Secretaries set up a Far Eastern Commission whose "policy decisions" would be implemented by the U.S. Supreme Commander. The Moscow decisions also included the setting up of an Advisory Allied Council composed of only four Powers, which would, from day-to-day, advise the Supreme Commander. Thus here again the Soviet proposal was accepted.

These were the main issues over which there were differences in London—differences which were ended in every single case by the acceptance in the main of the Soviet stand by the British and the Americans.

How did this change occur?

#### Anglo-American Game

The Anglo-American reactionaries last September were playing a very deliberate game.

The war had ended, with it the overwhelming necessity of unity to achieve the military defeat of Fascism had vanished. The next job before all was to shape the post-war world.

And for this, the Anglo-Americans had their plan.

The war against Fascism had seen an immense increase in the strength of the democratic forces; the Anglo-Americans wanted to achieve in the post-war world the weakening and ultimately the destruction of these forces through a Third World War (see People's Age, December 30).

Therefore, they refused to sign up an agreement at London that would have meant the strengthening of these forces. Rather, after the breakdown of the London Conference, they went ahead with a world-wide offensive against democracy. And it is the failure of this plan that resulted in their going to Moscow—and agreeing to just those proposals they had rejected three months before.

In Indonesia and Indo-China, they had expected to destroy the nationalist movement; yet over all but small areas of these countries, the national movements still hold sway and a wave of distinction with and criticism of their brutal colonial methods

is rising all over the world.

In China, the U.S. had expected that assistance in the form of arms would be enough to enable Chiang to destroy the Communist-led Democratic Areas. But Chiang has failed—and the U.S. faced by Hurley with the alternatives of adopting his policy of total intervention and total war or of attempting to bring about peace and democracy, has been forced—again by the tide of rising criticism and by the weariness of the people—to throw over Hurley and try for unity.

In Japan the U.S. had hoped to carry through safely the MacArthur policy of building up Japan as an anti-Soviet base; here again criticism from abroad and difficulties of administration have forced the U.S. to accept the Soviet demand for joint control.

#### Anti-Soviet, Anti-Democratic

In the Balkans, the hope that the new democratic governments would be unable to tackle their difficult economic problems without Anglo-American help, has also gone—for as time passed, instead of becoming weaker, these governments have become immensely stronger.

In Western Europe, they hoped to build a Western anti-Soviet bloc—but the emergence of the French Communist Party as the leading political party of the French people blew this up; as The Statesman's London Correspondent wrote, "contrary to belief at the time, the completion of the French elections has not seen an acceleration in French-British negotiations for an alliance." Similarly, the Scandinavian

countries did not respond; on the other hand "they looked with distaste, fear and foreboding on any scheme for forming a geographical coalition." (The Statesman, Dec. 23).

And finally their attempt to blackmail the Soviet itself came to nothing; unofficial flourishing of the atomic bomb failed to bring the Soviet down. Equally the U.S. attempts to attach political conditions to a proposal for a huge loan to the Soviet resulted in "the first post-war Five-Year Plan...being based on the assumption that no American credits will be forthcoming." (Observer, Dec. 23).

Thus everywhere their plans have suffered a set-back; and this is why they went to Moscow—agreed to just those things they had indignantly—and in the name of "democracy"—repudiated last October.

#### Reaction's Confusion

Naturally reactionary circles in England and the U.S. have by no means welcomed the decisions; on the other hand, the patron of Jap reaction, MacArthur, has been quick to say that he has "no iota of responsibility for the decisions made in Moscow."

The spokesmen of Tory imperialism both in England and India are however subdued.

In October the Daily Mail, organ of the most pro-Hitler elements of the Tory Party, was quick to write about "the resultant loss of faith in Russian political integrity" and lectured:

"When the Russians come back to talk again—as come they (!—my emphasis—M. K.) must...they will be well-advised to be more accommodating in their policies and more trustful in their attitude to

by Mohan Kumaramangalam

their Allies." (Oct. 3). On this occasion, it has so far made no comment. After all, what could it say.

The Times of India—only two days after the breakdown of the London Conference—also lectured that:

"It remains to be seen whether...the reactions of British and American public opinion...will in fact prove sufficient to impress on the Soviet Government that they must be prepared for broad-based teamwork." (Oct. 5).

Six days later, the Times returned to the fray, dogmatically stating, in an editorial entitled—"Soviet Sophistry":

"There can be no questioning the fact that it is the attitude of Soviet Russia which is to-day throwing grit into the efforts to get an international machine constructed on a workable basis." (Oct. 11).

This time, however, The Times also is cautiously silent—has not yet written an editorial on the Moscow Conference!

Not so modest and cautious however is the 'revolutionary' friend of reaction, the Bombay Free Press Journal.

Last October, it rejoiced that: "Though technically the Anglo-Americans are in the wrong in regard to Russia, their new policy is more in keeping with international idealism." (Oct. 4).

On this occasion, while the imperialist Daily Mail and The Times are awkwardly silent, the Free Press shamelessly comments:

"Even the most determined optimist cannot claim that Moscow has settled anything right." (Dec. 29).

#### Need For Vigilance

But not all the ravings of the Free Press—nor the discreet silence of the F. P. J.'s imperialist masters—can suppress the fact that the Moscow Conference has registered important advances for democratic forces and a set-back for reaction's plans to build for a new World War—aimed to destroy the Soviet and democratic movements all over.

(Continued on page 10, col. 1.)

