

BETRAYING PEOPLE TO IMPERIALISTS

Not Fighting War - Mongering, Freedom-Hating Tories Entrenched In Admiralty, War And Foreign Offices

MR. ZILLIACUS, one of the most vigorous and outspoken of the new Labour M.P.s, is an expert on British foreign policy. He was for eighteen years a member of the League of Nations Secretariat and was at one time secretary to the late Arthur Henderson, Foreign Secretary in the 1929 Labour Government.

Before the outbreak of World War II, he wrote a number of important books under the pen-name of "Vigilantes," including the well-known book "Between Two Wars" showing how British foreign policy run by the Tories was sabotaging Collective Security, appeasing the Fascist Powers, and was mainly responsible for the drift to World War II.

In this article, reprinted from the Labour Monthly of March 1946, he warns that British foreign policy today under Bevin is leading Britain and the world towards a similar disaster unless the British people and the Labour movement immediately intervene, force the Labour Government to break completely with it and adopt a new Socialist foreign policy. He shows how this can be done.—EDITOR.

WHEREAS in home affairs the Labour Government are supported by a united and enthusiastic Party and are being bitterly fought by the Tories, in foreign affairs it is Tory roses, roses all the way for Mr. BEVIN, while Labour back-benchers and the Party in the country are getting more and more puzzled and dismayed. It is important to understand just what is happening in our foreign policy, and why.

In 1938, Mr. ATTLEE wrote a book called *The Labour Party in Perspective* in which he said that the chief fault of the Labour Party in foreign policy after the first world war was that it had been content to borrow its ideas from the Liberals instead of hammering out a Socialist foreign policy of its own. He added that:

"There is a deep difference of opinion between the Labour Party and the Capitalist parties on foreign as well as on home policy, because the two cannot be separated. The foreign policy of a Government is the reflection of its internal policy. Imperialism is the form which Capitalism takes in relation to other nations. A Capitalist Government in Britain is nationalist, not internationalist in outlook."

"It may on particular occasions take action in foreign affairs with which the Labour Party agrees . . . but such particular instances of action which can be moved by Socialists do not affect the truth of the general proposition that there is no agreement on foreign policy between a Labour Opposition and a Capitalist Government."

In spite of these brave words, the Labour Government after the second world war have thrown overboard the Labour Party's statements on foreign affairs and are continuing, in national unity with the Tories, the foreign policy they inherited from their Conservative predecessors in the Coalition.

The result is that whereas the world is changing and our position in the world has changed, our foreign policy remains unchanged.

Anglo-Soviet Relations — Acid Test

Anglo-Russian relations have generally been the acid test of British foreign policy. Let us take them as the starting-point of this analysis. To give the necessary perspective, let us begin with the Russian Revolution.

"Hate of the revolution and fear of its consequences in England were the dominant reactions of Conservatives. . . I found the same fears among the Labour patriots," wrote BRUCE LOCKART in *Memoirs of a British Agent*. "The Allies greeted the revolution first with feigned enthusiasm and then with increasing alarm. They wanted—and on the part of the military advisers the wish was natural—things to be put back where they were before."

The Tories are still in the state of mind that these quotations reveal. Between the wars they lost the peace because they first fought the social revolution in Russia and Europe, then boy-

ced by an external danger which, coming into being during the war, threatened a cataclysm equalled only by the fall of the Roman Empire. This danger arose from the sweeping success in 1917 of the revolution against the Czarist regime and the establishment in Russia of a fanatical Communist Government animated by hatred of all political organisations which stood in the way of a world victory of the Soviet creed.

"Resistance to Communist propaganda, the maintenance of peace in Europe, the avoidance of another Great War, the establishment of security for respective frontiers, the preservation of society on existing lines, were capital objects of British policy. But there was more than this. England's stupendous and vital interests in Asia were menaced by a danger graver than any which existed in the time of the old Imperialistic regime in Russia."

"Hostility to England or jealousy of the intrusion of British civilisation into Asia were indeed of old standing. For the last seventy years of the nineteenth century, rivalry between England and Russia had been a dominant fact in history."

"But the Bolsheviks disposed of the two weapons which Imperial Russia lacked—class-revolt propaganda, appealing to the proletariat of the world, and the quasi-religious fanaticism of Lenin, which infused a vigour and zeal unknown to the officials and emissaries of the Czar."

"Resistance to Communist propaganda," "the preservation of society on existing lines," and the determination to defend Britain's "stupendous and vital" interests in Asia by excluding the USSR from the Middle-East, are the operative parts of this statement. They were the "capital objects" pursued above all others by British foreign policy between the wars. That is why our foreign policy played a big part in bringing about the second world war.

The Tories are so enthus-

astic about Mr. Bevin's foreign policy, because they see it apparently pursuing the same traditional aims and animated by the same 19th century motives as those so ably summarised by Lord D'Abernon twenty years ago. Mr. Bevin's speeches in the House and in the Security Council pour balm on the suffering souls of the frustrated interventionists on the Tory benches.

Dreams Of New Interventionist War

Mr. Bevin's outburst on February 1 in the Security Council against the Communist Parties of the world aroused the utmost enthusiasm in the Press of Franco Spain and Fascist Argentina, not to mention the Greek Royalists, General Anders' Polish Army in Italy, the Hearst Press and the Chicago Tribune in the U.S.A., the Kemsley and Rothermere papers here and the whole rag-tail and bobtail of the Fascist and reactionary down and outers throughout Europe.

For they all dream of another war of intervention that will put them back where they were before. And did not Mr. Bevin say that:

"It has been the incessant propaganda of Moscow and the incessant propaganda of the Communist Party in every country in the world to attack the British people and the British Government as if there has been no friendship between us. That is the danger to the peace of the world: it sets us against one another, causes suspicion and misunderstanding, and makes one wonder what the motive is?"

On the same occasion, Mr. Bevin admitted that British troops had gone into Greece, not to liberate the country from the Germans, but in order to prevent the resistance movement, E.A.M. (then a broadly-based coalition including nearly all democratic elements), from taking charge of the country. Instead, we put into power a pack of reactionaries, Royalists and ex-collaborators, who instituted a reign of terror against the Left.

In December 1944, Mr. Bevin told the Labour Conference that Greece had been invaded because, "the British Empire cannot abandon its position in the Mediterranean."

That is a return to the Imperial strategy of the last century, which was directed to keeping Russia out of the Balkans and the Middle East and bottled up in the Black Sea.

The same strategic conception appeared in Mr. Bevin's remark when, speaking to the House, on November 7, about the Soviet desire to be made trustee of an Italian colony, he said,

"One cannot help being a little suspicious if a great Power wants to come right across, shall I say, the throat of the British Commonwealth."

One is driven to ask oneself the motive."

Again, when on November 21, Brigadier Maclean asked for an assurance that "it is the intention of H. M. Government in all circumstances to safeguard our Imperial interests in the South Persian Gulf," Mr. Bevin answered grandly that "it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to safeguard British interests in whatever part of the world they may be found."

The Brigadier then asked how the Government proposed "to carry out this assurance in this particular case." Mr. Bevin replied: "I cannot divulge to the Hon. and gallant member, in answer to a question, all the strategy of the Chiefs of Staffs and everybody else concerned."

Even the Brigadier felt bound to protest the next day that,

"That was not at all the answer that I expected or desired. Strategy and Chiefs of Staffs are brought into play, not in keeping order in our outlying part of Asia, but in a major war, and that is exactly what we are out to avoid."

Bevin Toes Tory Line

Mr. Bevin's outlook on Europe, the Middle East and the Soviet Union, it will be observed, does not differ by a hair's breadth from that of Lord D'Abernon twenty years ago, in the days when we lost the last peace. Our Foreign Secretary stands with one foot in the Crimean Conference and the other in the Crimean War.

The truth is that the War Office, the Admiralty and the Foreign Office are running our foreign policy, not the Labour Government. And in Europe, the Middle East, the Far East (Indonesia) alike, they are pursuing the traditional social and Imperial aims of the old governing class, who may have lost the election, but are still overwhelmingly represented in the Foreign and Colonial Offices and the fighting services.

New Post-War World Forces

But the world has changed, and our position in the world, including the things for which the British people are prepared to fight, has changed.

The Soviet Union has emerged from the Second World War as a first class world power, and bids fair in ten or fifteen years to be the greatest world power.

There is a tremendous ferment and stir among the peoples of the East, where the demand for national independence and political democracy, and the desire for social change, are working together powerfully in men's minds.

The Communists of today are not the Communists of 1919. They are incomparably more mature and powerful.

They are the leaders of most or all of the working-class in nearly every country in Europe except the old democracies of (Continued on Page 11, Col. 4.)

OLD TRUMPET-NEW TRUMPETER!



ANTI-IMPERIALIST AWAKENING VILIFIED AS ANTI-CONGRESS

Congress Ministry And Press Succumb To Bureaucrats' Propaganda

ON THE 3RD OF APRIL, TEN THOUSAND POLICEMEN went on strike in Bihar. Everywhere it was the ration-cut imposed in the middle of March which had brought matters to a head. Spontaneous token strikes had taken place throughout the second half of March in various districts.

IT WAS THE DELHI POLICE STRIKE OF MARCH 21ST-22ND which inspired Bihar's Policemen to more organised forms of action. They read in the Nationalist Press of the countrywide support for the demands of Delhi's Policemen. They acclaimed Mr. Asaf Ali's Adjournment Motion in the Central Assembly to discuss "the situation created in Delhi by the maladministration of the Police Department resulting in the strike by a large number of Policemen."

Strike Demands

Confident that they too would have vigorous Congress support for their demands, the Bihar Policemen, after a one-day hunger-strike in support of their Delhi comrades, met together, set up District Committees and formulated their demands.

The first group of demands asked for an increase in pay to Rs. 100 per month, and in the quotas of the cloth and food rations. Cheap stores and free family quarters were also demanded.

The second group of demands was concerned with better service conditions, leave rules, right of appeals to authorities higher than the Superintendent, trial by Law Courts, etc.

The third group related to elementary democratic and civil rights; facilities for the education of their children, adequate medical treatment, the right to form their own organisation, the right to attend public meetings, and the right to vote in general elections.

The whole movement behind the organisation of the Policemen in support of these demands was carried out in a spirit of intense anti-British patriotic fervour.

The Rashtravani (organ of the Congress Premier, Babu Srikrishna Sinha) on the 29th and 30th March reported how, while formulating these demands at meetings in various districts, the Policemen "rent the air with Nationalist slogans" like "Inquilab Zindabad," "Britishers Quit India," and "Jai Hind."

Higher Police Officials' Strike Breaking

Higher Police officials, notorious for the unparalleled repression they let loose in 1942, were thoroughly alarmed at the growing patriotic sentiment among "their men." Everywhere they sought to crush the awakened constables.

According to a report in the Searchlight (Patna Nationalist daily), on the 1st of April, Mr. D. S. Sinha, the Superintendent of Police of Hazaribagh district addressed a meeting of the Policemen of his district. He put forward the strange thesis that "the things the constables are purchasing at Rs. 30 will cost them Rs. 100 if their pay is increased to Rs. 100," and ended up by warning them that if they struck work, they would be prosecuted under the Police Act, the Essential Services Ordinance, etc.

