

Acid Test Of Real Indian Freedom

WARNING AGAINST MANOEUVRES TO DRAG INDIA INTO IMPERIALIST CAMP

RAJANI PALME DUTT, Vice-Chairman of the British Communist Party and editor of the *Labour Monthly*, held a Press Conference in Bombay on April 25th. The following are some of the important points made by him at the Conference.

After greeting the journalists and explaining the aim of his visit as one of making "contact with leaders and representatives of all sections of opinion, to bring back (to Britain) a truthful report of the currents of political feeling here, and in this way help India's struggle," Dutt went on to deal with the Cabinet Mission. He said:

When I left England, just a few days after the Cabinet Mission left, there was a big public meeting in the Holborn Hall (London). There was very keen political interest in that meeting and I think the general sentiments of Left opinion in Britain were like this:

They welcomed the Mission as a sign of recognition of the urgency of the Indian question, the need to end the deadlock and reach real political settlement. They wished success to the negotiations, for the achievement of a settlement.

But at the same time, they are well aware, just as you are aware, of past history and the warnings of past history, of many proposals and statements that came to nothing, because the authors of these proposals and statements, were not yet prepared, to meet the Indian demand for independence.

Therefore, the feeling on the Left, among democratic circles in Britain, is very strongly that it is necessary not only to wish well to the negotiations but to make sure and to be vigilant that there is really a settlement on the basis of Indian independence, on a just and democratic basis.



PALME DUTT (Photo: Sunil Janah.)

Warning Of Egypt

When I was flying here as we came over to Egypt, the British Overseas Airways Corporation handed out a pamphlet of information about Egypt. That was very useful and helpful because it gave a compendium of history which served as a reminder of how Egypt won its "independence."

It was in 1922 that Egypt was proclaimed by Britain to be an "Independent Sovereign State." But at the same time, the following subjects were declared to be within the absolute jurisdiction of His Majesty's Government, until an agreement was reached with the future Egyptian Government:

- *Protection of Empire Communications in Egypt;
- *Defence of Egypt;
- *Protection of Foreign Interests in Egypt;
- *Protection of the minorities in Egypt and Sudan.

These five subjects, 24 years later, still remain under His Majesty's Government!

It may be also worth noting that when the Egyptian representatives refused these terms, Egypt was proclaimed "independent" under British martial law and that martial law was maintained until 1923. That is how Egypt became an "Independent Sovereign State."

It is, therefore, necessary to note that even the formula "independence" is not enough. We have to look closer so that we may see correctly the concrete substance. The tests that we, both in Britain and here in India, have to look for are:

Tests For Real Freedom

1 AN absolutely firm declaration of independence and not simply some hypothetical rights of some future Con-

stitution-making Body, whose composition nobody yet knows, to choose between being a Dominion of the British Commonwealth and independence. The latter is not recognition of Indian independence and we feel this is the main issue that has to be settled, as delay in settling this helps to prolong all the other difficulties.

2 FOR that independence to be effective, it requires full withdrawal of British military forces because it is impossible to speak of the real independence of a country, if the decisive coercive force in that country is in the hands of a foreign power.

And that means real withdrawal, and not merely deployment of the existing forces by some special treaty, which only means that in fact the British military forces remain in occupation of the country, and therefore, in real effective control of the country.

3 FURTHER, that settlement must be a democratic settlement in the sense that it is genuinely in the hands of the Indian people to determine entirely what forms of government and the like they wish to establish.

We are very doubtful of the talk about a Constitution-making Body, whose composition and basis is still left very very unclear. In Parliament, at any rate, enormous importance is attached by democratic sentiment to the calling of a Constituent Assembly, on the basis of universal suffrage, as against the proposal limited 145 franchise, in order to ensure that the entire Indian people, men and women, shall be able to choose their representatives to set up the kind of constitution that they want.

4 FURTHER, this principle must be extended to the States also. There can be no question of independence and democratic rights in India, if

the Princes are maintained in special positions. It is very important to guard against this; for it is precisely on the basis of the claim of treaties and tradition that they are planning to keep the British military forces in effective control even under the facade of conceding some formula of independence.

5 AND finally, we feel that enormous importance must be attached to the economic and financial settlement that accompany the political settlement to ensure that it leaves a free India effectively in control of its own resources and its own economic policy.

Such a settlement must ensure a settlement of the Sterling Balances which will mean full repayment to India for the goods taken from India and ensuring that there shall be no restriction of Indian economic interests and development in such a way that, in the economic field, Imperialist control is again maintained under the facade of some new constitutional formula.

Discontent At Delay

With regard to the present negotiations, we are, of course, in a very critical stage. I think we must all feel the gravity and dangers of the present situation. I think there is widespread discontent at the delay and character of the protracted negotiations, the way in which this "official" spectacle of divisions, real and imaginary, between the Indian political representatives, is put out for the benefit of the entire world Press, to reveal Indian divisions as the obstacle to Indian independence and Britain as the "impartial outsider."

That spectacle, to which we have been used before, has been enacted again at New Delhi. In Britain, those of us who are in the forefront in the fight for Indian independence have been very much

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concerned to drive home among the British people the understanding that whatever political divisions may exist in India, those cannot be and must not be allowed to be a justification for refusing Indian independence.

These difficulties and these divisions are matters for the Indian people to settle. They are not an excuse for continuing British rule in India.

We feel the danger that the initiative in the present negotiations is falling into the hands of the Cabinet Mission in such a way that there can be merely a British-imposed settlement of a very incomplete and unsatisfactory nature which will, in fact, concede nothing at all. For example, there is the talk of merely establishing an Interim Government, without attempting to deal with the real question of the political future of India. That, of course, boils down to simply a reconstituted Viceroy's Council on the line of the old type of the Amery Plan and so on.

Responsibility Of Indian Leaders

I must say that I feel that this time the situation could have been foreseen at the outset of the negotiations, and also that Indian political leaders have allowed themselves to be drawn into a position that is not very dignified in the eyes of the world.

I feel that it would have been better if they could have worked out, in relation to that situation, their own basis of unity in order to present a united demand to the British representatives, or, if difficulties stood in the way of that, they should have insisted on a prior declaration from the British, of the need of Indian independence, before proceeding to discuss.

This would have prevented this kind of situation where even the initiative is passing entirely into British Imperialist hands.

Now, of course, all these are internal questions of Indian politics. It would be entirely improper for me, newly-arrived here, to try to come out with judgment on these questions, which it must be said can be only for the Indian people themselves and the responsible political organisations and representatives of India to settle.

I am not here speaking as the representative of any particular section within Indian political opinion. I do not speak here as the representative of the Indian Communist Party; the questions that you might want to raise on its policy, you should address to its leadership who would be very glad to deal with them.

I come here from that movement in England which is wholly, keenly, and warmly friendly to the entire Indian movement for freedom, and at the same time I feel it would be wrong to interfere in such a way as to set one grouping against another because these are democratic questions to be democratically settled by the Indian people themselves.

COMMUNISTS AND CONGRESS

On the question with regard to the relation of the Communists and the Congress, and the very great difficulties and degree of conflict that have arisen, I think, and I would say this is the

general opinion of all those friends of India in England, that these difficulties can be diminished because basically the objectives of the national movement, that is the freedom movement, and of the Communist movement, have no conflict between them, and all over the world these movements are able enormously to reinforce one another by their effective co-operation.

That is the aim of all national movements in colonial countries, to achieve national freedom, on the basis of the first stage of development of that country, democracy and the like.

That is recognised by the Communist movement to be the first task involved in any colonial country. Only, of course, they seek to make that national freedom the starting point towards attaining the further aims of real social freedom of the people, and the end of these social class inequalities which lie at the root of poverty and misery of the masses of the people.

Whenever among ourselves any conflicts and differences over particular currents and practical questions arise, I believe it is very desirable that these differences should be considered in a reasonable spirit, that is, as among different sections of a common national movement, that may have their varying contributions to make to the tasks and tactical problems.

The other way would be the path of antagonism, expressing itself even in the most violent denunciations and physical clashes; this is also the path of anti-Communism that is known as Red-baiting in America, which is very dangerous for a democratic movement.

It is not just a question of the interests of the Communists concerned.

Anti-Communism Main Weapon Of Reaction

It is a question of the interests of the general movement because we know from experience everywhere, that anti-Communism is THE main weapon of reaction to disrupt the democratic movement.

That weapon was used by Hitler in Germany.

Once that is allowed to get a hold, it never ends there. It only begins with the attack upon the Communists.

If that kind of thing is allowed to happen, it never stops with the Left-wing of the movement, which, as everybody knows, is among the most courageous and sacrificing parts of the movement.

If once it is allowed to happen, then it will extend to you and me, and everyone here, as in Germany, and will end only with the most barbarous reaction coming into power, crushing every form of democratic expression.

This is why I attach enormous importance to this question, for the future of Indian politics and the Indian people, and I hope that every effort should be made to overcome the present political differences.

INDIA AND THE WORLD

The last word I would say to on the international situation.

There has been during these years of war very considerable isolation of India from the general world development with the

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1.)

PALME DUTT ANSWERS

QUESTIONS ON INDIAN SITUATION

- Will There Be A New Struggle?
- The Role Of The Princes
- Pakistan And Self-Determination
- Anti-Communism Inside Congress

At the end of his statement at his Press Conference, Dutt invited questions from the Pressmen present. Below we give the most topical questions asked on the present situation in India and the answers he gave to these questions.

Q. IF the Cabinet Mission falls, would you recommend the Indian people to launch a new struggle?

A. IT is clear that if Indian independence is not won in the course of these negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, then the task in front of the Indian people continues to be that of winning their independence, but in order to achieve that, it is necessary to find the means to do so.

And I believe one of the means requisite for that is to overcome the weakness on which British Imperialism has been able to play, namely, the existing divisions, and to find the path of effective unity of the entire people of India, because then it will not be difficult to win independence from British Imperialism.

But there is no right or justification whatever for British Imperialism to maintain its hold because there are political divisions in India. We in England take it like this: it does not matter what divisions there may be in India: the responsibility of the British Government is to recognise Indian independence and withdraw its forces. That is the only democratic way.

Princes Should Go

Q. DO you want the Princes to go?

A. EVERY democrat will want to get rid of them as quickly as possible. But the ways and means for achieving that is a question for the people concerned to settle.

What seems to me necessary from the point of view of constitution is that you cannot play any monkey tricks with the democratic rights of the Indian people to express themselves, by inserting the Princes or some kind of unreal representatives

once again of the Princes, as a balancing force in the Constitution-making Body, or whatever it is called.

Self-Determination

Q. WHAT do you think of the present advocacy of Pakistan by the Indian Communists?

A. ADVOCACY of Pakistan by the Indian Communists? Have you read their Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission? It is a very clear statement of policy. What they propose is the right of self-determination of nationalities.

Q. BUT in spite of that, the Communists in India were supporting Pakistan.

A. I have looked at the documents, and it appears to me that this idea is one of misconception. They have made a sympathetic approach towards the problem because of the mass support behind the Muslim League and endeavoured to draw it to the urge of freedom which can be met only on the basis of national self-determination.

Q. BUT the Congress has conceded the right of self-determination?

A. THE Congress policy on this question is unclear because it says that 'We cannot recognise the right of any part of India to secede although we will not use coercion to make it remain in the Union.'

So you see there are two halves in this and there is a contradiction in that. When I was in New Delhi, I put the question to Sardar VALLABHBHAI PATEL, precisely on this contradiction in Congress policy, and asked him which is the operative half. He answered as follows:

"We will not allow any section of the Indian Union to separate and form its own

State. We do not recognise any such right. If inspite of that, if any section were to do so, we should not use violence against it but we should use all non-violent means to see that it is brought back to the Union."

And when he said that, I had the feeling that if I happen to be some particular section somewhere trying to form a separate State and Sardar Vallabhbhai were to get after me with non-violent means, I should feel very sorry about that!

I am afraid there is no clear-cut policy on this question from the Congress, and I think clarity on this will be enormously helpful.

Q. WHAT do you think of Mr. Jinnah's demand of Pakistan?

A. I believe we must approach this in a democratic fashion. We must approach it with the understanding what is behind this demand and mass support for it, while at the same time we must resist any undemocratic presentation of that demand.

Charges Against Communists

Answering a question that the Communists co-operated with the Government and are traitors, etc., Dutt said:

"I think that the charge of having co-operated with the Government is a hostile slander on the positive policy of the popular leadership that is represented by the Communist Party.

"I think those who wish to attack the Communists try to make a false picture in this direction of their being on the side of the Government, their co-operating with the Government, and so on: and if you look closely which kind of interests spread such slander, you will find it is always the most reactionary big-moneyed interests, which fear Communism and the movement of the working class."

Dutt continued that it is always the game of the most reactionary interests to use these methods against popular representatives of a movement, when they fear their position is in danger.

He said: "I call your attention to the example of France where, in the winter of 1939, the Daladier Government expelled all Communists from Parliamentary positions. Members of the Communist Party were thrown into prison. A special decree was brought in, establishing death penalty for Communism in France. This decree was brought in by the Socialist Minister of Justice. The Socialist Party joined hands with extreme reaction in its policy of anti-Communist programme.

"But at present, that is, only six years later, the Communist Party is the single biggest party in the Assembly, while the Socialist Party in its very first Congress after the liberation of France, had to expel as traitors to France, the majority of its Deputies who had voted for the anti-Communist decree.

"This is a very big lesson for you to learn before you fall victims to the cry of anti-Communism. Communists are never traitors, but are always the most courageous and consistent fighters for the interests of the people in every country."

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DUTT'S PRESS CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 1.)

result that here in India I get the feeling of less contact with the general advance of the world democratic movement that has taken place in other countries.