#### Foreign News Flashes

## ALLIED CORRESPONDENTS SEE SOVIET-OCCUPIED GERMANY

ALLIED War Correspondents have just been allowed by the Russians to make a supervised 8-hour tour covering 750 miles in the regions of Germany occupied by the Red Army. The News Chronicle correspondent states:

"The Red Army is winning towards peace in its occupation zone in Germany according to the principles laid down by the Potsdam Agreement. It is collaborating with carefully selected German civilians many of whom are Communists. The Russians have tackled occupation problems with a business-like efficiency, converting parts of Germany into a growing concern.

"In Saxony Province, 81 per cent of all non-war factories are already producing consumer goods according to the German provincial officials who are scoffing at the rumours that the Russian zone is stripped of its industry. Nearly all coal mines are operating, some even meeting their pre-war production.

"The Russians have purged the area of active Nazis and nominal Nazi members are being replaced, the decisions about nominal Nazis being left to local German authorities.

"Industry, farming and mining have been placed largely under the control of German Provincial Governments with aid and support from the Russian Military Government. Mines and factories are run by Boards composed of Directors' and Workers' Councils' representatives."

#### For Franco's Overthrow

##### Spanish Communist Leader's Call

DOLores IBARRURI, Secretary, Spanish Communist Party, addressed a letter to all Spanish

Republican Parties, anti-Fascist organizations and personalities, proposing that a joint meeting be held in Paris for establishing a common programme to be offered to those anti-Franco Military and anti-Monarchist groups willing to collaborate in any action to overthrow Franco.

The Communist Party declares strongly against any attempt of compromise with Franco, and proposes that after consultation of the people, a truly democratic Constituent Assembly be held in Spain after Franco has been overthrown. This should be done under a Government of National Coalition. The Provisional President of the Republic should undertake the formation of a Government, and hold elections at the earliest moment.

#### Greek T. U. Elections

##### EAM's Victory

IN the elections for 11 out of the 15 seats in the Provisional Executive of the Greek Trade Union Congress, a sweeping victory was won by the Workers' Anti-Fascist Coalition (ERGAS) which supports EAM (National Liberation Front).

The figures were, ERGAS, 1,531, Makris (Monarchist group that won votes only by widespread use of terror and threats), 496; Stratis, 105; Kalomiris, 54 votes.

EAM thus has an overwhelming majority over all the other groups combined.

However, owing to a previous undemocratic decision of the Government, no one group, whatever the number of votes it received, will be



#### Back At The Helm

##### Indonesia's No. 1 Communist

NEWS has reached us of the emergence of one of the legendary heroes of the Indonesian movement for independence. Communist leader, TAN MALAKAH.

Tan Malakah was one of the leaders of the great Indonesian rebellion of 1927; the Dutch suppressed it severely; with thousands of others, Tan Malakah was sent to a concentration camp in Dutch New Guinea.

He, however, later escaped from the camp and until his reappearance after Japan's surrender worked underground, acquired a legendary reputation for his extraordinary capacity to evade the Dutch police and to keep his work going.

Tan Malakah is the leader of the Indonesian Communist Party (Mahanamed Yusuf, mentioned as its leader in P. A. No. 26, Dec. 3, 1945, is one of the Provincial leaders)—whose influence, since its legalization after long years of repression, first by the Dutch and then by the Japs, is growing very fast.

#### Look Out For!

## INDONESIA'S WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

Full Story—About As. 10

Write to Sales Dept: People's Publishing House, Bombay 6.

# TURCO-SOVIET RELATIONS

## Democracy In Albania

The latest anti-Soviet barrage that has been launched by the reactionary press is over Turkish-Soviet relations.

Soviet opinion has demanded the reunion to Soviet Georgia of certain areas of Turkey which are Georgian; sometime ago, a similar demand was made for reuniting to Soviet Armenia the Armenian lands annexed by Turkey after the last war.

THE facts about these demands are not clear—for while Reuter conveniently cables us the comments of reactionary Turkish newspapers, it gives only a bare indication of the Georgian and Armenian demands—and sends us no details. And, unfortunately, I am not yet in possession of the full facts about these demands.

One thing, however, stands out clear enough; that all that has happened on the Soviet side is that certain facts (unfortunately suppressed by Reuter) about certain areas in Turkey that rightfully should belong to Georgia and Armenia have been put forward by certain Georgians and Armenians. Even according to Reuter, there has been NO threat of war, of forcible annexation and the rest.

### Reaction's Voice

In Turkey, however, the reaction has been suspiciously 'vigorous'. On December 24, all the reactionary newspapers started to put out all the anti-Soviet thunder they could work up.

The Daily Yakti said, "If Russia does not drop these claims, Turkey will undoubtedly envisage war."

The semi-official Anadolu news agency wrote that "All Turkey is ready to draw itself into the fire."

The Tanin wrote that, "If a Third World War breaks out, the cause will be Turkey and the Straits."

It is worthwhile remembering that the Tanin is the paper of the orthodox pro-Fascist Yaktin—which was banned by Kemal once and which wrote regretfully on the defeat of

Germany that its "destruction as a great power has left a vacuum."

It is worthwhile recalling also that the comments of other newspapers of the same reactionary group, which are to-day breathing anti-Soviet fire and thunder, were equally pro-Hitler during the war.

"We have demonstrated," wrote the Anadolu in May 1944, "our friendship for the Germans all through the war and have done so in their moment of greatest need."

"We shall remain friends of Germany to the last" wrote the Sen Posta in April 1944.