In every district, similar attempts were made by the Police officials to threaten the Policemen into submission.

But all these attempts failed. Fully confident of Congress support, the constables went ahead with their plans to call a strike on the 3rd of April, by which date their preparations were to be completed.

It was in the midst of their preparation, on the 2nd of April, that the Congress Ministry came into power.

The Policemen hailed the advent of Congress raj and felt almost certain that their demands would be met. They knew, however, that between them and the Ministry stood the corrupt and toady Police officials, who wanted to maintain a set of dumb-driven constables who could be used whenever necessary against the common people.

In the belief that these officials would prevent the Ministry from learning the true facts of their case, the Policemen did not alter their previously planned programme to go on strike on the 3rd. Thus they hoped to draw the Ministry's attention to their demands, and go back to work as soon as they had secured an assurance from the Ministry that their just grievances would be redressed.

Bogey Of Anti-Congress Sabotage

The Police officials were, however, busy spreading the lie that the strike was calculated to undermine the prestige of the Ministry, though they knew full well that the strike had been developing long before the Ministry came to power, and that unrest in the Police was not confined to Bihar, but was spreading throughout the country.

This story was unfortunately swallowed by the entire Nationalist Press.

Thus the Searchlight wrote on April 5th:

"In Patna, men with certain communal political affiliations are busy at work and are in high glee."

The same Rashtravani which had earlier reported the Policemen's slogans like Inquilab Zindabad and Jai Hind now on April 6th referred to "men belonging to certain traitor parties" who have provoked the strike so as to "put impediments in the path of the Congress Ministry and to discredit it."

The Police officials led by Mr. CREED, the Inspector General, who had tried every possible method to break the strike, were delighted when they found the Nationalist Press toeing their line.

Most disappointing of all was the fact that the Ministry succumbed entirely to this poisonous propaganda and joined with the officials to suppress the strike.

What officials could never do, the Ministers did. The Finance Minister, St. ANUGRAHA NARAIN SINHA, flew to Muzaffarpur, after consultations with the Commissioner of the division, and compelled the strikers to resume work, assuring them that their demands would be considered.

Blacklegging Or Patriotic Service P

In most districts on the appeal and assurances of Congress leaders, the strike was called off. In Patna, however, the constables were alarmed at what

they thought was the complete lining up of the Ministry and the Congress Press with their hated enemies—the Police officials. And so they refused to go back to work without some concrete gesture from the Ministry.

Now followed a Conference between Babu RAJENDRA PRASAD and the Ministers. Rajen Babu is reported to have advised the Premier to give the strikers a time limit in which to return to work or face dismissal. That night a Conference was held at the Patna Congress headquarters, where a Minister declared that the Government were prepared to go to any lengths to crush the strike. Here also a call was given for volunteers who would take up Police work in order to break the strike.

The Students' Congress leaders repeated this call for volunteers—and so began what in normal language is known as blacklegging, but what was described in this case as patriotic service. To the shame of the Tricolour and I.N.A. badges which they displayed, young Congress lads were made to take the place of the strikers.

The Ministry is even reported to have called in the Military to stand by "in case of emergency." It is said that British Tommies were sent to Bhagalpur, and Baluchis to Monghyr, Patna, Muzaffarpur and Ranchi, of course, have their own cantonments.

10,000 For National Movement Or Against P

Thus the strike was crushed, and the newly roused patriotic fervour of Bihar's Policemen received a cruel blow.

The Congress Ministry had the opportunity of winning for the National cause ten thousand men if it had stood by them, instead of with the hated high officials.

Even now, if it really changes its attitude towards the constables, and examines their demands with the same sympathy as shown by the Congress in Delhi in exactly similar circumstances, then it can help to pave the way for that unity between the civilians, the Police and the Army, which is so essential for our Freedom Movement.

COMMUNIST

M. L. A.s

Details Of Polling Figures

(1) Bombay Textile Trade Union	
S. A. Dange (Communist) ..	4,742
M. Y. Nuri (Congress) ..	4,019
(2) Bombay Railway Trade Union	
Shiv Vishal	
(Communist) Elected Unopposed	
In the Electoral College (total strength—73) which finally elected the candidates:	
No. of Communist delegates ..	35
No. of Congress delegates ..	34
Votes polled in Primary Elections for the Electoral College:	
Communist ..	3,904
Congress ..	2,100
(3) Bengal Railway Trade Union	
Jyoti Basu (Communist) ..	87
Humayun Kabir (Congress) ..	79
Votes polled in Primary Elections for the Electoral College:	
Communist ..	over 10,000
Humayun Kabir ..	9,000
(4) Darjeeling Tea Gardens (Bengal)	
Rattanlal Brahman (Communist) ..	1,118
Congress ..	76
Independent ..	126
(Both Congress and Independent candidates lost their deposits).	
(5) Dinajpur General (Scheduled Castes) (Bengal)	
Rup Narain Roy (Communist) ..	35,127
Harendra Nath Roy (Congress) ..	30,539
(6) Madras Railway Trade Union	
K. A. Nambiar (Communist) 12,974	
V. K. Adikesavalu (Congress) 5,011	
(7) West Godavari Factory Labour (Andhra)	
P. Venkateswarlu (Communist) ..	6,368
M. A. Chitti (Congress) ..	6,107
(8) Northern Circar Indian Christian (Andhra)	
T. J. M. Wilson (Independent, supported by Communist Party) ..	9,408
J. Samuel (Congress) ..	5,841

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

Pt. Nehru Feted In Malaya, Banned Entry Into Burma!

PANDIT NEHRU was entertained and feted by MOUNTBATTEN in Malaya, but was refused permission to enter Burma. British Imperialism rules in both the countries, yet two opposite attitudes were adopted vis-a-vis Pandit Nehru.

I have just learnt from a source close to important official circles how it was that Imperialism's minions decided on this sharply contradictory policy.

It seems that when Nehru applied for permission to visit Malaya, New Delhi consulted Whitehall, sending along with the application the full text of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on Malaya and Burma, passed at its Calcutta meeting in December.

The British, needless to say, were alarmed at the prospect of Panditji's visit, for they saw clearly that it would strengthen the anti-Imperialist upsurge in Malaya.

It seems, however, that the Congress Working Committee resolution reassured the British, because it concentrated on the problem of protection of Indian interests in Malaya and kept mum on the Malayan people's struggle for liberation.

Paradox Explained

The British Government's biggest headache in Malaya is the Chinese population, from among whom has developed the leadership of the anti-British freedom movement. British policy in Malaya today is to isolate the Chinese and to keep the Malayan people divided. (It is a significant fact that the Chinese are to be given the status of aliens under the new British constitutional proposals for a "Malayan Union").

The Empire experts in the "Divide-and-Rule" policy, calculated that if Pandit Nehru went to Malaya and emphasised "Indian interests" during his tour, he would serve to help them in their game of keeping the Chinese and Indians divided.

Basing themselves on this naive calculation, they granted Panditji the

necessary permission. At the same time, they sent detailed instructions to Mountbatten to lavish generous and ostentatious hospitality on the Indian visitor—and to make it appear to the people, as far as possible, that the whole visit was officially sponsored by the British.

Situation In Malaya

The main object was to show the patriotic Malayan and Chinese people that the great Indian National Congress (whose anti-Imperialist struggle had inspired them to action) was now on the best of terms with the British.

Thus it was hoped to soften the anti-British ardour of the people, enhance the "credit" of the British Government in the eyes of ordinary Malaysians and also to keep Indians in Malaya "on the right side."

It was this policy which was carried out by Mountbatten in right earnest. The spectacular Nehru-Mountbatten drive in the open carriage; the shouting by Indian soldiers, in the same breath of the slogans, "Nehru-ki-Jai" and "Mountbatten-ki-Jai"; Panditji's stay at Government House, and all the rest of those startling signs of "Indo-British affection" which were connected with Pandit Nehru's Malayan tour—all this was organised by the Government itself!

Of course, Panditji's speeches were not the simple "Indian interest" appeals, which Imperial experts had expected.

But, I understand, the British were on the whole, "satisfied" with Panditji's tour. Mountbatten's hospitality had certainly done what it was intended to do. Moreover, Panditji, they felt, had only spoken in general terms of the "coming freedom"—but had not even attacked the sinister British plan of a Malayan Union by which the Sultan of Johore and other British stooges will play the role of the Princes in our country. He had not condemned the tin and other foreign Imperialist investments or referred to the anti-Imperialist struggle of the Malayan people, or to the liquidation of the Empire. This, on

the whole, was considered "satisfactory" by the British bureaucrats.

As to the contacts Pandit Nehru made, the British had successfully seen to it that he did not go about with the radical Left-wing Chinese, who are the real leaders of the militant liberation movement, but moved only with loyalist Big Business.

I am reliably told that the reason for the delay in permission for the Congress Medical Mission to go to Malaya was that the British were anxiously watching the effect of Pandit Nehru's tour. It was only after Panditji's tour that the 'line clear' was given to the Medical Mission. The Government had planned to hold up the Medical Mission if the Congress leader's tour proved dangerous to British Imperial interests in Malaya.

Situation In Burma

It was quite a different story in Burma. Here there is a complete deadlock between the entire people, represented by the anti-Fascist People's League, and the British. The Freedom Movement is mature and united.

This meant clearly that no amount of British tricks could prevent Pandit Nehru, if he toured Burma, from building up those firm links between the Indian and Burmese Freedom Movements which the Imperialists most dread. And so they refused Panditji permission to enter Burma.

How right were their fears was seen when Panditji had to spend a night in Rangoon owing to bad weather. A brief interview with General AUNG SAN (President of the Anti-Fascist People's League) resulted in the maturing of the proposal for a Conference of representatives of the Asiatic peoples.

Such a Conference will go far to unite all freedom forces in Asia against the British.

Imperialism's policy in Malaya and Burma is guided by exactly the same motive: to hang on to the Empire. Mountbatten's hospitality which has proudly been splashed in the entire Nationalist Press in our country—and the Burma Government's ban on Panditji's entry—are both part of one and the same game.

-Romesh Chandra

'TRANSFER OF POWER' COMING--CONGRESS HOPES

ANTI-HINDU TIRADE AT LEAGUE MLAs CONVENTION

Sunday, April 7th

THE League Legislators' Convention assembled today in the Arabic College where a big shamiana has been put up. With a mosque in the background and dull-green decorations and over 400 Legislators, with an average age of 45, it presented a sombre appearance. Though due to begin at half-past four, it was delayed by nearly an hour and a half and a foreign correspondent humorously remarked, "If you cannot run a Convention, how will you run a nation?"

Great excitement was caused by the entry of three sturdy Akalis. The hopeful announcement was made that Master Tara Singh had come. It was not Tara Singh, however, but Giani Kartar Singh, the reputed brain and right-hand man of the Akali leader. The Akalis seem to have been deputed to spite Nehru and assert the Akalis' independent position between the Congress and the League, and assert their desire to do just what they please.