This means a very serious thing, because at the present time, there is a terrific issue coming forward in front of the whole world, following the defeat of Fascism. There is gigantic advance, that you all see, of popular movements in all countries. At the same time there is a counter-offensive of reaction which is concentrated in the weakening base of Imperialism, meaning Anglo-American Imperialism. The others are gone.

Anglo-American Imperialism remains as the main concentration of reaction in the world and directs most of its offensive against the New Democracies in Europe, the Soviet Union, and against the national colonial liberation movements in India, China, Indonesia, South-East Asia, and elsewhere.

The tremendous importance of this situation should also be the main theme of our work—of the work of the Communist Party, all over both countries.

the world. It is only on the basis of that unity that we can defeat the reactionary offensive of those who want a third world war.

I think the people in India should be on guard against being drawn into these manoeuvres of Western Imperialism that would in fact drag India into a third world war and on the wrong side.

On the contrary, I think that free India can be, and we may be confident, will be an enormous force on the side of the freedom forces of the world provided that real independence is established, a real people's India and not some kind of half-way settlement that leaves British Imperialism in control, and then tries to make India a pawn of Imperialist manoeuvres.

That is the tremendous issue that I see before us at the present moment, and, I believe, we people of British and India have a common fight in this respect and that is why I hope during my visit here and on my return to England to draw closer bonds of friendship and solidarity between the common people in Britain and in India, which is very important for the future of both countries.

N. Kanara Kisans Fight Landlord Zoolum

WIN REDUCTION IN RENT

Repression Against Kisan Leaders

ON April 7th, the District Magistrate of Karwar (North Kanara district) served orders under Section 108 on the President of the District Kisan Sabha, HONAPPA NAIK, demanding a personal security of five thousand rupees and another two sureties for the same amount for a period of one year.

On April 26th, similar orders for sureties of five hundred rupees each were served on the General Secretary and Organising Secretary of the District Kisan Sabha, and on the President and Vice-President of the Karwar Taluka Kisan Sabha.

The charge is of "preaching and instigating the tenants that the tenants should pay neither rent nor crop-share to their landlords, that the tenants who cultivate the land are the real owners of the land and not the landlords."

From Our Correspondent

Behind these orders is the story of a valiant struggle waged by the kisans of North Kanara against conditions of inhuman slavery and serfdom.

Exorbitant rents extorted by the landlords have reduced the kisans of this district to paupers. During the last few years, many of them have been totally unable to pay the rents. A confidential investigation made by the local village officials of the actual income and expenditure of the kisans showed conclusively that the kisan is left with literally nothing after paying the rent.

For years, the people had acquiesced in their misery. But during the last year, a Kisan Sabha was organised in this district, bringing with it a new awakening. Today it has ten thousand members.

At Kisan Sabha Conferences, thousands—men and women—attended, and heard the call for unity to build a new and better life. The main demand of the Kisan Sabha was the reduction of rent to reasonable proportions.

Kisans Withhold Rent

But the landlords refused to budge. With no alternative left, the Karwar Taluka Kisan Sabha decided to withhold rent from the landlords this year and thus compel them to reduce rents. Later the kisans in Bhatkal petha and Honnavar taluk also decided to join in the no-rent campaign.

At the same time, however, the kisans were anxious not to interfere with the procurement policy of the Government, which was necessary in order to feed the people of the towns. They, therefore, decided to hand over all their surplus to the Government godowns and also pay the land revenue to the authorities as usual.

Because of this, the local officials were unable to take immediate action against the kisans when the landlords appealed for help.

Finding that legal assistance from the bureaucracy was not immediately forthcoming, the landlords began a regime of terror against their tenants. They threatened cancellation of agreements, they interfered in the harvesting of the grain—but it was impossible to bend the kisans.

Panic-stricken, hundreds of the smaller landlords collapsed, and agreed to substantial reductions in rent for this year. The bigger landlords immediately formed an association of their own called the SHAKTI SANGH, and sent their representatives to "discuss" with the Kisan Sabha.

Landlords Win Support Of Bureaucracy

Of course, they did not seriously mean to negotiate and the talks led to nothing, despite every effort of the Kisan Sabha. The Shakti Sangh now tried to hold public meetings in one or two villages—but failed everywhere in their purpose.

At one such meeting on the 3rd of February, Mr. NADKARNI, Joint Secretary of the Sangh, openly declared that the object of the Sangh was to smash the influence of the Kisan Sabha, and they would hire goondas to fight the Sabha's workers, launch false cases against them.

Sure enough, immediately after the meeting, a report was received that the police had arrested seven Kisan Sabha workers in Ulaga village, on charge of seditious.

After a month's detention, they were granted bail, but immediately pressure from the landlords succeeded in getting the bail cancelled on the ground that "the offence is a sensational one, and the accused with the help of the Party to which they belong, will try to terrorise the witnesses who will not be able to give their evidence in an atmosphere free from danger."

Social Boycott

Meanwhile, in Honnavar and Bhatkal petha, in order to fight

against the landlords' terror, the kisans launched a social-boycott campaign. They stopped supplying milk, vegetables and other necessities to the landlords.

In reply, the landlords hired some goondas who broke up a kisan procession at Murdeswar and injured several kisans.

Bribed by the landlords, the police launched several cases for non-payment of rent. Houses were searched and those found inside, mostly women, were threatened and abused. When the women protested, false cases were launched against them. Thus in Tommakki alone, cases have been filed against ten women.

But despite all this, realising the strength and unity of the Kisan Sabha, the landlords at last gave in and settled early in April.

And yet, despite the settlement, prominent Kisan workers are being bound over under Section 108, and fantastic orders are being passed against them.

Appeal To Congress Ministry

In a statement issued on April 19th, the Secretary of the District Kisan Sabha, D. V. SINGH, says:

"The use of Section 108 has been associated with the British bureaucracy. This abominable section has been unreservedly condemned when it was used by the bureaucrats against the political workers during the Civil Disobedience days.

"While the Congress Ministry is busy restoring civil liberties in the Province, the Magistrate in Karwar appears to be still living in the age of Section 93 which is now dead and gone.

"I earnestly appeal to the Congress Ministry to stop this unjust and bureaucratic interference with the democratic civil liberties of the people."

BURMA GOVT. TO STRIKE AT PEOPLE'S FREEDOM LEAGUE?

Arrests Of Leaders Expected

By Wire.

CALCUTTA, April 27.

UNDERSTAND that warrants of arrest have been issued by the present regime in Burma against Major-General AUNG SAN and other key leaders of the Burma Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). These warrants are likely to be executed in the course of the next few days. These are part of the large-scale repression against the Burmese people that Dorman-Smith, Governor of Burma, is planning.

Exclusive

From **Nikhil Chakravarty**

I am told that the arrests will be followed by a further curtailment of the already rigorously restricted civil liberties, in order that the AFPFL may be crippled.

Dorman-Smith Scared

Ever since Major HENDERSON (Under Secretary of State for India and Burma) made his declaration in the House of Commons on fake constitutional "reforms" for Burma, Dorman-Smith has been watching the reactions to it in Burmese nationalist circles, and especially those of the AFPFL.

The AFPFL has called a special seven-day Conference from May 15th—which Major-General Aung San calls will be a "momentous week." This has particularly frightened the Government, because they found that Henderson's declaration failed to pacify the confirmed moderates in Burma, all of whom characterised it as "hopeless."

Before Indian Negotiations End

Burma Government circles are stated to be anxious to take action against the AFPFL as early as possible, and before the results of the present negotiations in India are known.

I understand that Whitehall is of the opinion that this is the most opportune moment for repression, because of the "in-

creased prestige" it imagines it enjoys among colonial peoples after the certificate of sincerity given to the Cabinet Mission by the Indian leaders.

Whitehall feels that during the negotiations there will be no very serious protest in India if it suppresses the AFPFL in Burma.

"After all," argue official circles, "the Congress leaders quietly submitted to the naming of Nehru's entry into Burma, and they will doubtless also keep quiet now when Aung San and others are arrested."

Dividing India And Burma

The Burma Government also plans to play up the present widespread disorders in Burma as being directed primarily against Indians, and thus drive a wedge between the two peoples, which would prevent India from coming to the help of the AFPFL.

Conveniently blaming the patriotic parties for the disorders, Dorman-Smith is taking no steps whatsoever to check them by solving the urgent problems which are facing the country—rehabilitation, the scarcity of cloth and the breakdown of transport. Instead, he is preparing to strengthen his one-man dictatorship by wiping out all popular anti-imperialist forces.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

MORE BRITISH TROOPS FOR INDIA —Empire Generals In Conclave

INDIA'S Commander-in-Chief, LAUCHLINLECK, flew off to England in March for a Conference of British Empire Military Chiefs at Camberley. It was a "top-level" Conference and very secret. Very mysterious too.

No newspaper in this country has given us even an inkling of the Conference's discussion on India.

But there WERE discussions—important discussions—and decisions too.

I have just come across an inside detailed story of the Camberley Conference, which makes the revelation that the old Generals decided to plan for the British Army, on the basis that it would be necessary not only to maintain British troops in India but also to increase their numbers.

Independence Of Transjordan Vary

I understand that the "political report" made to the Conference about India was that the British intended to move towards a kind of "independence of the Transjordan variety," in which the new "independent" Government would enter into a treaty with Britain, providing for the presence of British troops.

It was stated that an offer was being made to the important Indian elements (which, I suppose, mean the Princes, the big landlords, and business magnates) of "permanent British assis-

tance" against the "possibility of unrest."

Another revelation which, I understand, was made at Camberley was that it is being suggested "that Britain might be prepared to spend a great deal of money" in India... with a good profit for certain Indian firms provided that "India were prepared to be turned into a full-scale British Imperial base of operations on the southern borders of the U.S.S.R."

And so—MORE British troops for India.

Preparing British Army

And the British Army is being gradually got used to the idea of carrying on in India. An article in the Army newspaper, "The Fighting Forces," by a British officer tells its readers that the treaty being negotiated between Britain and the Indian Princes will be on the lines of the Treaty of Alliance between the British and Iraq signed in 1930.

"This resemblance," the writer says, "will no doubt tend towards a similar result... We can expect to see Imperial troops stationed in India for the defence of essential bases, and a British Military Mission serving in India in an advisory capacity with Indian Army forces."

Of course, it is no secret that the British plan for India relies on the Indian States to provide the new cantonments for British troops. But how

are the British to protect the Princes against the growing States' peoples' movement?

Bhopal To "Abdicate"

For Pakistan...

I HAVE just received a letter from a friend who is in close touch with the States' camp which reveals the tactics of the Princes. This is what he writes:

"MR MAQSOOD MAHMOOD (who is Secretary of the Chamber of Princes and a well-known Punjab Muslim League politician) has been talking all the League leaders that the Nawab of Bhopal is an ardent Fascist and is actually contemplating abdicating in favour of his son in order to be more free to work for the sacred cause of Pakistan."

"This news has been greeted with a great deal of enthusiasm by the League, who now feel sure that Bhopal will support Pakistan in the final negotiations with the Mission."

And All For Immediate Independence

Another letter from a journalist friend in Delhi gives me another piece of news about the Nawab of Bhopal. This is what he says:

"Bhopal's Minister SHEAHN GUNESHI is a prominent Nationalist Muslim; was editor of Young India, a member of the Nehru Committee, and is now a member of the National Planning Committee. As such he is in intimate touch with Congress leaders, and he has been telling them in confidence that Bhopal is all for immediate independence and will support the Congress demand for an Interim Government. Mr. Guneshi has assured the Congress that the Nawab is by no means pro-Pakistan."

—Shahish, Nawab Gohil: You have certainly learnt well from your British masters. But do not forget that sometimes cats get together and then it is hell for monkey.

—Ramesh Chandra

RAILWAY STRIKE BALLOT

(Continued from Page 5.)

The General Staff Committee (on the BCCI Rly.) started for anti-Union activities and rigidly controlled by the bosses, not in the fourth week of April. But even this Committee decided, by 18 votes to two, that they would not move any more resolution till the workers' demands were satisfactorily met. The two who voted for the management are notorious agents of the General Manager!

But when the mass of railway employees on the BCCI Rly. have thus been giving their verdict, the Employees' Association led by some Congressmen is trying to rally the workers not against their enemy, the Railway bosses, but against the Red Flag and thus weaken the workers' cause.

In their handball they have been compelled to accept the workers demands as just.

But at the same time they have boosted up the Govern-

ment's offer and condemned the "Communists and Royists who betrayed you and stabbed you," etc. They have even gone to the extent of slandering Communist labour leaders as "people who have never rendered accounts of such (strike) funds in the past," and so on.

What of the strike ballot, which according to the AIRF instructions had to be completed before the end of April? The Association counsels patience till its Annual General meeting comes off on April 27th and 28th.

Orally also they are carrying on a campaign. "Don't lead in strike-action. Follow, if others lead."

Reports of the strike ballot on other railways are yet to come in. But one thing is obvious. All sections of political opinion among the railwaymen are co-operating towards one goal. If the bosses do not yield to their most reasonable demands, an all-India General strike is inevitable.

TWO ALTERNATE SCHEMES FOR TRIPARTITE TALKS IN SIMLA

Latest Modifications In Coupland Plan

Sunday, April 21

THE Cabinet Mission is away fishing in Kashmir, a change from the troubled waters to placid lakes. As a Pressman told me, it would be a big relief for them to find that the bait catches easier in Kashmir than in New Delhi.

Monday, April 22

ONLY FENNER BROCKWAY'S statement regarding secret preparations for crushing any Congress struggle if the Mission talks break down, disturbed New Delhi today.

I met some British army boys at the Coffee House, and they said that special directions for preparations to quell disorders have been issued.

Tuesday, April 23

I LEARNED today of the scandalous demand made by the Nawab of Chhattari on behalf of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This autocrat, precariously balanced on the necks of three peoples—Maharashtrians, Kannadigas and Andhras—made a demand to the Cabinet Mission that his case is unique.