### Pro-Hitler To Pro-Tory

But to-day with Hitler gone, these ex-friends of his, like their blood-brothers in Iran (see article on this page) have transferred their allegiance to British and U.S. reaction: in the words of a spokesman of theirs, Paul Tabari, they now propose "to rely upon the Western Allies for support in the coming critical months and years" (Bombay Chronicle, December 24).

And this too is why the Sunday Times—the most reactionary of the London Tory papers has warmly praised the 'courage' of these Turkish fire-eaters while commending the "supine acquiescence" of the Iranians i.e. it appears to have more confidence in its Turkish than in its Persian agents!

### Nothing Of The Other Side

In contrast while all the comments of the reactionaries have been cabled for our consumption, Reuter gives no indication of what the progressive Turkish press (small though it is) has written.

The Yazi Sahab—which has vigorously criticised the Turkish Government for its neglect of the peasantry, and for its refusal to guarantee minimum trade union rights and social security for the workers; the Tan, which in 1944 sharply criticised the Government for its "tyrannical pressure" on the press and which was suppressed last year and only allowed to reappear in the spring of 1945; no comments of these two papers have reached us.

### Same Game As In Iran

In fact, much of what is happening in Turkey is yet shrouded in darkness; one thing, however, is already clear and easy to understand; here, as in Iran, our Imperialist rulers are up to anti-Soviet intrigues,

### Albanian Elections

THE results of the first nationwide elections in ALBANIA based on universal adult suffrage, have just reached me. 98 per cent of the electorate went to the polls; of those who voted 95 per cent voted for the Democratic Front, headed by the Communist leader, Colonel-General Enver Hoxha.

The resounding victory at the polls marks the consolidation of the influence of the Democratic Front in Albania—and reflects too the satisfaction of the people at the swift manner in which the people's Government has tackled the people's problems.

In the year after liberation, almost all industry has been restored and the three main ports of Drace, Valona and Saranda have been put in working order.

Land reform is going ahead—already in this small country whose population is only 10 lakhs, nearly 30,000 acres of landlords' land have been divided up among the poorest peasantry.

Albania is a country of illiterates—Hoxha's Government has set about eliminating this too; 983 elementary schools with an attendance of 58,500 children and 40 secondary schools have been opened this year. This means that more schools have been opened in this one year after liberation, than in the ten years of King Zog's regime!

The workers' conditions have been improved—trade unions have sprung up—eight-hour day and social insurance have been introduced.

It is no wonder then that the Democratic Front which not only led the Albanian people to victory but is

...the latest anti-Soviet barrage that has been launched by the reactionary press is over Turkish-Soviet relations. Soviet opinion has demanded the reunion to Soviet Georgia of certain areas of Turkey which are Georgian; sometime ago, a similar demand was made for reuniting to Soviet Armenia the Armenian lands annexed by Turkey after the last war.

### Twists And Turns

And one last point: two weeks ago, I commented on the difficulty of dismissing the Hoxha Government as a "Russian stooge" because no Red Army man ever set foot in Albania while there was a British military mission there.

Last week I read a comment of the London Times' Diplomatic Correspondent that of course, "the Albanian Government is Communist..." but with this difference from some other Balkan regimes—its Communism is indigenous and is independent of foreign influence."

How this is so, our clever correspondent does not explain. After all this is a bit difficult to explain—considering that the Hoxha Government is implementing a progressive programme of land reform; State control of industry and social services, very similar to those of the Governments of Yugoslavia, etc. which he must think, are ones which are not "independent of foreign influence."

—Mohan Kumaramangalam

## Inside Iran

# THE TRUTH WILL OUT!

At last Reuter has been forced to put out something of the real truth about the situation in Iran, but as usual even when uttering some truths, it goes out of its way to distort the reality and malign the Soviet.

### From An Iranian Correspondent

IN a dispatch on December 25 (from Jerusalem), Reuter's commentator on international affairs, for the first time has given up the old, old story of the struggle of "democratic little Iran", backed by "democratic Britain", fighting for its independence against "Red Imperialist Russia."

### What Is Real

Here is what his dispatch boiled down to:

- In theory, Persia is a constitutional monarchy; in fact, this country of 150 lakh population is run by 2,000 wealthy families.
- These two thousand families "naturally turned away from Revolutionary Russia and found their social political contact" after the last war first with the British; later, with Hitler's rise to power, with Germany; and after the elimination of German influence, with Britain again; as the commentator delicately puts it, "propertied families turned naturally to what was then a Conservative Britain for solace."
- The Tudeh Party "had a simple programme which appealed to the mass of the Persian poor. They formed trade unions..."
- "There are only two political parties—the Tudeh and the anti-Tudeh National Will Movement"—led by Sayyed Zia-ed-din.

Important points—which cover all the facts that "People's Age" has given, all the emphasis it has made of the situation in Iran.

### What Is Not

But, of course, Reuter's commentator had to go further—and what he has done is to try to

(1) The only difference between the Tudeh and the Party of the National Will is that one consists of pro-Soviet landowners, the other of pro-British!

(2) Everything done by the Tudeh has been inspired, planned and organised by the Soviets!

On the first point, the commentator contradicts himself, writing that the Azerbaijanian movement (which is in fact backed by the Tudeh), "scared the northern landlords"—which it obviously could not have done, had it been purely a landlord's movement.

On the second point, apart from producing the worn-out old story about Russian "agents" slipping into Iran and the fact that Russian troops intervened to stop clashes in Northern Iran, he has nothing new to add.

### Part Of World-Wide Uprising

The fact is that the growth of the Tudeh movement and the Azerbaijanian Democratic movement are parts of the same world-wide uprising that has expressed itself in Indonesia, Indo-China, India, in all countries.