Talk With London 'Times' Correspondent

I met Holborn, the correspondent of the London Times. He greeted me with "What brings you here?" I replied, "The same thing that keeps you here." We discussed political developments and Holborn said that the Congress was coming round to the acceptance of modified Pakistan and things were very hopeful.

I said that it did not appear to be so. He explained that the Congress was bound to realise that it was far better to have a strong Centre for its own area and leave the Muslim areas alone. "After all, it is unwise to keep them in and have a weak Centre."

I asked him on what lines he envisaged the solution. He replied that there would be two Centres, and Pakistan and Hindustan would enter into separate agreements with Britain. I asked him how Defence would be safeguarded and co-ordinated. He replied that a sort of a general staff could be set up for the purpose.

Regarding the Princes, he said that they realised that the British armies would not be there to help them, and they (the Princes) would have to fall in line, and the States in Hindustan and Pakistan would be part of their own centres.

I asked whether this meant complete withdrawal of the British troops from India. He said that they would be there, but purely for defence and not for internal security.

More Light On Modified Coupland Plan

This is the latest modification of the old Coupland Plan. In last week's despatch, I referred to the new edition of Coupland's book. The main modification to make it acceptable to Liberal and Labour circles is the dropping of a separate Federation of Princely India, to keep the States inside both the Pakistan and Hindustan Federations as Trojan Horses for British interest.

I also met Tamhankar of the London Reynolds' News, and he maintained that the Cabinet Mission was determined on the transference of power, and this would be done to the Congress if no agreement with the League was reached. He was annoyed at the mention of Coupland, and said, "He is a dead man politically. I met him in England and he knows nothing of India." To this, Mani, editor of Hitayada, retorted: "He may not know India, but he knows what his masters want."

was welcomed by full-throated voices from the visitors and delegates.

Mr. Jinnah's Speech At Convention

Jinnah's speech followed his usual anti-Congress line and he declared that if the Congress demands were conceded, Muslims would not only be under the yoke of Hindus, but of the present Congress Junta.

Conscious of the League's strength, he came round a bit and declared that the League would consider the question of co-operating in an Interim Government provided Pakistan was accepted in principle and a clear undertaking was given to implement it without delay. He declared that Muslims would resist if the British yielded to the Congress demand.

The spirit of the Convention was seen in a streamer slogan, which was prominently displayed which announced:

"We are determined to fight and fight to the last ditch for rights to which we are entitled in spite of the British or Congress."

Mr. Jinnah also declared that the National Government of the Congress conception, if set up

All younger Pressmen were thoroughly dissatisfied.

Tuesday, April 9th

I LEARNT today that in the Subjects' Committee of the League Convention, attempts were made to modify the six Provinces' demand in a just and equitable manner by the omission of Ambala and Assam. Mr. Jinnah, it is reported, told the movers: "You are not good diplomats. You do not know these banias. Don't say any such thing now." On which my informant commented, "Where politics is reduced to bazaar bargaining, only a khoja can be a match for a bania."

Mr. Jinnah Overrules League Progressives

I also reliably understand that inside the Subjects' Committee, there was a dispute between Abul Hashim of Bengal and Jinnah Sahib on the question of whether Pakistan would be one State or two States, one in the North-West and another in the North-East.

Abul Hashim, supported by Hasrat Mohani and some Punjab delegates, maintained that the Lahore Resolution contemplated more than one sovereign State comprising the Pakistan

Federation. I understand that Jinnah Sahib opposed this and said that it would be only one State. "Constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign States," Hashim quoted the Lahore resolution. Jinnah Sahib is reported to have declared in annoyance: "If that is so we will change that part of the Resolution."

After a prolonged discussion it seems Abul Hashim agreed not to pursue the matter on the plea that these matters could be settled later, and today the urgency needed that the Muslims should present a solid united front in view of the Congress attitude and the Cabinet Mission's presence here.

Jinnah Sahib is probably unaware that in this matter he takes up the same blind attitude as the Congress leaders take towards the League demand. In both cases the claims to sovereignty by the constituent national units is interpreted as a blow to unity.

Regarding Congress - League differences, N. M. Joshi is reported to have said that there was little likelihood of an agreement, and it was far better for the Mission to give its Award as proof of its sincerity about granting freedom to India.

Wednesday, April 10th

AFTER the ending of the Convention, the League Council this morning met and passed several resolutions on the position of Indians in South Africa, the struggle of the Indonesians for freedom, etc.

It was quite interesting to watch Mr. Jinnah when Chundrigar (President, Bombay Muslim League) moved a resolution on the S. African Ghetto Bill and said that it was an intolerable affront to Indians everywhere. Only a few days ago, Mr. Jinnah had said that he was not an Indian at all, but a member of the Muslim nation. Jinnah seemed to be unaffected by the crass contradiction between the League position and his statements, but then Mr. Jinnah, lawyer-like, believes that one wins one's case by strong, even though illogical, arguments.

Hands Off Indonesia - League Demands

Mumtaz Daultana, who seconded the resolution on Indonesia, was the only one in the entire League Session who said that if Indian troops were not withdrawn altogether, "Hindus and Muslims, who, whatever their differences may be, wanted freedom for all, would not tolerate it."

Saadullah (former Assam Premier), who moved a resolution against the Line System in Assam was hard put to balancing the legitimate demands of the Assamese and the unjust demands of the League. He said that while generally speaking the system should go, East Bengal Muslims are trying to close in on professional grazing land and that "Assam Government is under moral obligation to provide sufficient pasture."

He justified the removal of those who had newly encroached over such land and hinted that the Muslim League High Com-

mand wanted him to resist this and protect all those who had been there for one year.

Neither Saadullah nor any other Leaguer made the slightest reference to the shooting down of Bengali immigrants when he was the League Premier.

'Power Coming', Says Gandhiji's Messenger

Going to Gandhiji's camp at the Valmiki temple, I found that Cripps had been closetted with Gandhiji for over an hour. Much speculation had been afoot since four this evening when the Cabinet Mission had handed out the announcement that the decisive phase of the negotiations was beginning, that the Indian leaders should pool their wisdom to devise a solution acceptable to all sides and that decisive inter-party consultations should be undertaken.

I asked Sudhir Ghosh, Gandhiji's trusted messenger, what he thought. He said that the transference of power was certain and the Mission was trying its best to get an agreement, failing which it would just hand over power to an Indian Government to which it would transfer the responsibility of solving the problem. He was very hopeful.

I learn that Cripps is likely to bring about a Gandhi-Jinnah meeting sometime next week.

Thursday, April 11th

FROM circles close to Maulana Asad, I learn that in private conversation, he is saying that power is definitely going to be transferred and that the 25th will be the date of decision.

Congress President's View

As during the Cripps negotiations in 1942, names are already being mentioned of prospective Congress Ministers at the Centre. It is said that Nehru, Patel and Rajendra Prasad are the likely Ministers, and Asaf Ali might be sent as Ambassador to the U.S.A.

Referring to the League, Asad is reported to have said that the Congress had repeatedly attempted to come to a settlement but there were some who were impressed only by strong action and not by sweet words. "We will deal with them properly," he said.

In contrast to such blind and glib talk of fratricidal warfare by leaders is the average sentiment of the common man. I met my laundry-owner who asked, "Is there any chance of agreement between the Congress and the League?" I said "No," and he observed,

"They have kept no ground for agreement--this is a proof of their incompetence. Instead they are only rousing Hindus and Muslims against each other. It is a horrible situation."

Friday, April 12th

THE morning papers published reports of the Congress Working Committee discussions on the question of a "Confederation". During the last 24 hours, this word has been bandied about much. Some Pressmen say that the Congress would under no circumstances agree; others that they might finally consent to this idea.

Today Asad, Patel and other Congress leaders, vehemently denied that the Working Committee had discussed the "Confederation" idea. Their very vehemence has led many Pressmen to the conclusion that this was and probably is still being discussed.

This evening at the Imperial Hotel, Jayakar and the Liberal Hindus of the Sapru Committee held a Press Conference. Jayakar spoke for a long time and conjured up all kinds of ima-

OUR REPORTER, A. S. R. CHARI'S DELHI DIARY

by the British, would not hold out for 48 hours.

Monday, April 8th

I LEARNT today that Dr. Ambedkar representing the Scheduled Castes made a strong case for separate electorate by showing that the candidates chosen by the overwhelming majority of Scheduled Caste votes in the Primary elections were wiped out by the mass Caste Hindu vote in the General elections. For the rest, his demands followed the lines of the Scheduled Castes Federation resolutions at Madras.

Sardar Patel Gives Line At Birla's Party

In the evening, about a hundred Pressmen were invited by Birla to an "At Home" to meet Sardar Patel. When I arrived there, I found Birla himself welcoming the guests and glad and proud that he had the strong man of the Congress safely on his side.

Within a few minutes of our arrival, most of us discovered that the "At Home" was a blind and that in fact it was a Press Conference. We assembled in the main hall of the Birla House where on the desk were only two photographs holding the pride of place. On going nearer, I discovered that they were of Lord Halifax and Churchill, two of the worst diehard Tories and enemies of India.

I was reminded immediately of the statement Birla had made during the British general elections, when he had said that a Tory Government was likely to be more friendly to Indian aspirations than a Labour Government, thus revealing his real mind.

But as soon as the proceedings began, Sardar Patel said that though he would answer any question put to him, nothing that he said should be published. It was clear that the Conference had been called primarily to lay down the line for the Nationalist papers: "No compromise over the Pakistan demand and full faith in British sincerity."

Federation. I understand that Jinnah Sahib opposed this and said that it would be only one State. "Constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign States," Hashim quoted the Lahore resolution. Jinnah Sahib is reported to have declared in annoyance: "If that is so we will change that part of the Resolution."

After a prolonged discussion it seems Abul Hashim agreed not to pursue the matter on the plea that these matters could be settled later, and today the urgency needed that the Muslims should present a solid united front in view of the Congress attitude and the Cabinet Mission's presence here.

Jinnah Sahib is probably unaware that in this matter he takes up the same blind attitude as the Congress leaders take towards the League demand. In both cases the claims to sovereignty by the constituent national units is interpreted as a blow to unity.

Suhrawardy-Noon Bluster

In the League Convention today, Bengal's Suhrawardy made a rabid communal demagogic speech. "Our demand for six Provinces is very modest and just," declared Suhrawardy, and said that this was the League's latest but not the last demand. The appalling state of communal tension that exists at present was shown by the repeated cheering that punctuated every bitterly anti-Hindu statement.

I was reminded of the manner in which the Congress supporters at the Bombay A.I.C.C. had cheered every anti-League outburst of Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru.

In the evening session of the Convention, Feroz Khan Noon went one better than Suhrawardy in order to hide his lifelong toadying under strong words. He threatened the Hindus by saying that if Britain transferred power to a Central Government or Hindu Raj, then what the Muslims would do, would make everything that Chengis Khan had done pale into insignificance. He threa-

PALME DUTT MEETS INDIAN PRESSMEN

--Two Paths Before National Movement Today --India One Nation Or Multi-National? *

ON the evening of the 11th April, RAJANI PALME DUTT, the British Communist leader, met over 50 Pressmen at the Pataudi House. None except a small bunch of blind anti-Communists regard him as only a Press Correspondent. His books on India and his fight against Amery were known to everyone. A. D. Mani, editor of Hitavada, introduced Palme Dutt, who told Pressmen how Labour progressive opinion in Britain regarded the Cabinet Mission.