He pleaded that he had a treaty in "perpetuity" (1) with the British Crown, and the Crown had undertaken the obligation of maintaining British armed forces in Secunderabad within a few miles of his capital to keep him in power! He hoped that this support would be continued.

Wednesday, April 24

THE sober pro-Congress correspondent of a pro-British paper has marshalled his arguments in support of his belief that power will be transferred.

They are, first, that every Congress leader who met the Mission came back with the impression that the Mission genuinely wanted to transfer power. This belief is so unanimous that he does not think that all the leaders can be so blind.

Secondly, each one, after meeting the Mission, talks only of one Centre, one Constituent Assembly and no partition.

I asked him whether the Congress was likely to go in if the Interim Government had no full powers, and he said no.

He also told me that sentiment against separation is hardening in Congress circles.

Impressions Of Leaguers

At the Imperial Hotel in the evening, I had an opportunity to meet Leaguers and gather the impressions produced on them by the Cabinet Mission.

Cripps seems to have given them a definite impression that the question of the formation of Government would be taken up only in the last stage after some settlement of the final question.

A young Leaguer told me in confidence, "The Congress people may not know it, but Cripps is definitely more pro-League than pro-Congress."

The Cabinet Mission has met several Leaguers and all have carried an impression that the Mission is sympathetic towards Muslim aspirations.

Pethic-Lawrence is reported to have assured Leaguers that, "I am not worried so much about preserving Indian unity, but I am only concerned about India's integrity."

A lot of emphasis was, I understand, put on the question of defence by Cripps in his talk with the Leaguers. He expressed confidence for the safety of Western Pakistan and expressed concern about the vulnerability of the Eastern port.

It is clear from all this that the Cabinet Mission has been successful in selling the Coupland Plan by removing

fears of a possible Soviet aggression.

Today Cripps, the most agile member of the Mission, mentally and physically, started the new form of the single-file meetings. He dined with Nehru and later proceeded to Aurangzeb Road for a long chat with Jinnah.

Thursday, April 25

GOING to the Viceregal Lodge, we learnt that Nehru had called on Cripps. Joyce, the Publicity Officer of the Cabinet Mission, told us unofficially that discussions were in a delicate and crucial stage, and it was not the moment to use words like 'breakdown' or 'deadlock' or 'stalemate'.

Fondly believing that he was being very reassuring, he said that the efforts of the delegation were still directed wholly at finding some basis for an agreement among Indian parties.

At Gandhiji's camp today, Maulana Azad, emerging from the Working Committee discussions, put on a reassuring smile and said that there was no need to worry about the prolonged nature of the discussions. Such discussions, he said, naturally

take a long time. Asked how long he expected them to last, the Maulana said, "Ask Pethic-Lawrence." In the evening, I rushed round to "Gule Raana," the modern, tasteful and roomy residence of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the League. The League Working Committee meeting was in progress and there was more listening and thinking rather than talking by members.

After an hour, the Working Committee adjourned as Cripps was dining with Jinnah.

'Ask Pethic-Lawrence'

I learnt later that the League Working Committee went over all technical, legal and arithmetical arguments in support of their demand for six Provinces. It must have been in consequence of some disquieting statement by Cripps.

There are still, I reliably understand, a few members of the Working Committee who felt that the addition of more land to Pakistan areas might weaken instead of strengthen the Pakistan case.

It is significant that the Nawabzada's answer to the question how long he expected discussions to continue, was the same as Azad's, "Ask Pethic-Lawrence."

Friday, April 26

CRIPPS met Azad in the evening today at the bhangli colony and was closeted for 45 minutes with Gandhiji. There was intense speculation as Cripps came out minus his usual self-satisfied smile. He evaded questions by emphasising the delicate nature of the negotiations saying, "You don't want the ship to be wrecked in midstream."

As if a month-long discussions were not enough, he said, "It is no time to talk of progress now."

Gandhiji's Dissatisfaction

I learn that Gandhiji expressed through dissatisfaction at the way the Mission was prolonging the discussions and going in circles and that Gandhiji expressed 'complete disgust' and said he would go

back to Sewagram.

Cripps pleaded that it would have disastrous effect on the negotiations and requested him to stay a little longer.

Cripps met Jinnah again at night.

Change In Mission's Attitude?

In the Congress camp there is a feeling that the Cabinet Mission after return from Kashmir have changed their attitude. Gandhiji is reliably reported to have said that he saw distinct change in their attitude.

Another Congress leader, I reliably learn, expressed the view, "Before they left for Kashmir we had distinct impression that the Cabinet Ministers felt it was useless to continue negotiations when Jinnah was so unyielding and unreasonable. We had definite feeling from their attitude that they would now go ahead and transfer power to the Interim Government."

Today the Cabinet Mission is continuing negotiations with Jinnah.

It is said in Congress circles that some reactionaries both in India and abroad seem to have got at the Cabinet Min-

was nothing specific to report.

In League circles there is little attempt to think on the reasonableness or otherwise of the League demand. When confronted with the utter impossibility of securing such an unreasonable demand, the League leaders only reply is, "We will fight."

In fact, I reliably learn that most of the rich League leaders in the Punjab have sacrificed their summer tour to the hills and are reported to have expressed the sentiment, "The time has come when we have to suffer for the Muslim nation."

Pro-Struggle Feeling Among Muslims

Ludicrous as this sounds, it would be wrong to underestimate the pro-struggle feeling among the mass of Muslims.

I have tried to find out what plans if any have been made for the coming struggle. It is significant that most top League leaders think precisely on the same lines as the Congress leaders did in 1942.

They envisage a movement starting slowly with the boycott of Legislatures and gathering momentum with appeal to Mus-

These alternative schemes are as follows:

The First Scheme

"(1) The Congress acknowledges the principle of a sovereign Muslim State.

"(2) The boundaries of such a State to be agreed to by both the parties or submitted to arbitration.

"(3) There shall be a treaty between the two sovereign States regarding Defence, External Affairs, Communications and Fiscal policy.

"(4) A Central Executive which shall have its powers limited to carrying out the provisions of such a treaty.

"(5) An Interim Government to be set up immediately with equal representation to the two zones.

"(6) The Interim Government to devise means necessary for framing a new Constitution.

"(7) Fundamental rights of the minorities to be safeguarded through mandatory provisions.

"(8) Acceptance of arbitration in all cases of disagreement.

The scheme follows, broadly speaking, the first of the two alternatives placed before Mr. Jinnah by Cripps and the League is assured of a separate Federation on the basis of the existing Provinces but subject to a Confederation centre.

The Second Scheme

"(1) Acknowledging the desire of the Muslim community to have a completely sovereign independent State comprising those areas of India inhabited by the Muslim majority. The Congress consents to setting up an autonomous succession of States.

"(2) A Boundaries' Commission shall be set up to demarcate Muslim majority areas.

"(3) Agreement for Defence, External Affairs and Communications, lasting for a period of 15 years.

"(4) The Indian States can come into such an Agreement as individual units or in groups.

The second scheme is an elaboration of the second alternative placed before Mr. Jinnah. Comparison of the two schemes reveals the aim of the Cabinet Mission.

How British Interests Will Be Preserved

In my discussion with other Pressmen, they agreed that in the first scheme, the League is promised the maximum and both Hindustan and Pakistan are assured Princely cooperation provided the Congress and the League agree to the preservation of British strategic and economic interests through the Confederation centre.

In the second scheme, the Princes are preserved as independent units or as a Princely Federation through which British interests could be safeguarded even if, completely separate Pakistan and Hindustan States come into existence.

These I understand are the latest modifications of the original Coupland plan. It is widely said that it is extremely unlikely that either side will agree to either of the schemes—the Congress opposition being most vigorous because both the schemes accept the principle of Pakistan and recognise its sovereignty.

A section of Pressmen feel that if the joint conference falls there may be no immediate Award but Vavell would in any case reconstitute his Executive Council more or less on the lines envisaged in the first scheme adding a few more Ministers to provide representation to other minorities.

New Delhi political circles are buzzing with serious speculation.

Our Reporter, A. S. R. Chari's Delhi Diary

isters and convinced them that an Interim Government minus the League, even if started with limited powers, would inevitably and quickly become strong enough to squeeze out British control.

Therefore, the Mission should concentrate on giving such assurances to Jinnah as would bring him into the Interim Government. If he is brought in, it is argued, he would lay down such conditions and be such a balancing force to the Congress that the Interim Government will continue to be weak.

Despite the absence of any specific grounds for optimism among Pressmen there is a spirit of expectancy and some say, "Things have begun to get going."

Saturday, April 27

I LEARN from reliable sources that Cripps had placed three alternative schemes before Mr. Jinnah. They are:

(1) Separate Federation of six Pakistan Provinces with existing boundaries but subject to a Confederation Centre in charge of common subjects such as Defence, External Affairs, Communications, and Currency.

(2) Completely separate State of Pakistan comprising only Muslim majority areas newly demarcated. In such a case a treaty with respect to Defence to be negotiated between Pakistan and Hindustan and the Pakistan State to have the right to determine its relations with Britain through a separate treaty.

(3) If the League wanted a separate sovereign State it should agree to Muslim-majority areas without any need for plebiscite but would have to agree to the form of non-Muslim plebiscite for other areas that it claims on the ground of self-sufficiency of Pakistan.

Details of how this non-Muslim plebiscite for non-Muslim majority areas claimed by the League should be worked out are not yet available.

My enquiries show that Mr. Jinnah did not place all these alternatives before his Working Committee and merely told them that a number of feelers had been put out by Cripps but there

lims in the Government and Armed Services to resign their jobs, finally culminating in a no-rent, no-tax campaign.

Some of them admit that ugly communal twists may take place but say that in a mass movement these are inevitable.

It is a fact, however, that the "struggle is inevitable" mood among Leaguers during the first ten days of the Cabinet Mission's discussions has now yielded to a spirit of "hope for the best, be prepared for the worst."

Today the Cabinet Mission has invited the Congress and League Presidents to send representatives of their Working Committee for the Tripartite talks.

Sunday, April 28

IT is clear today that the Cabinet Mission is bringing things to a head and thus laying the basis for its Award. Invitations to the Congress and League Presidents to send representatives of their Working Committees to a joint conference with the Cabinet Mission contained, I understand reliably, the following terms of reference.

"First, the establishment of an Indian Union;

"Secondly, the regrouping of Provinces so as to create two zones—Muslim and Hindu.

"Thirdly, the setting up of the Central Executive.

These were fixed as the basis for a joint conference. In the Congress camp there was natural anger at such an unexpected move. I understand that the Congress Working Committee is not prepared to accept such limited basis for discussion and attempted to get the terms of reference changed.

The Working Committee has finally accepted the invitation but I reliably understand that it would inform the Cabinet Mission that the Congress representatives would not limit talks to this basis but would raise all the fundamental issues involved.

I understand that the Cabinet Mission has already two alternative schemes ready and that they might be placed before the joint conference if the basis indicated in the invitations is accepted by both the parties.

The New Ministries

- ★ Will Simla Repeat History?
- ★ British Initiative To Divide And Remain
- ★ Cabinet Mission Laying Its Trap

THE CURTAIN GOES UP ON THE FINAL PHASE OF the negotiations of the Cabinet Mission. The plenipotentiaries of the three parties are meeting this week-end in Simla to find a basis for the final solution of the question of the independence of India.

THERE OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN REALLY ONLY TWO PARTIES for such negotiations: the representatives of the British Government on the one hand, and the representatives of the two great popular parties of our country, the Congress and the League, who together command the confidence of the overwhelming bulk of the people of our country, on the other.

The newspapers casually talk of a TRIPARTITE Conference and all are so used to the suicidal division in the freedom front of our country that we fail to grasp the shame and tragedy involved in the situation.

Preparatory Weeks

The whole manner in which the Cabinet Mission had been proceeding during the last five weeks made it quite clear that they had not come here to find the quickest and the best way for ending British domination over India.

Outwardly, they took on the pose of honest seekers after truth and of impartial mediators, who had come to India with the selfless and noble objective of solving Indian differences and to lay the foundation of Indian freedom.

In actual practice, the Mission was proceeding according to quite a different plan.

To begin with, the Mission deliberately created the impression that they were greatly concerned with preserving the fundamental unity of India. They gave the impression that the British Government was determined to speed up a settlement on the basis of a friendly, united and free India, and were not going to "allow a minority to place their veto on the advance of a majority."

First Placate Congress

This initial approach was calculated to placate the Congress to begin with.

There was a wave of optimism in the Congress Press and among Congress leaders. In Congress circles, it was felt that if Mr. Jinnah did not climb down from his unreasonable demands, he was bound to be by-passed.

The Cabinet Mission would then at once proceed to the task of forming a National Government, probably by calling our popular Provincial Governments to provide the Central Executive.

It was expected that the Cabinet Mission would next proceed to settle details regarding the running of the Constitution-making Body.

This was the tone of the special correspondents of Nationalist dailies right up to the return of the Mission from Kashmir.

Opposite Effect On Leaguers

Among the Muslim Leaguers the initial approach of the Mission produced the opposite effect.

There was panic that the League was being by-passed. The League leadership hardened and became more obstructive.

In their resolution, passed at the convention of the Muslim League Legislators, they laid thick the separatist cry of "Muslims—a Nation."

They demanded that the British recognise the six Provinces of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam, as a separate independent State of Pakistan, and concede to it a separate Constitution-making Body.

They threatened struggle if this unjust and unreasonable demand was not conceded.

How It Would Work Out

FIRST, it would bring out an arbitrary partition of India into Muslim majority zones and the rest, without reference to the will of the people of the constituent natural units of the former, such as, the Pathanland, Sind, Baluchistan, the Western Punjab, the Central Punjab and Bengal. This would not solve but accentuate Hindu-Muslim conflict.

SECONDLY, it would perpetuate the partition between the autocratic Indian States and the rest of India, and deny democracy to the peoples of the States.