The programme of the democrats in Azerbaijan reflects this. The key points of the programme are:

- (1) Immediate democratic elections to all local bodies which will have control over the local executive authorities.
- (2) Purge of all corrupt and reactionary elements from the administrative staff and the police.
- (3) Universal free primary education through the Azerbaijanian language and establishment of a national university.

nian language and establishment of a national university.

(4) Distribution among poor peasants of state lands and lands of reactionary landlords who have fled from the country.

(5) Setting up of agricultural credit banks on a wide scale.

(6) Measures to restore and build industry in the interests of the people.

(7) Measures to safeguard trade union rights, social insurance for workers.

(8) Organisation of effective health service.

(9) Loyalty to the Iranian Central Government—where its orders do not conflict with the wishes of the people.

A truly democratic programme, which, naturally, considering all that Reuter has said about the Iranian wealthy, would clearly appeal to and command the support of the mass of the Iranian people, growing under the rule of the reactionaries of 2,000 wealthy families.

This is all Reuter has told—but there are some more facts that Reuter has not told, which are worth relating:

### About Zia-ed-din

First is about SAYYED ZIA-ED-DIN whom Reuter dismisses as having "returned to Persia from his exile in Palestine—the Tudeh charged the British with deliberately bringing him back."

This Zia has been Britain's agent since 1921; quarrelling with Reza Shah he fled the country in 1923, in a British car.

The years of exile—1923-1943—Sayyed spent in comfort in a luxurious villa in Palestine, Britain's colony.

In 1943, he was brought back—again by the British—(according to the Calcutta Statesman)—and became the leader of the National Will Party—the party of the 2,000 families, of the wealthy propertied friends of Britain.

The second is about the big Khans of southern Iran—who are virtually independent chieftains. In January 1945, Reuter, a Te-

heran newspaper, described them thus:

"The local Khans of Fars are small and independent states, who have their armed retinues, defend the borders of their territories with their own armies, and wage war upon and conclude treaties with one another. They swear at the Central Government... Nobody in Fars obeys the orders of Teheran."

In April 1945, General Arfa Chief of the Iranian General Staff, revealed at a meeting of the Officers of the Teheran Garrison that the southern tribes had some 50,000 rifles. (The total strength of the Iranian Army is only 90,000 men!)

### Southern Conspiracy

And all this news follows on an important development among these tribal chieftains.

British agents in the twenties, they became Nazi agents in the thirties and early forties. Particularly the Kashgirs were the principal bases of operation for the Nazis.

In the spring of 1944, however, with the certainty of Hitler's defeat, the Kashgirs turned towards their old friends, the British. They handed over to the British all the Nazi agents they had harboured—notably one Major Julius Schulze.

In August 1944, the leader of the Kashgirs and the Bakhtigirs held a Conference with one Karim Shirazi—a well-known associate of Sayyed Zia—and the British and formed a Union of Southern Tribes; later conferences with more local tribal leaders and a notorious Isfahan landlord, Salem-ed-Daulah, and an industrialist, Kazeruni have solidified this reactionary pro-British grouping—which has been persistently condemned by progressive newspapers in Teheran.

It is this grouping with its armed forces of 50,000 rifles, that even to-day is acting as a virtually independent state; yet Reuter—who professes to be so keen on Iranian independence—has sent no news of this; nor has the Iranian Government planned to send any troops to bring them under the authority of the Central Government, as it is so busy doing in North Iran!

But Iranian democracy is growing fast. Events in Iran show that the 2,000 families will not far look to expect Iran's 150 million eyes towards the benefit of British Imperialism.

## MOSCOW Conference

(Continued from page 2.)

The possibility of the resurgence of Japanese reaction has been reduced; the triumph of the people in the Balkans secured and under procedure agreed to, the issue has been laid for democratic peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Thus the Moscow Conference represents a real victory for the Soviet, for the democratic policy for which it has consistently fought and a defeat for the imperialists and their spy-organising plans.

Yet this too is not all. For if important problems have been settled, equally, other important problems have not been settled.

The controversy over the Atom Bomb remains; all that the Moscow decisions on this point mean is that it will be fought out inside the proposed United Nations Commission on Atomic energy.

The situations in Spain, Greece, Indonesia, Indo-China, Iran—and India—all remain as bad as before; Imperialist reaction still remains strong and determined enough to hold up advance in these countries, the peoples are yet too weak to effect any change.

This is why the Communist Daily Worker commented that, while the Moscow decisions do represent a big step forward, yet:

"It would be wrong, however, to assume that everything in the international picture is now lovely. Every Socialist in the recent history of international co-operation (Teheran, Crimea, Berlin) has been followed by an organized attempt of reactionary forces to prevent the carrying out of democratic peace treaties. The situation in the East is still very far from being settled."



# IMPERIALIST MILITARY ALLIANCE DEMONSTRATORS

## Aid Jap Collaborators, Profiteers, Sultans Against The People

NEWS has just reached India of the first major post-war clashes between the Malayan People's Movement and the British Military Administration (B.M.A.)

Under Japanese rule, the people's of Malaya suffered great hardships, hundreds of thousands were conscripted for forced labour; anyone suspected of opposition to the Japanese, particularly anyone who had sympathies for the great THREE STAR MOVEMENT, the Malayan Resistance Movement, headed by the Communist Party, was arrested, tortured, often executed.

With the surrender of the Japanese, the resistance movement came into the open, and began to build up people's democratic organisations all over the country—trade unions and people's committees which immediately set about tackling the urgent economic problems facing the people.