Soviet Imperialism In Iran?

The question hour was lively as Birla's editors, Santanam and Durgadas, divided the job of putting anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-League questions. Santanam declared that while mindful of Anglo-American Imperialism he was "nervous about the new Imperialism of the Soviet, particularly as evidenced in Iran and elsewhere."

Palme Dutt said in reply that the word Imperialism was being used with utter vagueness, that Imperialism was the operation of Finance-Capital, and gave a lucid exposition of the Iranian question and told Santanam that his alarm was pointed in the wrong direction. British oil interests, and recently American oil interests, were going all-out to bolster up reactionary elements in the Iranian ruling class and an oil agreement with the Soviet Union represented a new force which supported democratic forces.

"We ought to be glad that at last there is something strong enough to defeat reaction and its intrigues."

Red Baiting Or United Front

Palme Dutt warned that in the present phase of intense emotional annoyance against the Communists, the National movement can move along two paths. One is Red-baiting and the experience of every country proves that once this path is taken, it destroys the democratic movement altogether. The other path is the path of understanding and agreement with the international and growing Communist movements.

It was the only way for peaceful and orderly development, going through the present phase of National freedom, advancing through unity and according to the degree of preparedness of the people, towards a Socialist India.

Communists And Pakistan

Referring to Pakistan, Palme Dutt said that the question should be approached from a democratic and not a religious or communal point of view, and that the Communist Party of India had made a big contribution in putting forward the new idea.

The Indian problem can be understood only on the basis of recognising India as a multinational country.

Dutt also warned against the outbreak of violence among parties during elections. This was a dangerous tendency opposed to the interests of democratic development, and should be checked by the leaders of all parties.

Almost every Pressman I met expressed himself as very much satisfied with the Conference and admired Palme Dutt's lucid and clear-cut exposition.

Bombay, 15th April, 1946.

A. S. R. Charl.

Independence Forthwith, Withdraw British Troops

INDIAN DIFFERENCES OUR OWN AFFAIR, NEGOTIATE WITH FREE PROVISIONAL GOVT.

1. Declaration Of Independence

The foremost desire of all Indians today is the immediate ending of British rule which has meant for them economic degradation and political slavery. Two centuries of British rule with its record of brutal suppression of the Indian people and of famine, destitution and poverty for the mass of people, has convinced every Indian that there is no decent existence possible for him unless the British overlordship over India is ended. Successive British Governments, who have not hesitated to break their pledged word, have shattered the faith of the Indian people in the willingness of Britain to transfer power.

The Communist Party, therefore, will judge the Cabinet Mission only by its practice and the first proof of sincerity that they demand is an unequivocal and unambiguous declaration recognising Indian independence and Indian sovereignty.

In further proof of its sincerity, the British Government should declare its determination to effect within six months the total withdrawal of British troops from all Indian territory, including the States.

Such a declaration should be made and implemented irrespective of the fact whether India's political parties have settled their differences. The question of Indian unity is an internal question to be settled by the people themselves. It cannot be made an excuse for the refusal of Britain to transfer power. The withdrawal of British troops and the recognition of India's sovereignty must begin forthwith and the following measures should be taken to achieve the same:

2. Transfer Of Power

Establishment of a Provisional Government, based on main popular parties. We think that the best course would be an agreement between the Congress and the League for parity in the Government and for adequate representation to minorities.

All the powers vested in the British Government and the King Emperor as the paramount and sovereign power vis-a-vis the Indian States and the present Indian Government as well as all special powers vested in the Viceroy and the Governors must be forthwith ended. This alone will enable the Provisional Government freely to negotiate with the British Government on the basis of equality and to be in a position to deal with the question of the Indian Princes and the States and their future place in a free India.

3. Function Of The Provisional Govt.

- (i) The main task of the Provisional Government will be to convene a Constituent Assembly within six months of its establishment and ensure that the elections to the Assembly are free and democratic.
(ii) The Provisional Government would be responsible to the Constituent Assembly when the latter comes into existence, as stated below and in the meanwhile it would not lie within its competence to commit India to any political, economic or military treaty with any power.
(iii) The Provisional Government should prepare a treaty to be negotiated with the British Government for the prompt payment of

sterling balances and mutual trade relations, subject to its final ratification by the all-India Constituent Assembly.

4. Constituent Assembly

It is the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution and it is in the Indian people alone that full sovereignty is vested.

The Constitution-making Body envisaged by the British Government is undemocratic, as it will be formed by election of delegates by the members of the Provincial Assemblies, on the basis of indirect election. The existing Provincial Assemblies based on a narrow franchise keep the vast majority of the people out of power.

5. Self-Determination

The acute differences between the Congress and the League on the issue of Constituent Assembly can only be settled by the just application of the principle of self-determination.

We suggest that the Provisional Government should be charged with the task of setting up a Boundaries Commission to redraw the boundaries on the basis of natural ancient homelands of every people, so that the redemarcated Provinces become as far as possible linguistically and culturally homogeneous National Units, e.g., Sind, Pathanland, Baluchistan, Western Punjab, etc.* The peo-

*The following is the comprehensive list of the National Units that will come into existence as suggested above and after the dissolution of the Indian States as contemplated under section 5--viz: Tamilnad, Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujerat, Rajasthan, Sind, Baluchistan, Pathanland, Kashmir, Western Punjab, Central Punjab, Hindustan, Bihar, Assam, Bengal, Orissa.

ple of each such unit should have the unfettered right of self-determination, i.e., the right to decide freely whether they join the Indian Union or form a separate sovereign state or another Indian Union.

The elections to the Constituent Assembly should, therefore, be based on recognition of this fundamental right and during the elections the question of separation or union should be put by the political parties to the people. The delegates elected from each National Unit shall decide by a majority whether they will join the all-India Constituent Assembly to form an Indian Union or remain out and form a separate sovereign state by themselves or join another Indian Union.

The Communist Party stands for a free, voluntary democratic Indian Union of sovereign units. It is firmly convinced that the best interests of the Indian masses will be served by their remaining together in one common union in a common brotherhood to defend the freedom and solve the problems of poverty which require the co-operation of all. It is only on the basis of the application of the principle of self-determination as indicated above that Indian unity can be preserved.

6. States

The Indian people are determined to put an end to the Princes' autocracy which holds sway over one-third of India. Indian freedom and Indian democracy will have no meaning, in fact, they will be constantly endangered, if one-third of India is allowed to remain under the yoke of these medieval autocrats. The Princes are the creation of the British Government, and have been in the past and are today maintained by British bayonets as a useful prop to British rule. India regards the

so-called treaties and obligations of the British Government as merely a conspiracy against Indian democracy. There should be, therefore, no question of inviting the Princes to share power in the interim government or of allowing them any share in determining the decisions of the Constituent Assembly.

The peoples of the Indian States should, therefore, have the same rights and franchise as the rest of the Indian people. The peoples of each state should have the full right to decide through a freely-elected Constituent Assembly whether they should join the Indian Union as a separate Province or join any particular reconstituted Province, inhabited by people of the same nationality.

7. Civil Liberties

Normally when the independence of a country is to be discussed, an essential precondition to the opening of discussions should be the restoration of complete civil liberties and a general amnesty for all political prisoners. The Communist Party has noted that whatever is being done at present, is full of hesitation and discrimination.

The Communist Party, therefore, demands:

- (i) the immediate release of all political prisoners including those convicted of terrorist offences and in particular the Bengal pre-reform prisoners, many of whom have been in jail for more than fifteen years;
(ii) the immediate release of all Indians belonging to the Army, Navy and Air Force who have been imprisoned or convicted in connection with the recent strikes;
(iii) the immediate release of all soldiers of the Azad Hind Fauj (Indian National Army) still in prison and of all Indians in the Armed Forces who during the past six years have been convicted or detained on account of their political activities;
(iv) the immediate lifting of the ban on all political parties (e.g., Congress Socialist Party, Forward Bloc, etc.) that still remain illegal;
(v) the immediate restoration of full civil liberties to the entire people, including the cessation of arrests of political workers and of demands from newspapers for security, etc., actions which, in particular, are being increasingly directed at members and newspapers of the Communist Party.

8. Conclusion

The Communist Party is of the opinion that only if the British Government proceeds along the lines laid down in this Memorandum, will it be able to achieve stable democratic settlement between the Indian people and the British people on the basis of equality, thus solving one of the knottiest problems of world security and peace among peoples.

Any attempt, however, to exploit the differences among the Indian people, to impose an arbitrary partition, and to retain the Princes in order to perpetuate British domination will be resisted by the Indian people with all the strength at their command.

Congress Leader Gives Inside News

CABINET MISSION'S TENTATIVE PROPOSALS

--From Our Political Correspondent

ACCORDING to an important Congress leader, who met the Cabinet Mission, certain tentative proposals are being placed before both the Congress and League leaders. These proposals are:

- (1) A Treaty recognising "Indian Independence."
(2) The setting up of a 'Joint Indo-British Commission for Defence'. (a high-sounding name for the retention of the British Army in India).
(3) The formation of a Central Interim Government with one representative elected by each of the eleven Legislatures, plus four to be nominated by the Viceroy to safeguard the interests of minorities.
(4) A Constitution-making Body consisting of the following: representatives from each of the Provincial Legislatures on a one-tenth basis; some "outstanding leaders"; and the representatives of the Princes.

(I understand Pandit Nehru is insisting that of the States' representatives at least half should be elected by the people;

half may be nominated by the rulers).

(5) Each Province will have the right to keep out of the Indian Union after forming the Constitution-making Body.

I also understand from the same source that the Cabinet Ministers have told Mr. Jinnah that Pakistan, if at all formed, could consist only of Sind, the Punjab, East Bengal and Assam, and neither the North-West Frontier Province (because of the election results) nor the Hindu Western Bengal could be included in it.

Mr. Jinnah, it seems, is insisting that Pakistan should be recognised now.

The Congress in turn is insisting that a United Indian Government should be allowed to work for five years, and if it fails to satisfy the Muslims, they may have Pakistan after that.

Cripps is suggesting that the Congress should recognise Pakistan on the one hand, while on the other, the League, after that recognition, should agree to work an 'Indian Union' for an interim period.

This is how matters stand at present in New Delhi.

FRATRICIDAL STRIFE FOR UNJUST DEMANDS CANNOT LEAD TO FREEDOM

"Any attempt to impose a Constitution on a United Indian basis or to force any interim arrangement at Centre contrary to the Muslim League demand will leave the Muslims no alternative but to resist such imposition by all possible means for their survival and national existence." (Resolution passed at the Muslim League Legislators' Convention, Delhi, April 9).

"If we find that we have to fight Great Britain for placing us under one Central Government or Hindu Raj, then the havoc which the Muslims will play will put to shame what Chengiz Khan and Hulaku did" (Sir Feroz Khan Noon's speech at the Delhi Convention, April 9).