THIRDLY, it would create an irresponsible Centre which would control the Army, Foreign Affairs, Customs (i.e., Trade) and Communications, and over which the British would be able to boss through the Princes and through a suitable Treaty.

Thus the Cabinet Mission has come out with the diabolical plan against which our Party had long since warned. The "Independent India" which would emerge according

Breach Widened

The net result of the Cabinet Mission's first four weeks of interviews and talks was the sharpening of the conflict between the Congress and the League and the widening of the breach between their demands.

The cry of "struggle for Pakistan" by the Muslim League Press, on the one hand, and the counter-cry that the Muslim League and its Press were inciting communal riots by the Congress Press, on the other, have indeed sharpened the Hindu-Muslim tension in every city in India.

It is against this suitable background created by their preliminary approach that the Cabinet Mission is now staging

by G. Adhikari

its last move.

It is posing as a benevolent and selfless mediator trying to bridge the gulf between the two organisations, by bringing them together in a Round-Table Conference on the basis of a formula which is supposed to meet the standpoints of both.

Basis Created For Own Formula

In reality it is now preparing the ground for the imposition of its own Award and solution.

The main features of the formula are:

- THERE are to be two Federations of the present British Provinces—one to consist of Muslim-majority Provinces and the other of the rest.

- THESE two Regional Governments will have all powers except those of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Customs and Communications, which will be vested in the common Union Centre.

- THIS Union Centre will negotiate with the Indian States in due course the terms on which they will join the Union.

The formula is not at all so harmless as it looks. It is the blue-print of the Award which the British Government proposes to impose upon India.

No Resemblance With Either Party's Demand

The Political Correspondent of the Associated Press of India described it as "a compromise between what the Muslim League has demanded, and what the Congress has offered and the Coupland Plan of regionalism." (A.P.I. message of 27-4-46).

The formula looks to us more like the notorious "Coupland Plan of Regionalism," which the Labour Government seems to have taken over along with the files of its Tory predecessors, rather than like what the Congress or even what the League demands.

It is reported that the Union Centre would be composed of equal representatives from the two Federations. Representatives of the "Indian States," e.g., of the Princes are to join this Centre later. The Union Centre would not be responsible to any Legislature.

If all this is true, then the formula represents an Imperialist conspiracy to perpetuate India's slavery.

to this plan would be one in which democratic forces would be divided and weakened internally by a double partition.

It would be governed by a Centre dominated by the British, controlling the Army, the arteries of trade and commerce, and foreign affairs.

Very probably the Cabinet Mission has not revealed all the consequential details of the Plan. They expect the Congress and the League leaders to appreciate the Plan as one which concedes in substance their respective demands, while at the same time provides a counter-check against the demand of the other.

They expect the League to see that while the formula grants the substance of Pakistan, it also provides against the Centre being entirely dominated by the Congress.

They expect the Congress to see that they can with the aid of the Princes dominate the common Centre and thus have a counter-check against a virtual Pakistan which they have to concede.

Expect To Cheat Both

In other words they expect to cheat and trap both in a scheme which when worked out will lead to neither a really independent India nor even to a "free Pakistan" of the League imagination.

Both the Congress and the League leaders accepted the invitation to the Joint Conference, but both have indicated in their replies that they are dissatisfied with the basis proposed for discussion.

The League leaders are pleased at the recognition of Pakistan, but are dissatisfied with the fact that Defence would be controlled by the common Centre which they consider a terrible danger.

The Congress leaders have raised a strong objection against the ad hoc grouping of Muslim majority Provinces into a Federation without reference to the will of the people, and have deprecated the idea of the irresponsible "Agency Centre." They have reserved to themselves the right to put forward their own solution.

There is no doubt that the Cabinet Mission will try all these tricks which Wavell used at the time of the last Simla Conference. They will try to sell the Plan to both by emphasising its different aspects. As our Special Correspondent Chari reports elsewhere (see page 9) Cripps is

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of India welcomes the formation of popular Ministries, headed by the Congress or the Muslim League, in the various Provinces. At long last the Provinces are rid of Section 93 and of the autocratic rule of the Governors and their Advisers, which suppressed the people and brought them ruin and disaster.

The people have once more returned the Congress and the League to power. By their vote they have registered their indignation and protest against a regime which has kept them in slavery and handed them over to the tender mercies of the blackmarketeers and profiteers.

The Communist Party will wholeheartedly co-operate with the popular Ministries in all issues of people's needs and offer its constructive criticism and make positive proposals. It will actively fight all those who seek to exploit the present bitterness between the Congress and the League to provoke internal conflicts to discredit the Ministries.

The Party expects the popular Ministries to release all political prisoners and inaugurate an era of civil and democratic liberties. It demands that the League Ministry in Bengal set at liberty all the pro-Reform and other political prisoners.

The Party will continue to press forward for civil liberties and for the release of political prisoners in case any Ministry shows signs of succumbing to bureaucratic pressure.

The Ministries are taking over power at a time when the spectre of famine and death is haunting the country. All hands are required to save India from this grim situation.

The Party will, therefore, press for United Ministries in all Provinces so that the combined strength of the people can be brought to bear against the famine and hunger pelt threaten us.

In connection with the most urgent and pressing problem of food, the Party will support every just measure taken by the popular Ministries for all-round procurement and equitable distribution.

It will demand stern measures against hoarders and blackmarketeers and against the present combination of corrupt bureaucrats and profiteers which has ruined the country.

At the same time the Party will oppose all undue demands for sacrifice made on the people and will not allow them to be made the scapegoat of corrupt administration or profiteering interests.

The Party will also press on the Ministries to undertake legislation for immediate relief to the peasantry.

It will press for the following further legislative measures: the abolition of landlordism and the redistribution of land; the abolition of usurious money-lending; and the elimination of the profiteer from the trade in people's food.

Thus alone can be ended the domination of the feudal parasites, blackmarketeers and usurers over the economy of the village, and the entire people ensured their daily food and saved from the calamity of new famines.

One of the most urgent questions facing the country will be that of industrial unrest. For six long years of war the bureaucracy has suppressed every legitimate demand of the workers such as adequate dearness allowances, rise in wages, better housing, etc.

The industrial worker of India who was made to shoulder unbearable economic burdens during the last six years is demanding better conditions.

This is bound to lead to industrial unrest and strikes unless the Ministries break down the resistance of the capitalists and implement their promise of a fair deal to the workers.

In this critical hour for the worker, the Communist Party of India will always stand by him and see that justice is done to him.

The Communist Party would like to maintain and avoid strikes as far as possible. It will give the Ministries every chance of settling industrial disputes amicably but unhesitatingly champion direct action when it finds that all other means are exhausted.

The Communist Party of India requests the popular Ministries not to fall a prey to the propaganda of vested interests who have started denouncing workers' action as Communist stunt. Such actions if they take place must be regarded as the result of the present economic conditions and the Ministries must do their best to remove them.

The Communist Party of India realises that the vested interests which are entreaching themselves solidly behind the Congress or the League Ministries will attack every action of the workers or peasants as anti-national and anti-Ministry.

They will demand stern measures to suppress workers and peasants in the name of fighting Communism.

They will attempt to use the Ministries to serve their selfish ends and betray the very people who put the Ministry in power.

It is for the Ministries to be forewarned of this game of vested interests, and for the people to be vigilant and see that their Ministries do not as popular Ministries unswerving civil liberties for all parties and securing the urgent demands of the people; that they do not become a tool in the hands of the hated bureaucracy.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

already doing this.

Settlement Unlikely

But it appears extremely unlikely that a settlement by these methods and on this basis can ever be reached.

Responsible Congress papers which stand close to the leadership have categorically rejected the Coupland Scheme.

Thus Pandit Nehru's National Herald wrote on April 18th:

"The idea of a Confederation with a loose super-Centre, without a Legislature, might be kite-flying, but it is plainly such a vicious parody of Coupland's Regional River Valley Scheme that no Indian with any hopes for the future of his country would ever discuss it." Devadas Gandhi's Hindustan Times wrote on April 17th:

"If British suzerainty were to be accepted, a Confederacy of Hindustan, Pakistan and the States may work in some fashion . . . and at the back of the minds of the advocates of this arrangement is the belief that all the parties might be driven to seek British assistance in working it. India has set her heart on independence and will not be cheated out of

it." The Simla Conference would very probably fail as its ill-fated predecessor and for similar reasons.

Yet Time To Turn Tables Against Mission

But if that happens, the Cabinet Mission would have staged yet another demonstration of Indian disunity before the whole world and thus justify its imposing an Award to create an Interim Government, which would not be much better than the present Executive Council, and continue to drift on a permanent solution.

But the evil game of the Cabinet Ministers can yet be turned against them if the leaders of the Congress and the League see through it.

Even at this late hour, they should turn to each other, and arrive at an agreement to put their differences to the people in the democratic and just manner which our Memorandum suggests, and forge a joint front to win the independence of the country from the British.

ALL-INDIA RAILWAY GENERAL STRIKE

Workers' Verdict Returns Overwhelming Support

Government's Last-Minute Adjudication Hoax

A MIDST scenes of unprecedented enthusiasm, hundreds of thousands of railway workers all over the country have been going to the polls in response to the call of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) for an all-India railway strike. If reports available up to now are an indication, the ballot shows over 95% of the organised workers returning a verdict of strike.

Unless the Government of India climbs down to meet the demands of the men, an all-India railway general strike is a reality.

Taking advantage of the recent orders for an adjudication of the railway movements have been trying to mislead public opinion about the economic demands of the workers and their ultimate decision to go on strike.

But the workers are firmly marshalling their forces with full conviction that their fight is just. The recent session of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress, has reiterated its full support to their struggle. Leaders like MAULANA AZAD and BARDHAN PATIL, among others, have also backed their demands.

Workers' Demands
What is the reality behind these demands and the ordering

of an adjudication? First, it must be very clearly understood that the proposed adjudication does not refer to the demands of the railway workers, through the AIRF, but to the demands of the last of many years. The workers asked for measures to prevent the more re-employment of over three lakh workers; revision of the scales of pay, a demand denied for a number of years; and an adequate grant of dearness allowance, a demand which even the Government-appointed Court of Enquiry had fully accepted. Their

fourth demand was for a war bonus equivalent to three months' wages, so that they could, like workers in other industries, be compensated to some extent for the abnormal rise in the cost of living. These were their minimum and just demands. But instead of meeting any one of these the Government has ordered an adjudication which will only saddle the last of many years' work and leave them in the lurch. The Government is already being criticised by the Government for its legislation for an 8-hour day.

Miserable Scales Of Pay

The main issue in dispute was revised scales of pay. The AIRF had demanded a minimum wage of Rs. 32 for unskilled workers and Rs. 50 for skilled workers, all with dearness allowance.

While the war was on, the Railway Board advised postponement of the issue till the end of the war. The war over, they asked for summer joblessness till the end of the year. And then they took to foot a war and a half!

It is worth noting here the wages of the Indian railway workers. In 1914, an average low-grade employee got Rs. 6 per month. In 1924, it was raised to Rs. 12. Later, on the G.I.P., there was another revision, but even this did not lead to any engineering worker getting pay-ments over Rs. 15.

The Royal Commission on Labour, which in 1920 that 54% of the railway employees draw salaries less than Rs. 33 per month, that engineering workers who formed one-third of the staff got on an average Rs. 12 only. It must be noted here that these averages have been simple averages where the high salaries of the supervisory staff have also been included in the calculation.

The situation worsened after this. The Board effected another revision of wages in 1930 and introduced the notorious 'revised scales of pay' system which is the greatest discontent provoker. For the revision cut down the wages!

These scales, though formally introduced in 1928, had already been in effect since July 1921, their aim was to reduce wages still further, and they achieved the aim, effecting a saving of at least Rs. 17 crores. Different grades were introduced for the same type of work in different areas on the same railway. All scales under Rs. 25 were reduced by a rupee. In many cases, even the monthly increment of a rupee was reduced to eight annas.

To give one instance of low wages. On the B. I. Railway, Station Masters draw a monthly stipend of Rs. 25.

The average salary of an officer on the Indian railways was Rs. 7,000 per month, that of a worker between Rs. 12 and Rs. 17!

Dearness Allowance And War Bonus
The third demand for an adequate dearness allowance has been persistently put forth ever

since 1946. The Court of Enquiry appointed by the Government called the last Committee recommended in October a dearness allowance of Rs. 45 per worker. What the Government has done is to introduce various scales and grant varying allowances to each, the lowest getting Rs. 15 and the highest Rs. 33. This, coupled with the facilities for cheap train fares for those workers, distances allowances varying between Rs. 24 and Rs. 33, the best and the worst that they got according to their rank.

by D. S. Vaidya

The fourth demand for a war bonus equivalent to three months' wages is self-explanatory. It is the only way workers in many industries have been partially compensated for the high wartime prices.

The railway bosses have been campaigning to the effect that the workers are in no way better off for a general strike. The reality, however, is exactly the opposite.

In October 1946, the AIRF submitted a 10-point programme to the Railway Board.

"The proposals suggested, among other things, the re-employment of war-time railway workers to meet their peace-time needs, such as building of locomotives, etc."

"They suggested better third-class accommodations, so far as possible, by the vast mass of travellers."

"They demanded inclusion of railway lines into the industrial zone."

Further, they assure that the disarmed workers will be given employment to the best ability of the Government through the Employment Exchanges.

The proposals, which do hardly register more than a feeble response, could trust them to find alternative jobs for them. More so when employers from other Government jobs and factories are also being thrown out on the streets by thousands.

And after this 'assurance', the Railway Board cannot therefore, accept that adjudication on the above issues is either necessary or will serve any useful purpose.

As a last resort the AIRF had to issue a call for a strike ballot.

The Government and the workers' organisations for strikes, and refused with indignation. But, they naturally took all care not to refer the real dispute to adjudication.