But the British Military authorities instead of taking the help of these organisations have gone back to their traditional old ways of administration and are lining up with the Sultans and the big merchants who were themselves the best friends of the Japanese imperialists in the days of Japanese rule.

The result was that towards the end of October, in Perak, Selangor, Johore and Singapore, clashes took place between the people and the armed police.

### In Perak State

On October 21, the British Military authorities confiscated twenty bags of rice, belonging to the Taiping People's Committee; in protest, all factories, shops and stalls in the town of Taiping closed down and several thousand unemployed immediately organised a 'hunger' demonstration, demanding rice, employment and money.

The military authorities at once sent over twenty military lorries to stop the demonstrators; the soldiers brutally beat the people; seven of the leaders of the demonstration were injured.

### Mass Hartal

The news of this quickly spread throughout the State; in Ipoh there was a general hartal of all shops, 100,000 people—including Chinese, Indians, and Malays, from the towns and surrounding villages, demonstrated demanding:

- (1) Universal relief for the unemployed.
- (2) Immediate distribution of five gattangs of rice to each unemployed.
- (3) Control and lowering of prices of goods.

The 'hunger' marchers stopped outside the Chief Civil Officer's Headquarters (Colonel Harvey) and three of their leaders—Chan Hung Ming (President of the General Labour Union), Chan Tian Hwa (President of the Perak State People's Committee) and Chan Chee Hooi (its Vice-President), demanded relief for the unemployed and a check on high prices and profiteering. Colonel Harvey promised to do something—particularly to allot £10,000 for relief.

A further demonstration with the same demands, marched to the Government quarters, but here late at night, the British machine-

gunned the demonstration, one Malay was killed and ten Chinese wounded.

On the 22nd, there was a general strike throughout the State.

In the afternoon of October 11 in the city of Kuala Lumpur, the second floor of the offices of Chop Tzu Joo formerly the illegal organ of the Resistance Movement during the Japanese Fascist regime, was raided by British Military Police and Indian soldiers. The drawers of the desks and the iron safe were forced open.

### In Selangor State

On the 12th, SUNG KWONG, a leader of the Resistance Movement and the head of the general department of the Selangor People's Committee was arrested on a charge of extortion, made by a collaborator of the Jap regime, Chan Shou Ming!

Another leader of the Resistance Movement, CHAN GHONG CHEW was also arrested without any explanation.

Newspapers and people's organisations throughout Malaya protested against this vigorously.

### Protest Against Arrests

On the 16th, 20,000 people staged a demonstration to demand the immediate and unconditional release of the arrested leaders. Factories stopped work. The majority of the shops also closed business. 7,000 miners of the Batuarang coal mines went on strike.

On the same day, those arrested were released, though the B.M.A. still insisted that Sung Kwong should be tried in the military court although everyone demanded the cancellation of his case. Many members of the Resistance Movement were also arrested, one after another, during that period, despite the constant protests of the people.

In the districts of Klang, Layang Layang, and Simpang, all the shops closed down. All labourers stopped work and demonstrated for the unconditional release of Ling Yoong, a leader of the Resistance Movement who was arrested on the ostensible grounds that he had broken the laws which existed before 1941.

On October 22, 10,000 distressed people in Ben Chen district staged a hunger demonstration demanding rice and employment.

### In Johore State

On the 26th, in Johore Bahru, the capital of Johore, the Johore State People's Committee called a representative meeting to protest against the continuous and indiscriminate arrests of members of the Resistance Movement. Strikes and the closing down of shops throughout Johore might occur at any time in view of the tense situation.

The Johore Civil Officer had ordered all the public organisations to surrender before the first of November the furniture that they were utilising now, and which was originally enemy property.

At noon on October 22, an Indian soldier under the British command deliberately fired his pistol at the entry of the Malayan People's Anti-Jap Army forces in the town of Senai from a passing British military transport.

On October 31, 7,000 Singapore Chinese, and Indian dockworkers went on strike demanding higher wages and refusing to load arms and ammunition for Indonesia.

On the same day at 7-30 a.m., ten members (including two women) of the Singapore General

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Labour Union were arrested while on their way in a lorry taking sweet potatoes to the Labourers at the Harbour Board.

At 8-30 a.m. the news of the arrest reached the General Labour Union. Ia Cheng, the President of the Union, immediately went to the Tanjong Pagar Police station to investigate into the matter and demanded their immediate release.

But he and two others with him were also detained. Three hours later he was taken to the British Military Police (M.P.) Headquarters. He was kicked by the M.P. His wrist-watch, belt, pen and more than £20 were forcibly taken away. After a few blows he was ordered to call the strikers back to work the next day and was threatened that he would be court-martialed if he failed to do so.

### Workers' Demands

On October 22nd, the General Labour Union called an emergency representative meeting of all the Unions. 54 Chinese, 35 Indian and a few Malay Trade Unions, which are all affiliated to it, took part in this meeting.

The representative meeting unanimously passed four resolutions:

- (1) Unconditional and immediate release of the arrested members of the General Labour Union;
- (2) Unconditional return of the confiscated articles;
- (3) The M.P. Headquarters must apologise to the General Labour Union and
- (4) Guarantee that no similar incidents would happen in the future.

# BURMA'S ECONOMY HANDLED OVER TO BIG CAPITALISTS

## British Governor's Policy

ON August 27, 1945, a Civil Supplies Board was appointed for Burma.

This Board controls Burma's economy.