"If the British accept the fraudulent claim of the Hindu Congress to proprietary rights over the homelands of the Mussalmans, there being no higher court of constitutional appeal against such an unjust award the only appeal can be and will be to those various instruments, more solid than petitions written with ink on paper, by which man has settled his disputes with man since the beginning of Universe,—whether Muslims 'like it or not.' It is not a question of their desiring it, but the conditions are such." (Dawn, April 6).

"If the British Government imposes a Constitution on India without satisfying the Muslim League, solely to appease the majority party, the Muslims will blow it up, even though it may mean civil war or open revolt." (Khilafat, Bombay Urdu daily, March 25).

"If Pakistan is not conceded to Muslims then their political death becomes a certainty. And when we are faced with political death, then why should we not die after a trial of strength? If we adopt the latter course it may lead to a new life." (Asre Jaded, Calcutta Urdu daily, April 1).

"If power were transferred to Indians, there will be no danger of any trouble—or shall I say serious trouble. We must always expect trouble of some kind." (Sardar Patel, Bombay, March 22).

"I would like to see Mr. Jinnah call for a revolt in India." (Pandit Nehru, Singapore, March 20).

THE quotations given above show how rapidly the communal situation in the country is deteriorating. Our two major political organisations have begun to talk about civil war and bloodshed as if it is the inevitable fate of our people.

Threat Of Struggle Genuine

To think that League's threat of struggle is not genuine, is to be blind to realities. The entire League Press and the entire League leadership are with one voice calling upon the Mussalmans to prepare for the worst. A Feroz Khan Noon may make an ass of himself by talking about Chengiz Khan and Hulaku (medieval Central Asian pagan tyrants who annihilated and destroyed flourishing Muslim States and civilisation centred round Bokhara, Samarkand and Baghdad!), but the fact nevertheless remains that an overwhelming majority of Muslim

Leaguers from top to bottom are beginning to believe that there is going to be a settlement at the cost of the Muslims, between the British Government and the Congress, and that, therefore, the only course left open to them to achieve their cherished goal of Pakistan is to go in for "struggle."

What form the "struggle" would take, no one knows, but that it would be a war to the bitter end—about this all seem to agree. In the words of Dawn: "One hundred million Mussalmans will be fighting in every manner and by every means available to them, convinced that rather than live in the hell of Akhand Hindustan, it would be far more preferable and glorious to pass into heaven as 'shaheeds' or martyrs in the cause of Islam." (March 23).

This and no other is the prospect held out before the Mussalmans by the League leadership. It would be foolish to

deny the seriousness of the situation, both for the Muslims and for India as a whole.

Slogans Of Struggle

What are the slogans of the struggle threatened by the League? What are the objectives for which the Muslims are called upon to lay down their lives?

For the right to form a separate sovereign State of their own consisting of the six Provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. These, the League asserts, must have a Constituent Assembly of their own. These are "Muslim homelands," according to the League, and a majority of the Muslims living in these areas have already expressed their will to this effect. Moreover, the Muslims in other parts of India also want the same thing.

This claim is wrong. First of all, the Province of the Punjab, as at present constituted, contains large areas which are not Muslim homelands, i.e. the Muslims do not form even a bare majority of the population there—such as the Ambala division and the Central Punjab lying to the East of Lahore.

The Ambala division culturally and linguistically forms part of the Hindustani speaking zone of India.

And in the districts of the Central Punjab, the Sikhs and Hindus constitute a majority. Here also lie the historic Sikh homelands.

Not For Vindication Of Just Rights

It is clear, therefore, that when the League gives the call for "struggle" in the Punjab, it would be a call not for the vindication of the just right of the Muslim majority in Punjab, but also a call for the unjust claim over lands and people whose democratic rights have been flouted.

It is, therefore, inevitable that such a 'struggle' would be resisted by the common non-Muslims of the Eastern and Central Punjab. It would be an unjust fight on the part of the League—and therefore it cannot bring freedom.

It is the same in regard to Assam—a Province where the Muslims are not in a majority.

Another point which has to be taken into consideration is this: in all the areas where the Muslims are in a majority like Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Western Punjab and Bengal, live also non-Muslims—these areas are as much their homelands as those of the Muslims living there.

Is not Bengal as much the homeland of the Hindu Bengali as that of the Muslim Bengali? Are not the Punjab, Sind and the Frontier as much the traditional and cultural homelands of the Hindus living there as of the Muslims? The right of self-determination, therefore, can be justly claimed only by the entire people of a homogenous cultural and linguistic zone—by the Western Punjabis, Sindhis, Pathans, Baluchis, Bengalis (both Hindus and Muslims).

But the League position is that the non-Muslims in these areas should not have a say in the question whether the people of these areas should have a separate sovereign State of their own, or should live as an autonomous unit of an all-India Union. The Muslims alone should decide this vital question.

In Whom Does Sovereignty Reside?

Sovereignty, according to the League, resides not in the entire people, speaking the same language and bound together by a thousand and one historical and cultural ties, but only in a section of the people, viz., the Muslim majority. This position is

palpably unjust and undemocratic.

How, then, is this undemocratic position upheld by the League leadership? By saying that all the Muslims in India constitute one nation—therefore, the areas where the Muslims are living in majorities belong to them alone.

According to this theory, the homeland of a Maratha, Gujarati, U.P. or Malabar Muslim, is not Bombay, or the U.P. or Malabar, where he has lived for generations and to which he is rooted, but it is Lahore or Karachi, or Dacca. He is an alien in the land of his birth, just as much, (according to Mr. Jinnah), as the Punjabi or the Sindhi or the Bengali Hindu would be considered to be an alien in the Punjab or Sind or Bengal!

League Stand Strengthens Reactionaries

The matter has only to be put in this way for its absurdity to become patent.

It is because of this undemocratic objective, that the League today finds itself isolated from millions of freedom-loving non-Muslims. It is because of this that it indirectly strengthens the hands of those reactionary Akhand Hindustan elements inside and outside the Congress, who want to deny the Indian Muslims their legitimate rights.

A demand for the full sovereignty of cultural and linguistic units, including those where the Muslims are in a majority, would have ensured Muslim freedom and rallied all freedom-loving democratic elements in the country; it would have isolated reactionaries in both the Congress and the League camps and helped to forge a united front of all progressive Indians against the British Imperialists.

Instead of that, an insistence on unjust demands leads to the coming on top of the worst reactionaries in both the camps; of splitting the freedom front; of ranging brother against brother, culminating in bitter civil strife and imposition by the British of an

"Award," denying real freedom to all.

Every patriotic Muslim Leaguer has to realise that Muslim freedom is part and parcel of the freedom of India as a whole and that our common enemy is British Imperialism. He should realise that it is the united struggle of the entire Indian people against the present attempts of British Imperialism to dig in the country through the gaping breach in our national united front, which can bring salvation to our suffering people.

If there is to be a struggle, it should be the struggle of all Indians against the common enemy.

It is, therefore, by healing the breach in the united front of all Indians and not by widening it, that we shall achieve freedom.

A struggle based on unjust demands would weaken us all and strengthen our common enemy. It will not convince the Hindu and Sikh masses of the righteousness of the Muslim demands. On the contrary, every town, every village and hamlet in the country would be split into two. The worst reactionaries, both among the Hindus and Muslims, would come on top, as happens during a communal riot.

Only British Would Gain

The common people would suffer—profiteers, blackmarketers and gangsters would become local leaders. All would be at the mercy of corrupt officials and police toughs. Normal political life would become impossible. None of the urgent problems facing our country would be solved. Famine and unemployment would stalk the land. And behind all this and dominating everyone would be British Imperialism.

Therefore, it is only by putting forward just demands, by seeking points of unity and commonness with millions of their freedom-loving non-Muslim fellow countrymen; by eschewing hate-filled propaganda of separatism; by fighting reactionaries in their own camp, and realising that freedom from the British yoke, and the rebuilding of a new life is possible only if we forge a united front of all Indians—that the Muslims will realise their destiny in India.

This and no other is the true struggle for freedom. The other path leads away from the sunshine fields of liberty to the misty gloom of foreign domination.

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(Continued from Page 4.)

ginary horrors, such as Russia prowling up to swallow India, and Pakistan allying itself with Afghanistan and Persia against Hindustan.

It left a very weird feeling as these men of yesterday are going about like Rip Van Winkles living in the past, afraid of the mass of the people. Their whole idea is that the problem is one for constitutional lawyers. They desperately sought to sell the Sapru Committee Report.

One thing stood out: all the Liberals who met the Mission carried the impression that the Mission is likely to concede the League demand in some form.

Saturday, April 13th

At the Chelmsford Club, Pandit Nehru held a Press Conference, this time on behalf of the States' peoples. It was a thoroughly unsatisfactory Conference. Pandit Nehru attempted to put up the case for the States' peoples, as far as possible without hurting the rulers.

Pt. Nehru's Argument To Conciliate Princes

Against the abolition of these feudal autocracies, Pandit Nehru used his pet argument that conciliation with such reactionary vested interests was the path of peace.

Several questions were put by a Travancore States' Congress leader in explaining the "reforms" of C.P. Ramaswamy Iyer. He made it clear that notwith-

standing C.P.'s hypocritical statements about Indian freedom and lining up with the Congress, he had devised a scheme which kept absolute power in his own and the Maharaja's hands.

I returned with the definite feeling that Pandit Nehru was trying to put the States' peoples' case not against the rulers but against the League.

I met a Kashmir State Conference member, who told me that the States' peoples' representatives disliked Congress flirtations with the rulers, but felt themselves too weak to be able to intervene.

The fourth week will see Indian parties quarrelling in the presence of the Cabinet Mission which will try to counsel moderation and reasonableness to both the sides. Desperate attempts will be made by the Mission to get an agreement, falling which it is certain that no power will be transferred, though the problem may be shelved through inviting Congress representatives into the Executive Council. The Viceroy's veto, the armed forces and the old Constitution will continue.

Already broad hints are thrown out by the Nationalists, that once agreement is reached, regarding the transference of Power, constitutional forms do not matter. This just means transferring the fight from Chamber discussions to the city streets.

FOR PREMIERSHIP OF MADRAS

FACTIONAL STRUGGLE AMONG CONGRESS LEADERS

SUPPORT FOR RAJAJI

THERE has been a big influx into Delhi of South Indian Congressmen during the last two or three days. The Congress Premiers of various Provinces met the Cabinet Mission, but Madras was the only exception. There the struggle for power between factional groups had made it impossible for the Congress M.L.A.s to choose their Premier.

Prakasam, Pattabhi and Rajaji, the three names suggested, were taken up for consideration here by Gandhiji, Azad and Patel. Severally and jointly they appealed to the Madras M.L.A.s that they should make a good choice. It seems Prakasam's claims were put aside even at the very start as Gandhiji had received complaints that purses totalling about Rs. 50,000, which Prakasam had received from the public had been spent by him for his personal expenditure. Gandhiji, I learn, said, "Far from aspiring to a Congress Premiership, such a man should have resigned his membership of the Congress."

As for Pattabhi, he has no parliamentary experience of any kind, and, as Prakasam said, every argument against Prakasam was equally applicable against Pattabhi, for he too had used his position in the Congress for monetary advantages.