It is thus only planned to cheat the people and pit them against the workers. The Board is even today in no mood to refer the workers' real demands to adjudication. Rather they would stoutly oppose it as has been made clear in their letter to the AIRF of April 1948.

It is not more in the nature of a tribute from an enslaved nation to a conqueror. If this is stopped, and the money used to meet workers' needs and provide amenities to travellers, Indian railways would really become a public utility concern.

Lastly, there is the huge dearness fund amounting to over 120 crores of rupees. Certainly it could be drawn from, if there is a will to meet the just demands of the workers.

These are only some of the suggestions. They only show that the workers' demands are minimum and just and that they can be easily met out of the present revenues of the railways.

It is thus more than obvious that the railway workers' fight for their just demands is one that deserves the fullest support of the people.

Only Public Support Can Avert Strike

The Railway Board and the Government of India are obviously having these men to go on strike. Their aim is to convert the people's shock at the justice of the demands into their own sympathy.

The battle these men are fighting is against the mightiest employer, the Railway Board, backed by the Government of India, waiting to sweep the interests of workers' aspirations.

It is the duty of all people and their political parties to see the issue clearly and support the workers' demands. The strike will force the Government to yield and meet the General Strike.

Sheikh Abdullah On Congress-League Differences

SOLUTION: FREE UNION OF ALL NATIONALITIES

[We give below extracts from an important recent statement by SHEIKH ABDULLAH, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference and Vice-President of the All-India States Peoples' Conference. Coming as they do from one of the foremost leaders of the popular movement in the States, Sheikh Abdullah's views will undoubtedly help towards better understanding between the Congress and the League—EDITOR.]

The first of the British Cabinet Mission to India has highlighted the prospects of a more complete constitutional adjustment of our country.

But the bitter experience of the past makes us apprehensive that while the work of the British Raj will try to maintain its hold on Indian territory by taking advantage of the divisions in the ranks of organised political opinion. The need for a united stand against these three machinations of the British Government is present to imperative as ever.

Disrupting Factor
An analysis of the present situation shows that there are two factors which might obstruct the possibility of a speedy solution of the constitutional problem. The major one of these is the fundamental difference of outlook in the two main political organisations, the National Congress and the Muslim League, in regard to the character of the future Federation.

The differences of the Congress and the Muslim League revolve round the question whether India shall have one or two Constituent Assemblies.

The Congress, as stated in the Poona Declaration of the Working Committee, envisages an Indian Union based on a federal constitution. It, however, does not

comprehend the possibility of a constitutional solution on a non-federal basis. This might be suggested after a fundamental revision of the Poona Declaration. In any proposed Indian Union all such proposals have the option of being or not joining the Indian Union.

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Strike Ballot On GIP And BCCI WORKERS READY FOR FINAL SHOW-DOWN

THE call of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) for a ballot for a general strike in the third and fourth weeks of April, has received the most heartening response from workers all over India. Figures of ballot on five railways, so far available (86% have voted for strike) show that the railway worker, from one end of the country to other, is getting ready for the final showdown against his bosses, the Railway Board.

Longing instances of working-class organisations have been received during this ballot. A remarkable feature has been the whole-hearted support the demand has been getting from the clerks, who so far had kept aloof from the workers' struggle.

On The GIP Ry.
Thus on the GIP Ry., 67% of the clerks voted for the strike. Only 13% voted against it. Previously, the management had flooded the office, etc., with long handbills taunting the adjudicator. But to no purpose.

Incomplete results on this railway show the following: Out of a total Union membership of 15,000 between Bombay and Kalyan, 9,371 voted. Of these 8,812 voted for strike. A margin of 96% was recorded.

More, about 2,500 new workers joined the Union between Bombay and Kalyan, during these few days. They joined it because they also wanted to vote for strike.

On The BCCI Ry.
Unlike on the GIP Ry., there are three Unions on this railway. The BCCI Railwaymen's Union, the BCCI Railway Clerks' Union and the BCCI Railway Employees' Union led by Royce Kulkarni, which is a branch of the BCCI Employees' Association, newly revived by some Congressmen.

The "Men's Union" held their elections as per directions of the AIRF.

The results on 3 branches of the Union show that out of 1,400 who voted, 1,471 voted for the strike. In 1,471 votes were given to striking in the Maharashtra State Government, for the 124 clerks

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Princes' Memorandum To Cabinet Mission

PUBLICATION EXPOSES BRITISH - PRINCES CONSPIRACY

Big Stir In States Peoples' Camp

THE PUBLICATION BY PEOPLE'S AGE OF THE PRINCES' MEMORANDUM HAS MADE A BIG STIR IN THE STATES PEOPLES' CAMP.

WHEN I MET SHEIKH ABDULLAH (PRESIDENT OF THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR NATIONAL CONFERENCE), he asked me for a copy of the paper. When I gave one to him, he immediately drew the attention of those States peoples' leaders who were sitting with him to the last paragraph where the Princes demand that "there shall be no transfer of territory or change of boundaries of States."

Sheikh Sahib also pointed out the significant last sentence of the Memorandum which says that "a renounceable sovereignty on the part of the British Parliament should not be regarded as either essential or necessarily suited to the conditions of India."

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From Our Correspondent

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Grievances Of Bombay Textile Labour

by
S. A. Dudge

PROPOSED ARBITRATION WILL IGNORE REAL DEMANDS

Workers' Own Genuine Red Flag Union By-Passed

Attempt To Bolster Up Owner-Sponsored Mazdoor Sangh

ON April 3rd, the Congress Ministry took office in Bombay.

On the same day, a mass rally of textile workers, held under the auspices of the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag), welcomed the advent of the new popular Ministry and the end of the Governor's Raj. The meeting reminded the Ministers of the promises they had made in their previous tenure of office (1937-39) in regard to the demands of the textile workers, which are recorded in the reports of the Textile Enquiry Committee.

"Look back into these reports, fulfil the promises made therein and plan well for the future"—said the voice of labour.

Even before the elections had begun, the situation among Bombay textile workers had become critical and the crisis was revealed in several spontaneous strikes.

In the last three months, ten to fifteen mills demanded revision of wages, and some, impatient of the dilatory process of the conciliation machinery, went on strike.

Two or three succeeded in securing 5 to 7% increase in wages. Some mills fought and won under the Red Flag, some failing to achieve unity among all sections of workers, refused to go to any union.

Those who went and took counsel with the disruptive owner-sponsored Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh, were given the "weighty" advice to resume work unconditionally and go through the process of law.

But the accumulated grievances of six years of war, the threat of famine, ration-cuts and underhand pilfering of wages by dishonest employers were agitating the workers, who, seeing the popular Ministry in office, demanded quick action. As in 1937, they were not prepared to wait for long-winded reports and unending arguments.

GMKS Formulates Demands

The Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag) formulated their demands and started a signature campaign among workers to serve notices on the employers as required by the notorious Black Act (the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act) passed by the Congress Ministry when last in power.

Only a few days after taking office, Mr. G. L. NANDA, the Labour Minister, warned the G.K.U. in the case of a mill strike that he would not give them a hearing if they went outside the four corners of the Black Act, howsoever much they might dislike it.

The G.K.U. took the signatures and served notices as required by the law, wrote a letter to the Labour Minister on April 22nd about the demands and waited for a reply.

Labour Minister Takes Action

The Congress Labour Minister replied to the letter, and took action. ON APRIL 25th, he invited a Press Conference, and there declared that the Government had carefully considered the position and had come to the conclusion that the ordinary procedure of negotiation and conciliation was not likely to lead to a speedy and peaceful settlement of the dispute.

"The Government has, accordingly decided, in the interests of both labour and the industry itself, and of the community, to refer the demands regarding the revision and standardisation of wage rates, adequate dearness allowance to the arbitration of the Industrial Court."

One would certainly be pleased to see the Congress Ministry moving so fast in response to the demands of the textile workers of Bombay.

But when one looks into the

PROFITS PILE UP WHILE WORKERS STARVE

Year	Net profits (in lakhs of Rupees)	Percentage increase over 1939
1939	65	—
1940	1294	87 p.c.
1941	7134	933 p.c.
1942	1,585	2,528 p.c.
1943	3,659	5,199 p.c.
1944	2,650	3,791 p.c.

NOTE: The figures given in this Table are the declared profits of 61 Bombay textile mills. The actual profits have been far greater. As is known to everyone, almost all the mills keep double account books and have been blackmarking in goods on a very wide scale.

grounds on which the Minister states he acted, and the method chosen to look into the demands, it becomes clear that the Labour Minister acted with partisan motives.

RMMS Does Not Represent Workers

The Minister is taking action not because thousands on strike demand it or that several thousands have served notices through the G.K.U. The reason is stated to be a letter written by the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh (R.M.M.S.), the Bombay counterpart of the Major Mahajan of Ahmedabad, of which the Minister was Secretary.

The Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh has been trying to oust the G.K.U. since 1938. Sardar VALLABHBHAI PATEL and Mr. M. Y. NURIE are on its Advisory Board. It has only 300 paying members as against the 12,000 of the G.K.U. Its candidate for the Textile seat lost in the elections.

And yet the Labour Minister refused to respond to the notices of the G.K.U., but moved because the R.M.M.S. had written a letter to him!

No doubt, the Ministry were moved to take action because of the strikes and the notices of workers, but while doing so it wanted to instal its Union in favour with the workers by conferring official patronage.

Industrial Disputes Act Condemned By Sponsor Himself

Secondly, it is pleasing to see that the B.I.D. Act, which had been imposed by the Congress Ministry on the Bombay workers at the point of bayonet, and had been condemned by the G.K.U. as a measure that stifles workers' grievances, is now condemned by the Labour Minister himself, the sponsor of the Act, as an Act "whose ordinary procedure of negotiation and conciliation does not lead to a speedy and peaceful settlement."

The demands sent to arbitration are those raised in the letter of the Rashtriya Mill Mazdoor Sangh. The demands raised

by the G.K.U. which are specific and precise and cover a wider field are brushed aside.

While the Sangh asks vaguely for increased standardised wages and the G.K.U. demands restoration of 13% wage-cut still remaining to be restored in terms of the Report of the 1938 Committee, an increase of 12½% in basic wage, standard wage and an 8-hour day without fall in earnings.

GKU Request Turned Down

After announcing the arbitration, the Labour Minister was good enough to call the representatives of the G.K.U. for an interview, in response to the letter and notices they had sent.

The representatives pointed out to the Minister the meaning of his action and requested him to issue a communique accepting the reference of the G.K.U. demands also to arbitration.

But he flatly refused to do so. He contended that the specific demands of wage increase and bonus raised by the G.K.U. were already covered by his general reference to wages in the terms submitted to the Industrial Court.

Questioned as to the vital demand for an 8-hour day, the Minister refused to declare the policy of the Bombay Government whether it proposed to apply the 8-hour Act to the Bombay Textile Industry or exempt it.

Owners' Conspiracy Against 8-Hour Day

The G.K.U. has definite information that the Bombay mill-owners want to be exempted and continue with a 9-hour day under the plea that reduction in the working day would affect the country's cloth supplies.

The G.K.U. demanded a clear statement of policy from the Labour Minister on this vital question. The Bombay textile workers are determined to have an 8-hour day.

In order to overcome cloth shortage, the G.K.U. demands strict measures against the blackmarket and the introduction of three shifts in the mills.

As against this, the mill-owners demand continuation of the 9-hour day or in the alternative, spreading two shifts over three, that is, the introduction of four looms per worker instead of two as at present, and employing

those rendered unemployed by this rationalisation in the third shift.

This is a most dangerous move and the workers are not going to tolerate it. Rationalisation under present conditions of work and living will be opposed tooth and nail and the Ministry would do well not to fall in the trap of the mill-owners.

From the trends revealed in recent conciliation cases, it is plain that the mill-owners are ready to offer an increase of 3% to 5% in wages.

The Bombay mill industry during six years of war have made 600% profits. They have earned profits of 90 crores on a capital of roughly 14 crores, in the five war years, 1940-44. In spite of ample production they have imposed a cloth famine on the people.

If the mill-owners try to escape a 25% increase in the basic wage and the introduction of an 8-hour day, no amount of compulsion or arbitration will lead to a peaceful settlement.

Workers' Rally

In a mass rally of workers called by the G.K.U. the workers were advised to place their case before the Industrial Court and fight for an award in favour of their demands. The G.K.U. warned the Court not to adopt the partisan attitude of the Minister and prevent the largest and most influential Union (the G.K.U.) from conducting the workers' case, as it has always done so far, and it called upon the Labour Minister to declare for an 8-hour day and not to ally himself with the mill-owners in favour of the 9-hour day and rationalisation under present conditions.

May Day Call Of World Federation Of Trade Unions

STRENGTHEN FIGHT FOR PEOPLES' FREEDOM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE World Federation of Trade Unions in keeping with the tradition of the International Trade Union movement, greets the workers of the world on the occasion of May Day 1946.

The Second World War has ended. Workers—men and women, of all ages—for whom the war has meant untold suffering and privation and destruction of their belongings, look forward to a higher standard of living, and greater social equality.

Throughout the world, the Trade Unions are the centre of all action which aims at the respect of human life, the organisation of social security, the fight against poverty, the reduction of social ills, the maintenance and stabilisation of peace, and the legitimate national independence of all peoples.

The World Federation of Trade Unions, which was constituted and founded during the war, has borne the trials of the final, necessary efforts of free peoples to achieve military victory over Nazism, Fascism and Japanese militarism.

WFTU - Workers' Greatest Hope

The Federation is the consecration of the greatest hopes of all workers. It is the realisation of the international Trade Union unity of all the forces of organised workers.

As at the end of the war of 1914-1918, so too at the end of the Second World War, the world's Trade Union organisations found it difficult to regroup themselves, and bore the devastating consequences of division.

The World Federation of Trade Unions is the embodiment of a deliberate, reasoned and voluntary unity between the same organisations.