It has powers over:

- (1) Procurement, distribution and control of all commodities.
- (2) All supplies.
- (3) All transport and buildings.

Very wide powers indeed! And who are its members? Two English members of the Indian Civil Service, two English businessmen and one Indian businessman. There is no representative of the people of Burma—only representatives of British and Indian capital.

### Monopoly In Key Commodities

The result is that only British and Indian firms have been given the monopoly for the distribution and sale of key commodities as will be seen from the following list:—

Condensed milk and sugar products ..	Needles ..	Anglo-Swiss Milk Company
Sugar ..	Burma Sugar Factory (owned by Steel Bros.) and Zeyawaddy Sugar Factory (Indian-owned)	
Soap ..	Lever Brothers (Britain's biggest monopolist)	
Matches ..	Adamjee Hajee Dawood (Calcutta Jute Mill Owner)	
Cigarettes ..	Imperial Tobacco Company, (another firm of leading British monopolists)	

Other agencies have been secured by the British firms, Steel Brothers, and Cowin & Co., and the Indian firms, Ganadhar Baldevdas Mangalchand, Ahmed Ebrahim Brothers, etc.

No single Burmese Company has got an agency, even the Shwetha Co. which has influential local connections, failed to secure the agency for the sale of hardware!

The Governor explains all this by saying that nothing can be done for the rehabilitation of Burma without the help of the capitalists. Apparently, in his opinion, without giving back the monopoly of river traffic to the Irrawaddy Flotilla Co. and of the vast forests to the Bombay-Burma Trading Company, nothing is possible!

Thus what happened in India in the last five years—the big industrial-profiteer and the trader-hoarder getting a grip on the country's economy is now taking place before our very eyes in Burma.

### Demand For People's Control

The Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League of Burma (joint front of all Burma's patriotic parties) has sharply condemned this policy of the Government in handing over Burma's whole economy over to the big capitalists, and is agitating for people's control of distribution and sale through people's committees.

## FOR WAR-BONUS, AGAINST RETRENCHMENT

# MILITARY ENGINEERING WORKERS' STRUGGLE

ALL the eight hundred workers of the Indian Electrical and Mechanical Engineering Workshop (IEME Workshop) Colaba, (Bombay) have been on strike since December 17.

The demands of the workers are that they must be given one month's wage as War-Bonus for every one year's service during the period of war and a Victory Bonus equivalent to one month's pay. There are other important and just demands such as recognition of their Union (which has been organised by the Communists), introduction of Provident Fund Scheme and conveyance allowance to all.

All these workers belong to a military workshop under the direct management of the Defence Department of the Government of India, where tanks, guns, anti-aircraft machinery, radio-engineering war apparatus, etc. used to be repaired during the critical days of the war. Not on a single day during this period, did they get any respite nor was leave granted if they applied for it.

When the war ended, the workers put forward their legitimate demands and for four months the Union waited for a satisfactory reply. The Management of the Workshop kept silent and the Regional Labour Commissioners expressed their inability to do anything in the

Although the Government has made many promises that the war workers will be spared the sufferings resulting from sudden unemployment after the war, and that adequate allowance would be granted to those discharged to fall back upon, not fewer than 180 workers have been discharged from this workshop without any allowance whatsoever.

As a last resort, after due notice, the workers have been on strike since December 17, and the deadlock continues. When the Labour Member of the Viceroy's Council was approached for intervention, his reply was that he did not even know anything about the dispute!

Provocation and intimidation have been resorted to by the Management against the workers. It is learnt that a notice has been put up in the Workshop threatening all workers with summary discharge for their absence. It is clear that when a legal strike is on all such notices are meaningless.

There are about twenty similar IEME Units of the Government of India all over the country and in Ceylon employing about 20,000 workers. Ruthless retrenchment seems to have begun everywhere. It is high time the Government of India took immediate steps to grant the reasonable demands of the workers or referred the matter to adjudication.

# TURCO-SOVIET RELATIONS

## Democracy In Albania

The latest anti-Soviet barrage that has been launched by the reactionary press is over Turkish-Soviet relations.

Soviet opinion has demanded the reunion to Soviet Georgia of certain areas of Turkey which are Georgian; sometime ago, a similar demand was made for reuniting to Soviet Armenia the Armenian lands annexed by Turkey after the last war.

**T**HE facts about these demands are not clear—for while Reuter conveniently cables us the comments of reactionary Turkish newspapers, it gives only a bare indication of the Georgian and Armenian demands—and sends us no details. And, unfortunately, I am not yet in possession of the full facts about these demands.

One thing, however, stands out clear enough; that all that has happened on the Soviet side is that certain facts (unfortunately suppressed by Reuter) about certain areas in Turkey that rightfully should belong to Georgia and Armenia have been put forward by certain Georgians and Armenians. Even according to Reuter, there has been NO threat of war, of forcible annexation and the rest.

### Reaction's Voice

In Turkey, however, the reaction has been suspiciously 'vigorous'. On December 24, all the reactionary newspapers started to put out all the anti-Soviet thunder they could work up.

The Daily Yakit said, "If Russia does not drop these claims, Turkey will undoubtedly envisage war."

The semi-official Anadolu news agency wrote that "All Turkey is ready to draw itself into the fire."

The Tanin wrote that, "If a Third World War breaks out, the cause will be Turkey and the Straits."

It is worthwhile remembering that the Tanin is the paper of the orthodox pro-Fascist Yaktin—which was banned by Kemal once and which wrote regretfully on the defeat of

Germany that its "destruction as a great power has left a vacuum."