It is admitted on all hands, and even by Madhava Menon, in private talks that Rajaji alone could lead the Madras Ministry. Commending Rajaji, it seems Gandhiji said,

"The Congress Premier should be like Caesar's wife, above suspicion. He must be able to lead the Ministry in a difficult period when the food situation is very bad and disturbances are very likely."

Some Harijan M.L.A.s are reported to have told Gandhiji that Rajaji alone would be the desirable choice from the Harijan point of view.

The question of Madras Premiership is still unsettled. Everybody, including President Azad, is completely disgusted. Pattabhi and Prakasam, each of whom had abused the other, and both together Rajaji, to get the Premiership, are behaving in an outrageous manner.

Several Pressmen marked that at the Birla House, Pattabhi and Prakasam scrupulously turned their backs on each other. At the Andhra Club both had been invited for the Ramnavami festival. Pattabhi was the first to arrive and was quite cheerful, but as soon as Prakasam entered, he became silent and left soon after.

—From A. S. R. Chari

7,704 seats and majorities in 456 communes, while the Right won 7,607 seats and majorities in 415 communes.

British Foreign Minister, Bevin, in his latest statement has glibly stated that the objective of the elections was to enable the formation of a popular government, responsible to the people and thus pave the way for the withdrawal of British troops.

● **Undemocratic Elections In Japan**
 ● **Fight For New Constitution In France**
 ● **Left Gains In Italian Municipal Elections**

AS in Greece, so in Japan, the elections have been held, despite the protests and criticisms of democrats of every country.

Again, as in Greece, the elections have resulted in a complete victory for reaction. With the results of more than two-thirds of the seats declared, the 'Liberals' and 'Progressives'—with the Independents—have already won a decisive majority

General MacArthur, who carried through the election in the teeth of bitter protests from the Soviet, Australian and New Zealand delegates on the Far Eastern Commission, has said that "the new Japanese Parliament will probably be the most truly responsible body to the will of the people that has ever existed in Japan."

The facts, however, completely contradict this facile statement; on page 12 we are printing an article from the Soviet paper, *Izvestia*, which shows clearly that Japan's Imperialists still retain their power, and the elections under such conditions could only be undemocratic, and lead to their 'victory'.

Old Guard Remains

This view has been confirmed by the well-known British Liberal papers, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman and Nation*.

"The Japanese bureaucracy," writes the *Manchester Guardian*, "still clings to power and there is a strong suspicion that if some are 'purged', it is often their relatives who take their place."

"The parties with the most candidates and most money are precisely those, like the Progressive Party, which carry on the old conservative tradition under new names. The electoral law also favours middle-classes against workers."

Andrew Roth also, a well-known U.S. Far Eastern expert, described in the *New Statesman and Nation* how the Government of Baron Shidehara (himself a brother-in-law of Baron Isawaki, the head of the giant industrial monopoly, Mitsubishi) has retained the old Fascist Police force almost in toto, including even the "thought-control" Police who are now described as "Food Inspectors" and the like!

Japan's "canny and ruthless ruling-group," he sums up, "has managed to keep its hands on more than enough power to rank with France as a source of infection in an already poisoned international atmosphere."

Roth reveals that the Japanese Fascists are busy approaching American Generals with proposals to restore a "small Japanese army to fight the Russians, and argue against freedom of speech and organisation on the

ground that it will benefit the Communists."

There is no doubt, therefore, that the danger of a resurgence of Fascism in Japan has by no means disappeared. Rather MacArthur's obstinate refusal to postpone the elections only shows that reactionary groups in the U.S. are toying with the dangerous idea of using Japanese reaction as a Policeman of the Far East, a Policeman whose help may one day be very useful in crushing the rising democratic movements in China, India, all South-east Asia.

Against Second Chamber For France

THE Constituent Assembly in France is nearing the end of its life. Next month all France will go to the polls to elect new representatives to their Assembly and to register approval or disapproval of the draft of the new constitution that will be submitted to them.

The discussions in the Assembly over the constitution have become increasingly acrimonious.

The Communists from the start have demanded that the supreme authority must be a single-Chamber Assembly, composed of members elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage and proportional representation.

In contrast, the MRP (Popular Republicans) have been fighting for the establishment of a Senate, a second Chamber, composed of representatives elected indirectly by various interests. This second Chamber, they expect, would play the same reactionary role as did the old Senate, and provide a handy instrument for disruption whenever necessary.

Early in March, a compromise was reached—by which a second Chamber was agreed to, but a second Chamber with only consultative powers—i.e., with no powers of legislation; these powers of legislation were to be vested solely in the Assembly.

Later, however, division again appeared over the election of the President.

Correct Communist Stand

Once more the MRP demanded that the undemocratic second Chamber should participate in the election of the President, the members of the second Chamber having the same rights as the members of the Assembly.

This proposal—which obviously was likely to lead to shifting the balance once more in favour of reactionary interests—was bitterly opposed by the Communists—and later by the Socialists also. Even the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* admitted the justness of their opposition when he commented:

"The Communists point out correctly that they have already made very many concessions and they refuse to take a step which would in their eyes go near to recreating a Senate on the 1875 model." (March 11).

Faced with a majority against them on this issue, the MRP withdrew their representative, the Rapporteur (Secretary) of the Constitutional Commission, and it is likely that when the constitution is actually voted upon by the people, the MRP will line up with the Right-wing reactionaries in opposing it.

The refusal of the Socialists to line up with the MRP in opposition to the Communists will, however, ensure that France does have a democratic constitution and the old bases of reaction like the Senate (used for instance to overthrow both Governments of the Popular Front in the days before the war) will disappear.

Socialist-Communist Unity In Italy

THE first major trial of strength in Italy took place in the last week of March and the elections to the Municipal Council and local bodies (communes) provided a dress rehearsal for the major battle during the elections to the Constituent Assembly, to be held next June.

The results of elections for 964 out of a total of 1469 communes showed that the Left-wing won

The elections, however, have clearly revealed that as in France, so in Italy there are only three major parties. On the Left are the Communists and Socialists who fought this election battle unitedly and won majorities in 444 communes, with 7,468 seats; on the Right are the Christian Democrats, who won 5,801 seats and majorities in 318 communes. Between them the three parties won over 85% of the seats and majorities in nearly 80% of the communes.

The strength of the Christian Democrats has been mainly in the South and the rural areas. In contrast almost all the big towns, particularly in the North which was the stronghold of the resistance movement, returned Socialist-Communist majorities. In Genoa, the great Mediterranean port, the Socialist-Communist alliance polled almost twice the number of votes of all the other parties put together. In Bologna, the Communists won an absolute majority, and in Venice, the Socialist-Communist alliance won 32 seats as against the Christian Democrats' 23 with five seats for other parties.

The pseudo-Fascist movement of the Uono Qualunque was decisively defeated, winning only 102 seats and majorities in six communes.

The results of these elections, first to be held under free conditions, show clearly enough which road the Italian people wish to tread. There is no doubt that the unity of the two great working-class parties made a decisive contribution to the defeat of reaction, and that in the coming national elections it is this that will decide the issue and achieve victory for democracy.

British Troops In Greece

THAT the results of the Greek elections have solved nothing despite the fake majority secured by the Monarchists, has become clear already.

Yet, already the *Tory London Times*, believes to be closely associated with Bevin's policy, has admitted that this will be very difficult. It says:

"Either the risk must be faced that withdrawal (of British troops) will lead to civil war or else measures must be taken before withdrawal to place such power in the hands of one party as will enable it to repress opposition by ruthless methods. It does not appear at first sight that the elections have done much to resolve this long-standing dilemma." (April 2).

At the same time Greek Left-wing parties have demanded that the elections be declared null and void as almost half the electorate boycotted them; and the Communist Party has openly stated that it does not recognise the verdict of these elections, which were held on the basis of a false register and put through by Fascist terror backed by British bayonets, and that it is determined to fight the new Government in every way possible.

The *Tory Observer*, consistent spokesman of Imperialist reaction, has, however, shamelessly stated that "in our opinion, British troops should remain in Greece until the situation has become much clearer."

And by 'clearer', the *Observer* obviously means that it wants an assurance that the Royalist-Fascist Government has been firmly established.

Thus all that the elections have done is to give British Imperialism yet another argument for retaining its troops in Greece—and thus keeping Greece as its virtual colony.

April 16, 1946.

In Castle Barracks (Bombay)

One Rating Killed, Six Injured In Mysterious Grenade Explosion Authorities Hiding True Facts

THE Public Relations Officer in Bombay issued a communique on Monday, April 16, in which he told the public that on Saturday, April 13, while "a rating in the Castle Barracks was handling a grenade, the grenade exploded and the rating was killed."

"Five other ratings," the communique goes on, "were saying their prayers at a distance of about 10 yards when the explosion occurred. One was seriously injured and four others slightly injured."

The information that I have gathered on this event has convinced me that the Government version of the incident is not correct.

In fact, the incident occurred at 7-15 p.m. on Saturday, April 13. At that time six Muslim ratings, four Bengalis, one Punjabi and one Assamese were saying their prayers (namaz) on the terrace of a building called the M. T. Barracks.

After completing two portions of the namaz and when about to begin a third portion, a hand-grenade landed in the midst of them; one chief driver (G.P.O., a Bengali) was killed on the spot, the other five were all injured, one of whom (a Chief Stoker, an Assamese) was admitted into the Indian Naval Hospital at Sewri with serious injuries.

Dissatisfaction With Communique

Among the Indian naval ratings in the Castle Barracks—the scene of "the greatest heroism during the naval strike and also of the greatest unity between Hindus and Muslims—there is great discontent both at the

lying communique and also at the slowness with which the authorities are conducting the enquiry.

Stop Press
COMMUNIST WINS
ORISSA
LABOUR SEAT
 By wire.
 From Gangadhar Rath
 CUTTACK, April 17.
 BAIDYANATH RATH, Communist candidate, has won the only Labour Seat in the Orissa Assembly by defeating his Congress rival, MUHAMMAD HANIF, by 2,234 votes to 1,690.
 (Full story next week).

Committee to investigate into the causes of this incident.

What emerges, however, is that the Naval Authorities are concealing the truth—wilfully. Let them answer:

Demand For Impartial Enquiry

* (1) Was the death of the Bengali Petty-officer due to the accidental explosion of a grenade or was the grenade thrown by someone from outside?

* (2) Why do not the Naval Authorities set up an independent unofficial Enquiry Committee to consider the allegations which have been made and the fact that the ratings have lost all confidence in their honesty?

* (3) Why do not the Naval Authorities take the help of the Enquiry Committee set up by the ratings, which has the confidence of all ratings?

* (4) If the hand-grenade incident was a mere accident, then why was it necessary to stop leave to ratings for forty-eight hours—as was done?

* (5) If the hand-grenade incident was a mere accident, then why again was it necessary to search the entire barracks as was done on Sunday?

The incident at the Castle Barracks reveals in a flash that the same rottenness that led to the strike of the Indian Navy of last February still persists. Only a proper non-official Enquiry Committee will really clear up the reasons for the death of the rating and put the responsibility where it should be squarely laid.