Therefore, it feels it has the right, on the occasion of the First of May 1946, to appeal to the few national Trade Unions, which have not yet joined the World Federation of Trade Unions, and invite them to take the path which will lead them into the great World Trade Union community which unites

(2) The total victory of democracy over all forms of Fascism and Social reaction under whatever names they may come;

(3) The total and complete denazification of Germany;

(4) A more just distribution of the wealth produced by work, and a higher purchasing power for all salaried people;

(5) The reconstruction of towns, homes, factories and means of transport, destroyed by the war;

(6) Opportunities for all free and democratic nations suffering from the war to dress their wounds and find prosperity and the happiness of their people through work for all;

(7) The strengthening of the United Nations Organisation as an effective instrument for a just and enduring peace;

(8) The support of all those who, throughout the world, aspire to civic and Trade Union freedoms, and those who like the Spanish Republican people, hope to find again, with their freedom, their independence on their own national soil.

Today, by creating a disturbance in the international atmosphere, the international trusts and the forces of reaction are lining up to deprive the peoples of the world of the fruits of the victory which the democracies have gained over Fascism.

At this moment then, the World Federation of Trade Unions, issues this appeal to the entire working masses.

Workers of the world, men, women, young and old! On the occasion of May 1st, 1946, contribute to the expansion of the Trade Union movement, in all countries, the force of social progress and of human emancipation.

LONG LIVE PEACE!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS.

Programme Of Action

The World Federation of Trade Unions, the first world organisation of workers, recognised almost universally, greets the pioneers of the international unity of all workers.

Not only does it remind them of the necessity of unity, but it also appeals to them to do the work for:

(1) The triumph of popular freedoms;

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

Issues Before Foreign Ministers' Meeting

Behind U. S. Intervention in China

British Intrigues To Save Franco

THE Foreign Ministers of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain and France are once more in session, in Paris.

The main agenda for the Conference is the drafting of the peace treaties for Italy, Finland, Rumania, Hungary and Bulgaria. In addition, the French Government has proposed that the question of the Ruhr (Germany's most important industrial area) be discussed.

Ever since the announcement of the meeting, the Press in Britain and the U.S. has been conducting a propaganda war of nerves, aimed both to confuse public opinion and to force the Soviet Union to give way.

Here are only two examples of this.

On April 14, the well-known Imperial publicist, Scrutator of the *Tory Sunday Times*, wrote that "in the matter of the peace treaties, Russia has been and is the sole source of delay and disagreement."

Similarly, the London correspondent of the *Anglo-Indian Statesman of Calcutta* on April 15 reported "the pessimism with which the British view the prospect for any important settlements being reached at the Foreign Ministers' Conference."

Trusteeship 'Mystery'

In fact, both Britain and the U.S. have very clear-cut objectives in the Conference.

First, in the peace treaty with Italy, the British in particular aim to keep the Soviet Union out of the Mediterranean, on the grounds that it is Britain's life-line. For this purpose they are painting both the Soviet request for trusteeship over Tripolitania and the Yugoslav demand for re-union of Trieste with Yugoslavia as absolutely unjustified.

The truth, in fact, is that the Soviet Union only put forward its request about Tripolitania after it became clear that Britain, while agreeing in words to collective trusteeship for the colonies, was in fact itself attempting "to secure maximum British control of the former Italian colonies" (*The Week*, April 12).

When the Soviet request was made, the entire British Press immediately began to give the story that the Soviet was for individual trusteeship while Britain was for collective trusteeship!

The Soviet's position actually aims directly to check British Imperialism from converting the Mediterranean into an Imperial lake and the Middle East an Imperial base; they also want to ensure that the people of Tripoli too do not have to pass under the

rigid exploitation of British colonial rule.

As the influential Left-wing newsheet, *The Week*, wrote:

"Mr. Molotov made it clear in London last year that the Soviet Government would be unlikely to look favourably upon a sort of 'shadow' collective trusteeship... collective strictly 'in principle,' but in fact giving exclusive control to Britain" (April 13).

Secondly, over the Yugoslav demand for Trieste, and over the peace treaties with the Balkan countries, it is certain that both Britain and the U.S. want to frame such treaties as will weaken the New Democratic Governments that have won power in those countries and carried out pressing measures of democratic reform, viz., the splitting up of the big landed estates and the nationalisation of industries.

Problems Of The Ruhr

Thirdly, over the Ruhr, (the big iron-coal industrial area in Western Germany) the British

American Government will take into consideration the possibility of negotiating separate peace treaties with Germany's defeated satellite countries without Russian participation!

Kuomintang Defeats

THE latest news from Manchuria indicates that a deadlock has been reached between the Kuomintang and the Communists. Thus even two months of bitter fighting between democratic and Kuomintang troops in which the Kuomintang (KMT) has been decisively defeated, has not convinced the reactionaries at Chungking that their attempt to impose their domination on the people of Manchuria is a hopeless one.

For the fact is that ever since the beginning of April, the armies of the KMT have been soundly thrashed by the democratic Communist-led armies.

The biggest battle of all was fought in the second week of

by Mohan Kumaramangalam

particularly want to preserve the power of the big industrial magnates who were mainly instrumental in bringing Hitler to power.

The Soviet and Franco demand international control of the economic resources of the Ruhr, with expropriation of the capitalists. Obviously this is the only way both to harness the immense economic might of the Ruhr to European reconstruction and also to prevent that might from being used once more to bring to power Fascism in Germany.

The *Tory Observer* revealed on March 31 that because of lack of 'administrative personnel' (the usual capitalist argument), the British considered it necessary to retain "Boards of Directors," etc.,—i.e., retain in essence the old capitalist structure.

These then are the main issues which will be discussed in Paris; and it is clear enough that agreement will not come easily, particularly because even before the Conference started, already threats of breaking the Conference had begun to appear.

As the *Imperialist Sunday Times* wrote on April 14th:

"In the event of failure to secure Soviet collaboration in completing the peace treaties with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, it may be stated on high authority that the

April, south of Changchun; here two crack American-trained and American-armed KMT divisions (the 25th and the 14th) were smashed; 1,800 officers and men were killed, nearly a thousand taken prisoner and a large quantity of booty was captured by the Manchurian democratic forces.

In another clash, the 38th KMT Division was routed, losing over 1,300 officers and men.

The result of all these battles is that the Communist-led armies and democratic administrations control over 90% of Manchurian territory, apart from the territory still occupied by Soviet troops; and a KMT spokesman has admitted that "the Communists are in a position to occupy Harbin, Kirin, Dairen and smaller Manchurian cities without a struggle as soon as the Russians withdraw" (*United Press of America* report, April 22).

Meanwhile, General Marshall, the U.S. Envoy, is once again coming forward in the garb of the 'unifier.' He is reported (*Associated Press of America*, April 29) to have proposed a four-point programme including an armistice, retention of the status quo in Manchuria and ending of U.S. transport of KMT troops for civil war purposes.

This proposal, it seems, has been rejected.

U. S. As 'Unifier'

Whatever the truth of this report, however, it is interesting to note that once more General Marshall has intervened, just when the KMT was being defeated by force of arms.

In October the KMT was allowed to go ahead with its civil war in North China—until it became clear that they could not win; then in December, the U.S. came forward as the unifier, the KMT made concessions, agreement was reached.

Once again in March and April, the KMT was given freedom to go ahead with civil war in Manchuria, and once more when it faces defeat at the hands of democracy, the U.S. has come forward to act the 'unifier.'

Clearly then the U.S. is not in fact acting the unifier, but only intriguing (as it has consistently done for the last six months) to keep the KMT in the saddle.

It has trained KMT troops,

transported them to Manchuria, supplied them with arms.

When in the early days of March, the KMT achieved local successes, the Americans seemed happy, for no pious statement of the need for unity and cessation of civil war came from them.

It is only today when the KMT faces defeat, that talk of unity and peace is being put out once more by U.S. officials.

But the Chinese Communists are too strong and too determined to be caught by this; and there is no doubt that only decisive guarantees from the KMT about the introduction of democracy and the setting-up of a real coalition Government will lead to a cessation of civil war and the emergence of a United China.

British Oppose Action in Spain

WHATEVER may be the final outcome of the discussion in the Security Council on Spain, one thing is already clear, viz., that the British in particular are violently opposed to any effective action being taken to depose Hitler's Spanish Führer, Franco.

This came out when the internationally-famed U.S. columnist, DREW PEARSON, printed extracts from instructions sent by the British Foreign Office to their delegate to the Security Council, SIR ALEXANDER CADOGAN; and it is interesting to note that while the British deny that their policy is to keep Franco as Spain's ruler, they have been forced to admit the truth of Pearson's report.

"A member of Sir Alexander Cadogan's staff informed me,"

wrote the *Times of India* New York correspondent on April 21, "that he did not wish to deny that, apart from slight verbal changes and a garbled rendering of one sentence, Pearson's quotation was all that it purported to be."

And here are the main points of the instructions, contained in Pearson's report.

"(1) The U.S. and Britain are against opening the Franco case at the moment.

"(2) If diplomatic weight is continued to be put on gradually, Franco will effect some sort of compromise, acceptable to all except the Communists.

"(3) 'The U.S.A. and Britain will try to hold or postpone or complicate by obscuring procedure (at UNO) until the compromise has been effected.'

True to this policy of delay, the British first proposed a three-day adjournment; then the Australians brought a resolution, which asked for the appointment of an Investigation Commission—a resolution which, in an amended form, was finally accepted, the Soviet abstaining from voting.

This decision is very clearly a compromise—but a compromise which just because it postpones any effective action, suits the British; it allows them time "to put on diplomatic weight gradually" and thus to preserve the essentially Fascist structure of the Spanish regime while liberalising the outward appearance.

Mr. ATTLEE only last week boasted that the British stood for "freedom all over." It would carry more weight if he started by doing something about freedom for the Spanish people, where the first great battle against international Fascism was lost.

April 30.

Before Simla Parlays

Cripps' Separate Bait For Congress and League

By Wire.

NEW DELHI, April 30.

BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE LEAGUE HAVE ACCEPTED THE INVITATION TO A JOINT CONFERENCE WITH THE CABINET MISSION.

THE CHOICE OF REPRESENTATIVES ALREADY REVEALS THE nature of the battle that will take place—the selection of KHAN ABDUL GHAFAR KHAN for the Congress is meant to underline Congress victory in the N.W. Frontier Province which would be rubbed hard as an argument against a regrouping of Provinces into a Muslim Federation.

Mr. JINNAH, following his usual counter-tactics, has chosen ABDUL RAB NISHTAR, as one of the League representatives.

Battle Royal Over N.W.F.P

It is expected that each side will claim that this Province (the N.W.F.P.) has expressed its will in its favour, and this alone, apart from other issues, will give rise to a battle royal.

Both the Congress and the League have indicated in their replies their dissatisfaction with the basis proposed for the discussion.

Though Jinnah's reply is stated to be very satisfactory, I reliably learn that in the League Working Committee meeting, Mr. Jinnah expatiated on the terrible danger of defence being controlled by the Centre unless effective safeguards were also laid down.

The Congress has, of course, taken up a stand that it cannot limit itself to the terms of reference and would certainly raise its alternative scheme. The Congress leaders are now very annoyed at the way the Cabinet Mission has suddenly sprung these terms as a basis for the Tripartite talks.

They say that the Mission had originally come with a sincere desire to transfer power; but it is surrounded by officials, both civil and military, who are very hostile to the Congress, and it is their pressure which is ultimately telling on the Cabinet Mission.

CRIPPS, with his usual cunning is trying to mollify both the sides.

I understand that he told the Congress that they were unnecessarily critical of the proposals. In fact, he argues, by putting Defence in charge of the Centre, he has given the Congress full opportunity to develop the Centre into a strong one in the shortest possible time.

Illusory Hopes In Both Camps

Some Congress leaders are already falling a prey to Cripps' wiles, and are, I reliably understand, saying that Defence would mean not only Transport but also location and disposal of war industries with all attendant allocation of finance and collection of taxes. They are beginning to reconcile themselves somewhat to the British plan.

On the other hand, I reliably understand, that Cripps is assuring the League that they need have no fear, because the Centre cannot exist except with the co-operation of the Muslim Provinces.

On the eve of the second Simla Conference, it is clear that the Cabinet Mission is playing the same old game that Wavell played and the leaders of the main organisations, though sadder as a result of their past experience, and present moves, are yet not quite awake to the British trickery.

The Joint Conference is expected to begin at Simla on the afternoon of May 2nd or on May 3rd.

—From A. S. R. Chari

New Arrival

The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists

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Written in the form of a novel, this book represents the experiences of a Socialist house-painter. With grim humour and pitiless realism, the author has revealed the lives and hearts of his mates, their opinion of their betters, their political views, their attitude towards Socialism. He recorded in this book his criticisms of the present scheme of things, and weary of the struggle, he slipped out of it.

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HOOVER -- FOOD EXPERT OF WORLD IMPERIALISM

THE arrival in India of HERBERT HOOVER, the U.S. Famine Relief boss, was one of India's big events last week. Almost every newspaper in India gave his trip a big headline on the front page; all told, the general impression was given that India's saviour had suddenly arrived—the man who was going to prevent famine.

For Hoover is a big man—of that there is no doubt. He has been specially appointed to his post as Famine Relief boss by President TRUMAN, and as the official representative of the richest and most powerful Imperialism in the world, he too is rich and powerful.

Veteran Anti-Democrat

But that is not all. For Hoover is an old hand at famine relief; after the last war also he was the head of the American Relief Organisation in Europe. And his handling of that job is a very revealing story.

Here is what he said at that time about the objective of his famine relief activities:

"The whole of American relief policy," he wrote in a letter of 1921, "was directed to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik."

And his logic was simple. It was not his job to give people food, so that they could live to build a life as they wished to build, or to elect a Government in which they had confidence.