It is worthwhile recalling also that the comments of other newspapers of the same reactionary group, which are to-day breathing anti-Soviet fire and thunder, were equally pro-Hitler during the war.

"We have demonstrated," wrote the Anadolu in May 1944, "our friendship for the Germans all through the war and have done so in their moment of greatest need."

"We shall remain friends of Germany to the last" wrote the Sen Posta in April 1944.

### Pro-Hitler To Pro-Tory

But to-day with Hitler gone, these ex-friends of his, like their blood-brothers in Iran (see article on this page) have transferred their allegiance to British and U.S. reaction; in the words of a spokesman of theirs, Paul Tabari, they now propose "to rely upon the Western Allies for support in the coming critical months and years" (Bombay Chronicle, December 24).

And this too is why the Sunday Times—the most reactionary of the London Tory papers has warmly praised the 'courage' of these Turkish fire-eaters while commending the "supine acquiescence" of the Iranians i.e. it appears to have more confidence in its Turkish than in its Persian agents!

### Nothing Of The Other Side

In contrast while all the comments of the reactionaries have been cabled for our consumption, Reuter gives no indication of what the progressive Turkish press (small though it is) has written.

The Yazi Sahab—which has vigorously criticised the Turkish Government for its neglect of the peasantry, and for its refusal to guarantee minimum trade union rights and social security for the workers; the Tan, which in 1944 sharply criticised the Government for its "tyrannical pressure" on the press and which was suppressed last year and only allowed to reappear in the spring of 1945; no comments of these two papers have reached us.

### Same Game As In Iran

In fact, much of what is happening in Turkey is yet shrouded in darkness; one thing, however, is already clear and easy to understand; here, as in Iran, our Imperialist rulers are up to anti-Soviet intrigues,

### Albanian Elections

**T**HE results of the first nationwide elections in ALBANIA based on universal adult suffrage, have just reached me. 98 per cent of the electorate went to the polls; of those who voted 95 per cent voted for the Democratic Front, headed by the Communist leader, Colonel-General Enver Hoxha.

The resounding victory at the polls marks the consolidation of the influence of the Democratic Front in Albania—and reflects too the satisfaction of the people at the swift manner in which the people's Government has tackled the people's problems.

In the year after liberation, almost all industry has been restored and the three main ports of Drace, Valona and Saranda have been put in working order.

Land reform is going ahead—already in this small country whose population is only 10 lakhs, nearly 30,000 acres of landlords' land have been divided up among the poorest peasantry.

Albania is a country of illiterates—Hoxha's Government has set about eliminating this too; 983 elementary schools with an attendance of 58,500 children and 40 secondary schools have been opened this year. This means that more schools have been opened in this one year after liberation, than in the ten years of King Zog's regime!

The workers' conditions have been improved—trade unions have sprung up—eight-hour day and social insurance have been introduced.

It is no wonder then that the Democratic Front which not only led the Albanian people to victory but is

being made known to a people who have never seen a democratic party.

Of course, reactionaries will be crying out from their seats in the League of Nations and by means of the press and by means of the League of Nations, the elections were not fairly held, or were rigged.

Well, I can give them a simple reply to-day; in the elections to the Central Assembly, in the seats contested by the Congress, it polled 98.7 per cent of votes; in the seats contested by the League, it polled 95.5 per cent of the votes.

Were these elections too like our best? Is it not more likely that what sections of our people see in the League and the Congress, the entire Albanian people see in their Democratic Front, that led them to the battle against German oppression and to-day is leading them to the battle for a free prosperous Albania?

### Twists And Turns

And one last point: two weeks ago, I commented on the difficulty of dismissing the Hoxha Government as a "Russian stooge" because no Red Army man ever set foot in Albania while there was a British military mission there.

Last week I read a comment of the London Times' Diplomatic Correspondent that of course, "the Albanian Government is Communist..." but with this difference from some other Balkan regimes—its Communism is indigenous and is independent of foreign influence."!!

How this is so, our clever correspondent does not explain. After all this is a bit difficult to explain—considering that the Hoxha Government is implementing a progressive programme of land reform, State control of industry and social services, very similar to those of the Governments of Yugoslavia, etc. which he must think, are ones which are not "independent of foreign influence."!!

—Mohan Kumaramangalam

## Inside Iran

# THE TRUTH WILL OUT!

At last Reuter has been forced to put out something of the real truth about the situation in Iran, but as usual even when uttering some truths, it goes out of its way to distort the reality and malign the Soviet.

**I**N a dispatch on December 25 (from Jerusalem), Reuter's commentator on international affairs, for the first time has given up the old, old story of the struggle of "democratic little Iran", backed by "democratic Britain", fighting for its independence against "Red Imperialist Russia."

### What Is Real

Here is what his dispatch boiled down to:

● In theory, Persia is a constitutional monarchy; in fact, this country of 150 lakh population is run by 2,000 wealthy families.

● These two thousand families "naturally turned away from Revolutionary Russia and found their social political contact" after the last war first with the British; later, with Hitler's rise to power, with Germany; and after the elimination of German influence, with Britain again; as the commentator delicately puts it, "propertied families turned naturally to what was then a Conservative Britain for solace."

● The Tudeh Party "had a simple programme which appealed to the mass of the Persian poor. They formed trade unions..."

● "There are only two political parties—the Tudeh and the anti-Tudeh National Will Movement"—led by Sayyid Zia-ed-din.

● Important points—which cover all the facts that "People's Age" has given, all the analysis it has made of the situation in Iran.