To All Communists

CENSUS OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP POSTPONED TO JUNE 1st

DEAR COMRADES,

In last week's *People's Age* we announced that a census of our Party membership should be held on May 1st. We have now decided to postpone the holding of the census to June 1st. Thus:

* (1) The census will be of our entire Party membership as it stands on June 1, 1946, i.e., of all those who are members of our Party on June 1, 1946.

* (2) The filled-up forms must be despatched by the District Secretaries to the Provincial Office by June 15, 1946.

* (3) The Provincial Office must forward its analysis of the membership in its Province by June 30, 1946.

Note these dates carefully and see that they are properly adhered to.

F. C. JOSHI

CEYLON'S NEW CONSTITUTION

--Not Advance Towards Freedom But Slavery In New Form

THE British news agencies are full of talk of "constitutions" and "freedom"; the myth is being assiduously spread that the very democratic new Labour Government is out to transform the Imperialist British Empire into a voluntary commonwealth of free nations—and the Cabinet Mission to India is pointed to as one example of this.

In the People's Age we have given enough and more to show that the Cabinet Mission is not here to give India freedom but to play off the Congress against the League and on the basis of their differences retain key power in Britain's hands—whatever may be the form of constitution.

An All-White Commission

I want to give another example of how this game has been played—the example of Ceylon, which too has been honoured with a new constitution.

This Constitution is based on the SOULBURY REPORT, the report of an all-White Commission, headed by Lord Soulbury, and which included among its members, Bengal's present Governor, F. D. Burrows. The Soulbury Commission met everyone—as all-White Commissions normally do and as the Cabinet Mission is also doing—and finally drew up a report, on the basis of which a new Constitution was drafted for Ceylon.

"(1) As usual in Britain's colonies, defence and external affairs are exclusively the Governor's concern, because 'the Governor-General's powers in a Defence matter of importance should not be circumscribed by the necessity to obtain the concurrence of his ministers.'"

"(2) A lower Chamber composed of members, elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage, from which will be chosen the Ministers.

"(3) But a second Chamber has been created, with the express purpose 'not only to fill the gap created by the diminution of the powers of the Governor, but as a means of averting or minimising any conflict that might arise between the Governor and the Lower House in respect of these powers still left to him.'"

Half the members of the Senate will be elected by indirect election, and half will be nominated by the Governor. The Senate is thus clearly meant to be a safe home for Britain's agents in Ceylon!

"(4) On top of all these safeguards, the Governor will still have powers 'to reserve for the significance of His Majesty's pleasure' (1) a wide range

THE QUESTION OF ARAB UNITY

(Continued from Page 11.)

which is at present in power and which stands for the republican regime.

At present widespread propaganda, supported and fed by the British, is being conducted in favour of "Greater Syria" and a monarchist regime. The British are using this propaganda to bring pressure to bear upon the Nationalist bloc in power, and upon the President of the Syrian Republic, with a view to inducing them to accept the solutions and conditions discussed in London at the Conference of British Ministers in the Near East and at the Anglo-French negotiations in Syria and the Lebanon.

The Communist Parties of Syria and the Lebanon have waged, and are waging, a consistent and implacable struggle against the "Greater Syria" plan, the most dangerous Imperialist, feudal and reactionary plan that has ever threatened our two Republics.

of Bills, which include not only those concerning defence and external affairs, but also those concerning currency, the issue of banknotes and most significantly:

"Any bill whereby the rights and property of British subjects residing in Ceylon may be prejudiced."

Considering that 80 per cent of the tea plantations, 60 per cent of the rubber plantations, ALL the banking and almost all the foreign trade are owned by non-residents, this clause makes it quite clear that the people's representatives will not have any control at all over the major part of the economic and industrial life of their country.

"(5) And in case all these precautions are not enough, there is provision in the Constitution for power to legislate by 'His Majesty in Council.'"

Thus it is clear enough that the proposed Constitution for Ceylon is not "freedom"—but ensures the safety of British rule and exploitation. And it is a striking commentary on the sincerity of its authors, Bevin and Co., who are so free with their eulogies of freedom.

Divide And Rule

Yet the Constitution has been accepted by the leaders of Ceylon's main organisations, the Ceylon National Congress.

And just as the Imperialists hope to do in India, they achieved this in Ceylon through playing neatly upon divisions within the people.

Of Ceylon's six million population, 65 per cent are Sinhalese, about 20 per cent are Indians, and about 15 per cent are made up of Moors, Europeans, etc.

The Sinhalese were made to believe that if they refused to accept the Slave Constitution which did have joint electorates, communal electorates would be imposed and weightage even to minorities; the main organisation of the Sinhalese, the Ceylon National Congress, therefore, afraid of imperilling the size of their dominant majority, accepted the Soulbury Constitution.

It is interesting to note also how—just like the Congress and League leaders in India—the Sinhalese leaders did their best to utilize the need

for 'Imperial' defence (against the Russian menace, I suppose!) to persuade the British to give them more.

"This method (of joint defence)," said Mr. Senanayake, leader of the Ceylon National Congress, on October 2, 1945, "assures Great Britain of a friendly people and a friendly government, another Dominion on the sea and air routes to Australia and New Zealand. It would assure Great Britain of naval and air bases that would dominate the Indian Ocean."

Again as in India, the majority community, Sinhalese, instead of seeking to get agreement, blamed the minority as standing in the way of 'freedom.'

"Everyone knows," said Mr. Senanayake on October 11, 1945, "that it is the Tamil and Indian people who mostly stand in the way of making our Constitution a free one. If any attempts are made to mislead the people by saying that justice should be done to these people, it is our duty to be careful of any such thing."

How easily could these words be put into the mouths of the Congress leaders!

The end of all this was that with the Indians demanding separate electorates (just what the Congress Press in India is condemning vociferously today), no agreement could be reached between Sinhalese and Indians and the British plan went through, and Ceylon remains enslaved, not free.

Lessons For India

All this has plenty of lessons for all Indians who want to learn, for it teaches that:

Britain's loudly-proclaimed desire to grant 'freedom' to all subject people is all eye-wash.

British reaction is playing its traditional game of setting one section of the people against another, and putting through its own plan on the basis of the difference it itself helps to foster.

Unless India's leaders come together, it is the British who will triumph as in Ceylon, and India will get a new Constitution—of course—but a new Constitution of slavery, not freedom.

-M. Kumaramangalam

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In Bhatinda (Patiala State)

NEW CHAPTER IN FREEDOM'S BATTLE

People Strike a Blow For Civil Liberties

Meeting And Demonstration Despite Ban

THE Maharaja of Patiala, aided by the opportunist Akali Party, is busy these days in New Delhi meeting the Congress and League leaders in an effort to carve out "a Sikh State." The Maharaja is being freely tipped as the future ruler of this "Sikh State" by the Akali leaders. But the common people of Patiala, led by their Praja Mandal, have different ideas.

There is a law in Patiala (known as Hidayat No. 88) which forbids the formation without permission of any political or social or even religious organisation and bans all public meetings and processions. Yes—such is "democracy" today under this "modern" Prince who is hobnobbing with the nation's topmost leaders.

On the 10th of March at Bhatinda, the most important town in the State, the people struck a blow at this Fascist law. On this day, a public meeting was announced by the Praja Mandal. Hundreds of citizens gathered at the station to greet Babu BRISH BHAN, Sardar JAGIR SINGH JOGA and other leaders who had come from outside for the meeting.

Arrests And Lathi-Charges

The Police immediately rushed to the spot and forbade the bringing out of a procession. But they were faced by a new people who refused to listen to their orders.

The Police then arrested 55 persons, including, of course, all the leaders. This the authorities expected would mean the prompt dispersal of the crowd. But their calculations were all wrong, and quite the contrary happened. Instead of the arrests making the people run away, hundreds more rushed to the spot and be-

gan shouting slogans, demanding the release of their leaders.

Thrice Patiala's Police made brutal lathi charges, severely injuring many, but the spirit of the people could not be crushed.

The whole town immediately went on hartal as a protest against the Police terror.

Meanwhile, the Police officials tried to browbeat the arrested leaders. They told Babu Brish Bhan, "If you agree not to hold a meeting, we shall release all of you." Of course, Babu Brish Bhan refused to accept any conditions whatsoever.

People's Reply

Outside, the people were growing more and more restless. The Police were forced to release unconditionally all those who have been arrested. Immediately a grand procession was taken through the whole city which culminated in a meeting of well over ten thousand. Never, perhaps, in Bhatinda's whole history had there been such a demonstration.

The meeting severely condemned the Police zooium and demanded the abolition of the autocratic rule in the State.

Throughout Patiala, both in the towns and among the vast mass of tenants in the countryside, a new awakening is taking place, for sweeping away the feudal State structure. The Maharaja of Patiala is seeking a new lease of life with the aid of the Sikh chauvinists of the Akali Party. But the people of Patiala have already given their verdict against him in the Bhatinda demonstrations of March 10th.

In Jind State [Punjab]

STATE INFANTRY MEN ON STRIKE

Demand Same Pay As In Indian Army

ON THE 5TH OF APRIL, 950 MEN OF THE JIND INFANTRY went on hunger-strike in Sangrur (capital of Jind, one of the Punjab Sikh States). On the 8th, they struck work also. One hundred and fifty men of the Training Centre, 200 of the 4th Jind Infantry and 60 women of the strikers' families joined the hunger-strike in sympathy.

FIVE HUNDRED OF THE STRIKERS WERE JAPANESE PRISONERS-OF-WAR in Malaya for four years, before being repatriated home. They had suffered the worst horrors of the Japanese concentration camps, but all that the Jind State offered them was an inam (reward) of Rs. 25 each, whereas many officers who had had a comparatively easy life during the war were given gifts of a thousand rupees each!

The Sepoys refused to take the "rewards" and demanded that as they had suffered equally with other Indian prisoners-of-war, they should be paid for the years in captivity on the same scale as men of the Indian Army (there is a vast difference in the scales of pay in the Indian States' Army and the Indian Army). In addition, the men demanded that in the future they should be paid at the same rates as the Indian Army soldiers.

Hunger-Strike--First Step

For three months the whole regiment has refused to draw its salary. They sent telegrams to the Commander-in-Chief, to the Viceroy, to the Congress and League leaders in the Central Assembly—but no one took the slightest notice of their demands.

With no other course open to them, the soldiers gave notice of a hunger-strike, which they

began on the 5th. After three days, on the 8th, they struck work also.

Repression of the worst kind is anticipated.

The people of Jind are solidly behind their soldier sons. On the 5th a public meeting, under the joint auspices of the Praja Mandal and the Communist Party, passed a resolution pledging full support to the strikers' demands.

Appeal To Indian People

In a letter to the people of India, the strikers "appeal to the great national parties—the Congress, the Muslim League and the Communist Party to give us their full support."

The message concludes with the stirring words:

"Hindustani brothers! Do not forget us. With every drop of our blood we are writing the nation's patriotic history. We pledge by the blood shed commonly by the navy and the people in Bombay that we shall always fight shoulder to shoulder with you in the battle for freedom."