No—rather, he argued, "a weak (my emphasis—M.K.) Government possessed of the weapon of food for starving people can preserve and strengthen itself more effectively than by arms," and food must be used "to promote political stability."

So Hoover went ahead on this basis—to 'stabilise' 'weak' Governments like the bloody dictatorships of Baron MANNERHEIM in Finland, Marshal PILSUDSKI in Poland and Admiral HORTHY in Hungary. And he did all this successfully and well; so well, in fact, that his Imperialist bosses made him their candidate for the U.S. Presidential election in 1928. He won the election—only to land the U.S. in the biggest economic crash in history, and then to be thoroughly defeated by Roosevelt in the 1932 election.

After this, Hoover remained more or less in the background, a key politician of the 'Rightest' Right-wing of U.S. Imperialism—until Truman, having embarked on an anti-Soviet, anti-democratic foreign policy, brought Hoover back.

Obviously he is to do the same job

Character Of Second World War

(Continued from Page 11.)

Communist Parties of India and Great Britain.

In point of fact this characterisation was made by the Communist International in the Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in October 1939, and repeated by them in their May Day Manifesto of 1940.

Stalin's speech makes no proposal to revise the basic policy and decision of the Communist International with regard to this phase of the war.

On the contrary, the signal-essence of Stalin's speech is that it brings out clearly that important phase of history which developed through these years and which the attempts of the Imperialists either through their declarations of war or through their anti-Communist propaganda to turn the war into a civil war.

It is not to be the

now as after World War I, to use food to promote the 'stability' of 'weak Governments'—against the New Democracies of Europe and the rising colonial liberation movements, and in favour of Germany and Japan.

Refusal To India

And this too is no longer speculation. For it is already clear that the Imperialists are not sending food-grains to feed the needy millions—but to bolster reactionary political movements, and this is the real reason why India's request for 40 lakh tons of wheat and rice has been rejected by the so-called Combined Food Board.

"India's case," wrote the Washington correspondent of the Indian Express on March 8, "will be considered by the Combined Food Board not on standards of mercy but on standards of political expediency (my emphasis—M.K.). . . The State Department is acutely aware of the tremendous political role food plays in Europe today.

"In many countries, Anglo-American food shipments have meant the difference between a Communist regime and one friendly to the Anglo-Saxon powers. If Mr. Truman can be convinced that the political stakes in India are as important as those in Europe, India stands a good chance of receiving at least a part of the supplies which she needs. . ."

Of course, after this, the Combined Food Board, towards the end of March, did sanction 60 per cent of India's request (24 lakh tons of wheat, 14 lakh tons of rice) for the first half of 1946, though it postponed consideration of India's demand for the second half of 1946 till the end of May. But even then before the week was out, President Truman and the U.S. Secretary, CLINTON ANDERSON, had begun saying that the situation in India had materially improved.

Meanwhile, in both defeated Germany and Japan, the friends of reaction began to be worried about the growth of 'Communism.'

"In Berlin yesterday," reported the London Times on April 15, "a group of American editors and newspaper owners, after hearing from Mr. Hoover, Lieutenant-General CLAY and a number of food experts, unanimously declared that it was necessary to feed (1) Germans if democracy was to have a chance in competition with Communism."

Real Meaning Of Visit

So also from the Far East, the High Priest of Japanese reaction and Dictator of Japan, General MACARTHUR, was reported (Times of India, April 18) to be "arguing that if these (500,000 tons of wheat) allocations are not made, he will need more occupation troops to quell food-riots."

This then is the real nature of Hoover's visit to our country, not to see if the Indian people need food, but to see if it is 'politically' necessary to send food to India, not to save India's lives but to investigate the 'stability' of the obviously weak Indian Government.

In fact, this is just how Imperialism's favourite Indian lackey, RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR, argued before the Combined Food Board.

The Indian delegation's memorandum to the Combined Food Board, reported the Indian Express on March 7th, would "outline the main strategy, to be followed by the delegation while interviewing the Washington officials. The theme of these discussions will be that, besides humanitarian considerations, the United States should help India in order to avoid a possible revolution entailing the spread of Soviet influence towards India." (My emphasis—M.K.)

Hoover has arrived—and not gone yet. But whatever words of 'sympathy' for India come from him, we should do well to remember who he is. He is a representative of U.S. monopoly, out to weaken and so destroy democracy; which only means that it is not sweet words to him that will get food for India to save Indian lives, but only the combined pressure

of the Indian and all other democratic movements, directed to blow up Hoover's food conspiracy against the people and democracy.

And this is what is really behind Hoover's appointment and Hoover's world trip.

Hoover gave food to Horthy, Mannerheim and Pilsudski after the last world war; he backed Miller-Messeall war against the Spanish Republic; he endorsed the betrayal of Munich that gave Czechoslovakia to Hitler; he even asked the U.S. to send food relief to the Nazis when they were going all-out in their effort to enslave the world.

Now he is back again, and every Indian democrat should beware of him, the servant of worst reaction, whose only work in India will be to use his control of food to bolster 'unstable, weak' Governments and crush Indian democracy.

—M. Kumaramangalam.

ANTI-DEMOCRATIC OFFENSIVE IN CHINA

(Continued from Page 12.)

And while the Communists fought, the KMT openly and repeatedly expressed its willingness to settle with the enemy on the basis of surrendering to Japan all that it had captured up to the year 1937—which, of course, meant the surrender of Manchuria.

Today, KMT troops, in flagrant violation of the truce terms, are attacking the very same Communist armies who fought alone all these years for the cleaning out of the Japs from Manchuria. More and more KMT troops are being poured into Manchuria, with no other purpose than to attack the Communists, who have built up strong democratic local administrations in the territories they freed from Japanese and puppet rule.

With these wanton military attacks on the Communists to back them, the KMT reactionaries are endeavouring to blow up every one of the political decisions of the Inter-Party Political Consultative Council.

First in the recent meeting of the KMT Central Committee and then in the March session of the KMT-controlled People's Political Council, they tried to have the Agreement rescinded. When they failed in this, they changed their tactics and tried to secure "amendments" to each decision in order to nullify the entire purpose of the Agreement.

The New Constitution

On the fundamental question of the new constitution, the reactionaries are seeking to go back on the decisions of the Political Consultative Committee by which:

* (1) The new Legislative Yuan (Chamber) would possess the normal powers of a Parliament in other democratic countries and would be directly elected by the people.

* (2) The Executive Yuan (Cabinet) would be responsible to the Legislative Yuan as it is in every democratic country, and would resign if faced with a "no-confidence" vote in the Legislative Yuan.

* (3) The President would be a Constitutional Head and not be above the Yuans, armed with unlimited powers.

* (4) Every Province would have its own Provincial Constitution or Autonomous law, thus allowing full freedom to the people of the different Provinces to adapt their constitutions to

Science And Socialism

(As. 6)

Written in simple language, it answers the question, "Why is science not always used in the interests of the people?" It analyses the part which science has played in human progress, and realising that the vast potentialities of science as an instrument of human betterment have as yet hardly been realised, it indicates how the prospects for the full use of this ever-growing power of science (and, therefore, of scientists) are bound up with social forces.

Medicine And Socialism

(As. 4)

Like so much else in the present stage of Capitalism, medicine has reached a crisis. The contrast between what might be done and what is done, faces every doctor in practice and every public health service that is worth the name. It lays bare the impediments to the full utilisation of the advance of medical knowledge, and shows how it is only under Socialism that the present anomalies can be satisfactorily solved.

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suit the different conditions (e.g., Manchuria, the democratically-led areas in N. China, etc.).

The reactionaries, however, are pressing for the adoption of the old and condemned "May Fifth" Draft Constitution framed by the KMT before the war on May 5th, 1936.

Under this constitution, the Legislative Yuan is subservient to the President, the Executive Yuan is not responsible to the Legislative Yuan, the President has unlimited powers, Provinces are not autonomous but under a rigorous centralised administration.

KMT Building Up "Safe" National Congress

It is proposed by the KMT to bring before the National Congress (the Constitution-making Body of 2,050 members decided on by the IPPCC and in which the KMT has an absolute majority) a number of draft constitutions, and then with their hand-picked majority push through as reactionary a constitution as possible.

This is, however, totally opposed to the IPPCC decision to present only one draft constitution—the one already agreed to by all parties and outlined above—to the National Congress.

To make doubly sure of their majority, the KMT is now seeking to add 150 more members to the National Congress—members of the KMT's "safe" People's Political Council. This again is in contravention of the IPPCC decisions.

Further, the KMT now insists that all members of the State Council recommended by other parties will have to be approved by the KMT Centre—a suggestion which clearly flouts the decision to end the one-party dictatorship, and rather confirms it in power.

Why Communists Are Non-Cooperating

Apart from all this, the reactionaries now refuse to give the democratic parties (the Communist Party and the Democratic League) even 14 seats out of the 40 in the proposed State Council. Only the securing of a minimum of 14 seats would make it possible for the worst measures of the KMT to be vetoed by the democratic parties (for a 2/3rd majority is required for the taking of all decisions in the State Council).

Finally, the KMT does not pro-

pose to reorganise the Executive Yuan (Cabinet) and the Ministries.

For these reasons it has been impossible for the Communists to submit their lists of recommendations for the State Council and the National Congress.

For participation in these bodies when, in every other respect, the KMT is keeping key-power in its own hands, would be tantamount to handing over the people of China to the dictatorship of the Fascist gangsters' clique inside the KMT.

American Imperialism instead of carrying out the declaration of President Truman to end the one-party dictatorship and see that the Truce Agreement and the decisions of the IPPCC are carried out is continuing to send financial and military help to the Central KMT Government.

Stop Aid To Chiang

In a stirring call to the Allied powers, General Chou-en-Lai demands the implementation of President Truman's broadcast declaration and of the Three-Power Moscow decision on China:

"That is the way to help China attain peace, democracy, stability and unity. On the other hand, any careless and uncalled for help (to the KMT) would certainly increase the sufferings of our people and push our country more deeply into civil war."

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Czechs On The March

Communists Lead Progressive Programme Of National Front

70 Per Cent Of Industry To Be Nationalised

CZECHOSLOVAKIA is being built again. The Nazis stole Czechoslovakia's machinery and agricultural products, they exhausted her entire economy. Although the material damage inflicted on Czechoslovak industry was not more than 10%, the total economic losses are 50%. The total damage inflicted on private Czech and Slovak property amounts to about 300 milliard crowns.

Only resolute and far-reaching measures could, in these circumstances, revive the economic life of the country.

Nationalisation Decrees

The people of Czechoslovakia realised fully that the backbone of any plan of reconstruction was — Nationalisation. Boldly they went ahead with the following radical measures:

- THE property of Germans, Hungarians, traitors and collaborators was brought under national management, with administrators popularly appointed from among the employees of each enterprise. By October 1945, already 9,000 employers were under national management, paving the way for nationalisation.

- The confiscation of land owned by rich Germans, Hungarians and Czech and Slovak traitor-landlords, and its allocation to Czech and Slovak peasants and agricultural workers. The confiscated German land alone amounts to 64 lakh acres of agricultural land of which half is arable. With 25 acres as an average holding for a family—we can see that nearly 130,000 Czech peasant families have secured agricultural holdings. In Slovakia, their number is about eighty to ninety thousand.

- THE nationalisation of Banks, private Insurance Companies, mines, basic and key industries. The nationalisation of the mining industry is 100%, engineering 85%, the food industry 20%. Taking Czechoslovak industry as a whole, about 70% is covered by the nationalisation decrees (compared with Britain where the Labour Government aims at nationalising a mere 20%).

Govt. Of The National Front

Behind these progressive measures is the present Government of Czechoslovakia, composed of an equal number of representatives of the six political parties, which originally formed the National Front; viz., the four Czech parties—Communists, Social Democrats, National Socialists and the Catholic People's Party; and two Slovak parties, Communists and Democrats.

The new political system is in many ways different from that prevailing in pre-war Czechoslovakia. Then, there were no fewer than 16 different political parties, including the most reactionary parties representing the big landlords and monopolists—Czech, Slovak, German and Hungarian.

Today these anti-people parties are banned by Government decrees and are not permitted to resume any political activities. It is this ban which helps to guarantee rapid progress in Czechoslovakia.

Most important and strongest of the parties which form the Government is the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Since the time of its foundation in 1921 it has always been one of the biggest political parties in the country. At the last general election in 1935, the Party won 30 out of 300 seats in Parliament, and was the fourth among the big political parties. However, the membership of the Party then only numbered some tens of thousands.

Today, the Party has already one million members, organised in over twelve hundred local

and factory organisations. The total circulation of all daily papers of the Party is well over one million.

In addition to the one million members mentioned above, who are all of the Czech nationality—there are two lakh members of the Slovak Communist Party. Thus the total number of Communist Party members in Czechoslovakia is 11.2% of the total population (according to ration-card figures) of 10.7 millions. And if we take the percentage only of the adults, and exclude the children, it would obviously be very much higher.

Communists Most Active Factor

Members of the Communist Party hold a number of important Portfolios in the present Government. Among them are those of Vice-Prime Minister, Ministers of the Interior, Information, Education, Agriculture and Social Welfare, Vice-Prime Minister of Slovakia and Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The programme of the National Front has, in the main, been elaborated by the leaders of the Communist Party, who are recognised by all to be the most active factor in the National Front and the Government.

At the recently held Eighth Congress of the Party at Prague, its Chairman KLEMENT GOTTWALD in his concluding remarks declared:

"Our policy remains that of support for the National Front. We will maintain and strengthen the unity of the National Front. We will try and strengthen it by the inclusion of the broad mass organisations, such as the trade unions, co-operatives and farmers."

The Trade Union movement in Czechoslovakia is today united and strong. In 1937-38 there were about 800 different trade unions led by 19 headquarters. The whole movement was split on lines of party politics.

Today the trade unions are 100 per cent united, with a total membership of two millions.