### What Is Not

But, of course, Reuter's commentator had to go further—and what he has done is to try and

### From An Iranian Correspondent

(1) The only difference between the Tudeh and the Party of the National Will is that one consists of pro-Soviet landowners, the other of pro-British!

(2) Everything done by the Tudeh has been inspired, planned and organised by the Soviets!

On the first point, the commentator contradicts himself, writing that the Azerbaijanian movement (which is in fact backed by the Tudeh), "scared the northern landlords"—which it obviously could not have done, had it been purely a landlord's movement.

On the second point, apart from producing the worn-out old story about Russian "agents" slipping into Iran and the fact that Russian troops intervened to stop clashes in Northern Iran, he has nothing new to add.

### Part Of World-Wide Uprising

The fact is that the growth of the Tudeh movement and the Azerbaijanian Democratic movement are parts of the same world-wide uprising that has expressed itself in Indonesia, Indo-China, India, in all countries.

The programme of the democrats in Azerbaijan reflects this. The key points of the programme are:

(1) Immediate democratic elections to all local bodies which will have control over the local executive authorities.

(2) Purge of all corrupt and reactionary elements from the administrative staff and the police.

(3) Universal free primary education through the

Iranian language and establishment of a national university.

(4) Distribution among poor peasants of state lands and lands of reactionary landlords who have fled from the country.

(5) Setting up of agricultural credit banks on a wide scale.

(6) Measures to restore and build industry in the interests of the people.

(7) Measures to safeguard trade union rights, social insurance for workers.

(8) Organisation of effective health service.

(9) Loyalty to the Iranian Central Government—where its orders do not conflict with the wishes of the people.

A truly democratic programme, which, naturally, considering all that Reuter has said about the Iranian wealthy, would clearly appeal to and command the support of the mass of the Iranian people, growing under the rule of the reactionaries of 2,000 wealthy families.

This is all Reuter has told—but there are some more facts that Reuter has not told, which are worth relating:

### About Zia-ed-din

First is about SAYYED ZIA-ED-DIN whom Reuter dismisses as having "returned to Persia from his exile in Palestine"—the Tudeh charged the British with deliberately bringing him back.

This Zia has been Britain's agent since 1921; quarrelling with Reza Shah he fled the country in 1923, in a British car.

The years of exile—1923-1943—Sayyid spent in comfort in a luxurious villa in Palestine, Britain's colony.

In 1943, he was brought back—again by the British—(according to the Calcutta Statesman)—and became the leader of the National Will Party—the party of the 2,000 families, of the wealthy propertied friends of Britain.

The second is about the big Khans of southern Iran—who are virtually independent chieftains. In January 1945, Reuter, a Te-

heran newspaper, described them thus:

"The local Khans of Fars are small and independent states, who have their armed retinues, defend the borders of their territories with their own armies, and wage war upon and conclude treaties with one another. They seek at the Central Government... Nobody in Fars obeys the orders of Teheran."

In April 1945, General Arfa Chief of the Iranian General Staff, revealed at a meeting of the Officers of the Teheran Garrison that the southern tribes had some 50,000 rifles. (The total strength of the Iranian Army is only 90,000 men!)

### Southern Conspiracy

And all this news follows on an important development among these tribal chieftains.

British agents in the twenties, they became Nazi agents in the thirties and early forties. Particularly the Kashgirs were the principal bases of operation for the Nazis.

In the spring of 1944, however, with the certainty of Hitler's defeat, the Kashgirs turned towards their old friends, the British. They handed over to the British all the Nazi agents they had harboured—notably one Major Julius Schulze.

In August 1944, the leader of the Kashgirs and the Bakhtigirs held a Conference with one Karim Shirazi—a well-known associate of Sayyid Zia—and the British and formed a Union of Southern Tribes; later conferences with more local tribal leaders and a notorious Isfahan landlord, Salem-ed-Daulah, and an industrialist, Kazeruni have solidified this reactionary pro-British grouping—which has been persistently condemned by progressive newspapers in Teheran.

It is this grouping with its armed forces of 50,000 rifles, that even to-day is acting as a virtually independent state; yet Reuter—who professes to be so keen on Iranian independence—has sent no news of this; nor has the Iranian Government planned to send any troops to bring them under the authority of the Central Government, as it is so busy doing in North Iran!

But Iranian democracy is growing fast. Events in Iran show that the 2,000 families will not for long be able to expect Iran's 150 million people to be in the hands of British imperialism.

## MOSCOW Conference

(Continued from page 2.)

The possibility of the resurgence of Japanese reaction has been reduced; the triumph of the people in the Balkans assured and under procedure agreed to, the issue has been laid for democratic peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland. Thus the Moscow Conference represents a real victory for the Soviet, for the democratic policy for which it has consistently fought and a defeat for the imperialists and their spy-organising plans.

Yet this too is not all. For if important problems have been settled, equally, other important problems have not been settled.

The controversy over the Atom Bomb remains; all that the Moscow decisions on this point mean is that it will be fought out inside the proposed United Nations Commission on Atomic energy.

The situations in Spain, Greece, Indonesia, Indo-China, Iran—and India—all remain as bad as before; imperialist reaction still remains strong and determined enough to hold up advance in these countries, the peoples are yet too weak to effect any change.

This is why the Communist Daily Worker commented that, while the Moscow decisions do represent a big step forward, yet:

"It would be wrong, however, to assume that everything in the international picture is now lovely. Every Socialist in the recent history of international co-operation (Teheran, Crimea, Berlin) has been followed by an organized attempt of imperialist forces to prevent the opening of a genuine peace settlement."