Even After Defeat Imperialists In Control Of State And Economy

Background To Recent Elections And Draft Constitution

[The Japanese general elections of April 10, like the recent Greek elections, show a complete victory for the reactionary parties, the Liberals and Progressives—and for the same reasons. The elections were held despite the demand for postponement until the Japanese people had had more time to test the policies and practice of the various parties and had decided upon a new democratic constitution. This demand of the Left-wing Socialists and Liberals, the Communist Party and working-class and peasant unions, was backed by the recommendation of the Far Eastern Commission, the overall body for control of Japan set-up by the Moscow Conference, in its decision of March 20. But as in British-dominated Greece, MacArthur, the representative of American Imperialism, allowed the Japanese Government to go through with the elections.

The article below from Izvestia, Soviet organ, describes the political set-up in Japan after her surrender, the nature of the present Shidehara Government and why the demand for postponement of elections by the democratic elements in Japan and the Far Eastern Control Commission was justified—EDITOR].

TOWARDS the close of the year 1931, when Japanese Imperialism was preparing its next blow against China in order to seize Manchuria, the Japanese ruling clique was quite worried lest the impatient militarists should show their hand prematurely and thus cause untimely aggravation of relations with the Great Powers.

Diplomatic manoeuvring and camouflage of the preparation for aggression against China became the order of the day. That is why the delicate mission was entrusted to Baron KIJIRO SHIDEHARA, experienced diplomat closely connected with business circles. Accordingly, the period between 1929 and 1931 went down in the history of Japanese diplomacy as the period of the "Shidehara policy."

It is hardly fortuitous that after Japan's defeat in the Second World War, Baron Shidehara's name again appeared in Japan's public life.

Defeat shattered the edifice of Japanese Imperialism but did not raze it to the ground. Political and economic power remained in the hands of the same ruling circles.

Are Unconditional Surrender Terms Being Implemented?

But since there exist terms of unconditional surrender and the occupational authorities and troops are stationed in the country, since the movement against a return to the past and for radical democratisation of the State structure is ever growing among the Japanese people, the Japanese reactionaries have to resort to manoeuvring and to disguising their real aims under a mask of democracy.

Thus the second edition of the "Shidehara policy" has appeared in the world under new conditions and with new aims in view.

Gradual democratisation of the country is the main guarantee for sparing the nations of the world a repetition of Japanese aggression. The militarist police-monarchy representing the interests of the large concerns (Zaibatsu) and the semi-feudal landlords who maintained undivided rule over the country, are the bearers of Japan's aggressive policy.

The directives issued hitherto by the occupation authorities are aimed, if not always consistently, at the elimination of the causes of Japan's aggression. Putting them into effect would mean a certain step forward to the fulfilment of the terms of unconditional surrender. However, the Shidehara Government accepting these directives in words, in reality, is by every means hindering the putting of them into effect.

The directives concerning abolition of the Zaibatsu (the group of the largest concerns) issued by MacArthur four

parties is sufficiently clear from the fact that 270 Deputies out of 272 representing the Progressive Party in Parliament came under MacArthur's directive.

Setting itself as the main task the preservation of Japan's existing reactionary system, the Shidehara Government is utilising the old tested methods of the militarist police-monarchy against the democratisation of the country. One of these methods consists of disrupting the unity of democratic elements who demand the consistent carrying out of the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

What The Democratic Forces Are Doing

The movement is spreading in Japan for the unity of all democratic elements regardless of party affiliations, for the creation of a People's United Front. This movement was initiated by the Communist Party—the only Japanese Party which is free of old traditions and unstained with participation in the reactionary regime. This movement has set itself the task of abolishing the militarist police-monarchy and the unrestricted rule of the monopolists and the feudal landlords, and of building up a real democratic Japan.

of employment—all this goes to prove that millions of electors will come in this category.

The Law also disfranchises persons sentenced to hard labour or imprisonment for political crimes against the militarist police-monarchy. It empowers the Governors to direct the election meetings and legalises police interference in the elections.

However, the Japanese reactionaries do not confine themselves to this. They have included in the Election Law provocative articles challenging the victor Powers, since these articles flagrantly violate the unconditional surrender terms. As is known, Article VIII of the Potsdam Declaration says that "the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be observed and Japanese sovereignty shall be restricted to Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and the small islands in regard to which we shall adopt the decision."

Among the officials who, by nature of their office, cannot participate in the ballot, Article IX of the Election Law enumerates officials of the Governor-Generalships of Korea, Formosa, Kwantung Province and of the administration of the South Sea Islands.

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

months ago, have not been carried out yet. Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and other monopolistic concerns are still controlling the country's economic life.

On top of that, Zaibatsu representatives are continuing to direct Government policy as before. Shidehara himself represents the interests of the Mitsubishi concern, while the Ministry of Finance is headed by the owner of the Daiichi-Ginko concern, Shibusawa.

It is not surprising, therefore, that instead of abolishing such concerns, the Shidehara Cabinet is planning to compensate the damages sustained by industrialists during the war to the sum of 15,000 million yen!

The semi-feudal landlords are dominating agriculture as before. The very modest agrarian reform provided for by MacArthur's directive is not being carried out.

The arrest and punishment of war criminals was, as is well known, one of the main terms of Japan's surrender. Up to now all arrests have actually been made by the American authorities.

Methods To Defeat Their Implementation

The Government itself gave a quite original interpretation of MacArthur's directives, issued on January 4, concerning the purging of the State machine of war criminals and their henchmen. In its opinion, the officials themselves are to decide whether they are subject to such a purge.

Minister of Justice, Iwata, Minister of Home Affairs, Mitsui, Minister of Finance, Shibusawa, Minister of Commerce and Industry, Ogasawara, and Minister without Portfolio, Matsumoto, all of whom fall under the above directives, are still occupying their posts in the Government.

The Liberal Party (Juito) and the Progressive Party (Simpo-to) are the main political organisations supporting the reactionary Shidehara Cabinet. The political nature of these

The initiative of the Communist Party has found a wide response among the democratically-minded sections of the Japanese population. The overwhelming majority of the members of the Socialist Party (Nippon Seikaito) are establishing unity of action in practice, despite the resistance of the Right Wing of its leadership which dreams of a bloc with the reactionary parties and of a policy of parliamentary combinations.

Japan's ruling circles, rallied around the Shidehara Government, have launched a struggle against a united democratic front. Taking advantage of the fact that for many decades the masses have been poisoned with monarchist propaganda, they are trying to profit by the political backwardness. They decided to restrict the growing people's movement for unity by setting up a whole network of small ultra-chauvinist and monarchist organisations speculating on the prejudice concerning the origin of the Emperor.

Govt.'s Election Policy

The Shidehara Government, trying to preserve the reactionary regime by hook or by crook, is hastening to legalise the existing situation, thus precluding the decisive influence of the democratic elements on the country's destiny. With this aim in view, it fixed the general elections for April 10, hoping that by that time the supporters of democratisation will not have succeeded in developing into a force capable of deciding the election results.

The reactionary aims of such hurried elections have also determined the reactionary methods of carrying them out. This is particularly evident in the Election Law prepared by the Government. For instance, Article VI disfranchises persons "receiving State allowances or private relief or support owing to poverty" and "having no permanent domicile."

The unparalleled impoverishment of the masses during the war, the growth of the number of homeless as a result of the destruction of towns, the migration of the population in search

monarchy, headed by the Emperor, was the pivot upon which has hinged the unity of the military clique, the feudal landowners and monopolists, that is, of the bloc directed against the Japanese people.

Under the draft, powers to revise the Constitution, to convoke and dissolve Parliament, to appoint a Prime Minister and Ministers, the power of amnesty, etc., rest with the Government. It preserves the upper chamber under the new name of "Chamber of Counsellors," and thus places the activities of the Lower Chamber elected by popular vote under the control of a hand-picked group.

As to the rights of the people, the draft contains nothing but meaningless words.

The reactionary authors and champions of the draft (including the Liberal and Progressive Parties) give particular publicity to an article saying that Japan rejects war. However, what is the value of this point when the basis of the militarist police-monarchy which bred the Japanese aggressive foreign policy remains unaffected?

Attempt To Preserve War Might Of Japan

The situation which is being crystallised in Japan shows that, dreaming of revenge, the Shidehara Government, under a mask of pseudo-democratic phrasology, takes every measure to preserve a reactionary regime in Japan with a view to restoring the might of Japanese Imperialism. Should such a Government remain in power this would jeopardise fulfilment by Japan of the unconditional surrender terms.

The aim of the elections fixed by the Shidehara Government for April 10 is to give legal status to the present situation on the basis of formal observance of the clause of the Potsdam Declaration on democratisation.

It is, therefore, in the interests of the Japanese people themselves that the elections be postponed so that a real democratic Government can be formed in Japan capable of actually removing "all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people."

Only under the leadership of such a Government can an election law be drafted which will ensure a real expression of the will of the majority of the Japanese people and a new constitution be elaborated which will put an end to the rule of the anti-popular reactionary monarchy.

All peace-loving nations not wishing for a repetition of aggression in the Far East are interested in Japan's real democratisation.

(Soviet Monitor, 29. 3. '46).

The Law also contains an article enumerating the districts in which the elections "temporarily" will not be carried out in view of "special circumstances."

Among these are the "Districts of the Hokkaido Prefecture," Kunsari Etorofu Shikotan and other districts of the Kuriles, which form part of USSR territory.

Relying on the reactionary Election Law, on preserving unchanged the police system and on using the entire old State machine, the Shidehara Government hopes to swing the elections in their own favour and preserve Parliament as a pseudo-democratic appendage to an absolute monarchy.

The election campaign, which commenced with the Government's blessing, has already revealed corruption, nomination of figureheads, etc., characteristic of pre-war elections in Japan.

Under such conditions the elections cannot reflect the real opinion of the Japanese people and will be nothing but part of the policy of manoeuvring and of camouflaging the actual reactionary aims which characterise the entire activity of Shidehara and his henchmen. Thus the election policy of the Japanese Government is in flagrant contradiction with the terms of the Potsdam Declaration on Japan's democratisation.

No Real Revision Of Imperialist Constitution

The draft of the new Japanese Constitution represents no less a flagrant violation of these terms. This draft, prepared by the Japanese Government without the participation of the people and against them, differs from that of 1889 only in its wording, without affecting its reactionary essence.

The draft has no article stating that supreme authority rests with the people. The first article of the draft says that "In conformity with the will of the Japanese people (1) the Emperor is the symbol of the State and of the unity of the people." As is known, the Japanese

PEOPLE'S AGE

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
 Consulting Editor: G. ADHIKARI
 Managing Editor: D. S. Hatangdi
 Subscription Rate (Indian):
 Yearly Rs. 8/-; Half-Yearly Rs. 4/3; Quarterly Rs. 2/8.
 Subscription Rate (Foreign):
 Yearly Rs. 12, Half-Yearly Rs. 6.
 Telegrams: Peoplesage.
 All cheques, Money-Orders, Postal Orders, Demand Drafts, etc. to be made out in the name of KANTILAL J. SHAH.
 Printed by Daulatram Shivshankar Hatangdi at the New Age Printing Press, 190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and published by him at People's Age Office, 190B, R. K. Building, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.