The Chairman of the United Trade Unions is ANTONIN ZAPOTOCKY, one of the leading members of the Communist Party.

Elections On May 26th

There is no doubt that the Communist Party is the biggest single political party in Czechoslovakia. To what extent the people are satisfied with and support the policy of the Party, will be shown definitely at the general elections, which take place on May 26th.

Recent elections to local National Committees (the local Councils) though, too few to allow one to draw accurate conclusions, are a pointer for the

General election. The results in 17 localities are as follows:

Communist Party	49 %
Social Democratic Party	17.5 %
Czechoslovak National Socialists (known as Benes' Party)	23.5 %
Catholic Peoples' Party	10 %

Communist-Socialist Unity

What makes it certain that the working people of Czechoslovakia are going to win their battle to take over power is the close unity which exists between the Communists and Socialists.

The Communist Party, the Social Democrats and the Czechoslovak National Socialists (Benes' Party) have formed, within the National Front, the "National Bloc of the working people in towns and villages."

On June 16th, 1945, they concluded an agreement regarding their joint policy in the Government, on the National Committee, and with regard to the establishment of united trade unions, co-operatives, gymnastic and youth organisations, etc.

How powerful the National Bloc can be seen from the fact that in the results quoted above, the three parties which compose the Bloc have secured between them ninety per cent of the total number of votes.

Yes, one thing is clear. Whatever the election results may be, the people of Czechoslovakia are confident of their future and are determined to get what they want.

Yes, keep your eyes on Czechoslovakia.

'CZECHOSLOVAKIA WILL BE FIRST TO ACHIEVE SOCIALISM OUTSIDE USSR'

—British Communist Leader's View

"There can be no doubt of the hard time the people of Czechoslovakia are having. But there is a confidence in the country that is inspiring to see."

"There is no pessimism about the working people. There is a spring in their tread. They know where they are going and they are determined to get there. The attitude to nationalisation is magnificent, but only because they know they are the driving force in it. That it is themselves and the nation they are working for. That they have a decisive part to play. That democracy is not a fig-leaf for capitalist administration of a nationalised industry, or that the nation is placing a noose round its neck by the character of the compensation it proposes to pay to the owners of nationalised industry."

"KEEP YOUR EYES ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA. It is going places. It is going to be the first country outside the Soviet Union, where Socialism is going to be established."

—(HARRY POLLIT, Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in a report on Czechoslovakia).

CHARACTER OF SECOND WORLD WAR

PALME DUTT ANSWERS QUESTION ON STALIN'S SPEECH

(Many of our readers have written to us asking us to clarify Stalin's reference to the character of the Second World War made in his speech of February 9 (please see People's Age of 24th March '46). We print below R. P. Dutt's answer to this question, which was put to him, among others, when the members of the Communist Party working at the headquarters met him at an informal gathering during his recent visit to Bombay—EDITOR)

QUESTION: STALIN in his speech on February 9 said:

"In view of this, as distinct from the First World War, the Second World War from the very outset assumed the nature of an anti-Fascist war, a war of liberation, one of the tasks of which was also to re-establish democratic liberties. The entry of the Soviet Union into the war could only strengthen — and actually did strengthen — the anti-Fascist and liberating character of the Second World War."

Does this, therefore, mean that the characterisation of the war as an Imperialist war from 1939 September to 1941 June (a characterisation made both by the Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of Great Britain) is wrong?

R. P. Dutt's Reply:
We had that question in England too but it has aroused no mass interest. I do not know what your experience has been. It is not a major issue. But it is a historical question, and it is necessary that there should be no confusion on it.

If you look at Stalin's speech carefully, it is perfectly clear what he says. He shows the general character of the whole period through which we have lived, the two world wars. He shows how both the world wars rose out of the conditions of Capitalism and Imperialism, but how in the Second World War there was an all-important new factor, Fascism, which was decisive for the character of the Second World War. The Second World War, therefore, was basically and from the very outset, a struggle of liberation of the

peoples against Fascism. If we compare this with the historical facts, the truth of it is perfectly plain.

When Did It Begin?
When did the Second World War begin? Everybody knows it did not begin in 1939. It began before that. The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, published, I believe, in 1937, contained an analysis of the Second World War and reference to it as such.

We are all aware how we have traced its development right from its inception over Manchuria in 1931, growing and expanding from that to Abyssinia, to Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and broadening out into the character of a full world war.

It is perfectly clear that the struggle of the Chinese people against the attack of Japanese Fascism, already beginning from 1931 in Manchuria and extending to China as a whole in 1937, was an anti-Fascist people's struggle.

The struggle of the Algerian people, supported by the international progressive forces all over the world, against Italian Fascism was a liberation struggle against Fascism.

The struggle of the Spanish Republic against German and

Italian Fascism, beginning from the summer of 1936 and drawing upon itself all the forces of the world on either side was a highly developed international struggle against Fascism.

Sept. '39 To June '41 — Merely A Phase
In the course of this entire development, a phase arose in September 1939 when CHAMBERLAIN and DALADIER declared war on Hitler, not for the purpose of carrying forward the struggle against Fascism, but in fact in pursuance of their same line of policy that they were already pursuing from Munich onwards, that is, to turn Germany from the West to the East.

The reactionary character of their policy was shown by the complete passivity in relation to Germany and the concentration of their military preparations through Finland for war on the Soviet Union, which was only prevented by the speed with which the Red Army broke the Mannerheim Line.

All this was one phase, one episode within the Second World War. It was an episode entirely expressing Anglo-French Imperialist policy, basically anti-democratic, basically anti-Soviet, and having nothing in common with the anti-Fascist liberation struggle of the peoples.

That Imperialist episode ended in the most disastrous consequences, with the over-running of Europe by Nazism. But from this arose the further consequence—the rise of the libera-

tion struggle in Europe through the resistance movements led by Communist Parties against the Nazi occupying forces. For Britain a very considerable point of danger was reached from the summer of 1940 onwards in consequence of the Munichite and Imperialist anti-Soviet policy that had been pursued.

United Struggle Of All Peoples Against Fascism
As a result, when the opportunity came in June 1941 for the alliance to be reached with the Soviet Union, the same Britain which two years earlier had rejected that alliance when offered by the Soviet Union, now with the complete agreement of all political parties and sections immediately seized the chance of that alliance.

Thus, there at last developed the full and united struggle of all peoples against Fascism and the victory over Fascism, for which we Communists had striven consistently from the outset.

Characterisation By C. I.
One further point. The question refers to the characterisation of the Imperialist phase of the war in 1939 as if it had only been made by the Com-

Autonomy, Not Separation

PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING, GENERAL ADVANCEMENT OF NATIVE LAND

Interview With Kurdish Leader

AGA MOHAMMAD QAZI is the leader of the Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan which has been so much in the news in connection with the so-called 'Kurd Revolt.'

In January, five representatives of democratic Teheran newspapers paid a visit to the town of Mahabad, the headquarters of the Kurd leader. They describe Aga Mohammad Qazi as "a very cultured and genial personality, handsome, an excellent conversationalist, about fifty years old, but looking much younger."

We give below the questions these correspondents put to him together with his answers, translated from a report in the Tudeh Party organ Rahbar — answers which show clearly the true nature of the Kurdish uprising, democratic and based on the people, and not dependent on foreign aid or support — EDITOR].

Q. WHAT are the objects of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, and do you also, like the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, demand autonomy?

A. FOR the last four years, autonomy is being practised here. We have already achieved this aim.

Party's Manifesto

Our aims and objects are clearly stated in the Manifesto of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan:

1 THE Kurdish people inside Iran are autonomous and free in their local affairs.

2 THE medium of education is their own Kurdish language, and they carry on all official business in that language.

3 THE Committee of the Kurdish region, elected according to the Fundamental Law, controls and supervises all social and Governmental affairs.

4 ALL Government officials must be from the local population.

5 A LAW be passed with a view to establish co-operation between the peasant and the landlord.

6 THE Democratic Party has Kurdistan makes special efforts to establish good relations between the people of Kurdistan and other peoples like the Azerbaijanis and the Armenians who live here. It strives to maintain complete unity and brotherhood between the different peoples in their struggle for freedom.

7 THE Democratic Party of Kurdistan makes efforts for the exploitation of all the natural resources of Kurdistan, for the development of its agriculture and trade, for the spread of education and for the improvement of the health of the people and the general advancement of our native land.

Q. ARE the organisations of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan limited to Mahabad, or have you branches all over Iran?

A. THE Democratic Party has branches and organisations in all places in Kurdistan and where the dictatorial regime of Iran makes our working openly impossible, we work secretly.

Q. DOES the Democratic Party maintain relations with non-Iranian Kurds?

A. ALWAYS.

How Autonomy is Exercised

Q. HOW does the Democratic Party fulfil its administrative jobs? What has been the concrete form of the autonomy which you say has been practised for the last four years?

A. THE moment we got an opportunity to put our desire for autonomy into practice, we held elections. Elected representatives from all over (Iranian) Kurdistan came to Mahabad. These representatives formed a body to manage the affairs of Kurdistan and to maintain relations with the Central Government of Iran.

This body, whose Chairman I am, is called "The Higher National Committee," and manages the affairs of Kurdistan.

Q. THE daily Ettelaat published a news item alleging that you and your colleagues went to Baku, and while returning, brought a large quantity of armaments, and paper and printing machines for the establishment of a Communist Party. Is this news correct?

A. I most emphatically deny this. I bought paper and a printing machine at Tabriz and this can be confirmed by anyone from the dealer there.

Q. CAN you tell us what can be the motive of this newspaper in inventing this story?

A. I believe this canard was invented by the military staff at Tabriz, and the main reason is the intense hat-

red some of those at the helm of affairs at Teheran feel towards the Soviet Union.

Q. IS there a Communist Party in Kurdistan?

A. WE stand for democracy, and so in the area under the Democratic Party's administration, the people are free to have any political beliefs they like. But the only organisation so far openly working in Kurdistan is the Democratic Party.

Q. IS any daily newspaper printed and published from Mahabad?

A. I am publishing the daily Kurdistan from here. It is the official organ of our Party. But the Iranian Government does not permit its distribution in other parts of Iran.

Negotiations With Central Govt.

Q. DURING the last few years in which you have been practically autonomous, have you ever carried on negotiations with the Central Government?

A. YES, I entered into negotiations with the Central Government twice. I went to Teheran on both occasions for this purpose. The first negotiation took place three years ago.

The second, only last year, when I came back to Mahabad with AQA KAZMI, the Education Minister, I told him that our "fallow land" has the capacity to grow everything. Why is the Government sitting idle? With the aid of edu-

cation and propaganda you can sow any seeds that you like.

I told the Education Minister that the way to do this is to allow the Kurds to use their own language. Today he has to waste five years of his life to master the Persian language. If education is given through the Kurdish language it too will expand and develop the capacity to express newer ideas.

I met the King also. He complained to me about the behaviour of the Kurds living near Reza'yah. I reported that this complaint is really against the Government. If no steps are taken to educate and enlighten them, the people remain ignorant and do not know what is in their interest and what not. The King looked serious and asked me to write down our demands.

Last year also I saw the King. None of the promises of the Central Government had been fulfilled. I again reminded him of all that.

Unity With Democratic Party Of Azerbaijan

Q. YOU say that you stand for the autonomy of Kurdistan.

Why have you sent your representative to the Democratic Committee of Azerbaijan?

A. AS the aims and objects of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan are very similar to those of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, and as in this struggle complete unity exists between the two parties, the presence of our representa-

tive in the National Committee of Azerbaijan is meant to strengthen our co-operation.

Q. DOES this autonomy you claim exist anywhere in the world?

A. THIS type of autonomy already exists in the United States of America and the U.S.S.R. In the Soviet regime complete democracy exists and the constituent units fully enjoy the autonomy we demand.

The hostile attitude adopted by the Iranian Government has made imperative big changes.

As a matter of fact, I consider the whole of Iran to be my Motherland. And I am ready to sacrifice my life for her. But if the Central Government continues its reactionary and anti-popular policy and sends guns and rifles to kill us here, what alternative is left for us?

Programme Of Reforms

The reactionaries try to cover up their shameful activities by saying that Kurdistan wants to be independent and raises the banner of revolt. On this plea they want to crush and kill us. The Azerbaijanis and we had no intention of separation, but the Central Government and SYED ZIA-ED-DIN'S clique have made life hell for us. (Here Aga Mohammad Qazi's eyes became moist, and he became silent. After a long pause he again continued and told of his plans for introducing reforms in Kurdistan).

I want the Latin alphabet to be introduced here and Kurdish books printed in it. In mosques, men and boys will be taught this alphabet. I want all this to be done in the very near future.

Similarly, I want to introduce the normal international dress instead of the Kurdish one. I attach special importance to this. The Kurdish dress is a permanent impediment both in work and on the battlefield.

Many things have to be done because the Central Government has not taken a single step for the betterment of the Kurdish people in the last four years.

Behind Renewed Civil War In China

KUOMINTANG REACTION PLANS TO BLOW UP ALL-PARTIES' AGREEMENT

U. S. Imperialism's Dubious Role

By Air Mail.

CHUNGKING, April 15.

THE agreement achieved at the Inter-Party Political Consultative Council in China at the end of January was greeted by freedom-loving people throughout the world. For the first time after many years, China was united again.

But within the Kuomintang (KMT) there was a regular revolt against the Agreement. Leading it were, first, the "C. C. clique," (so named after its two leaders, the Chen brothers), the controllers of the KMT Party machine and the most viciously Fascist-minded group in the KMT and second, the Whampoa group of militarists, who represent in the Army what the C.C. clique represents in civil life—the most hard-boiled Fascist reactionaries.

During the last three months these groups have rapidly strengthened themselves inside the KMT and are reported to have decided to "place some five hundred crack party-careerists in various Government posts in order to capture the administrative machinery."

In a recently held KMT Assembly the clique severely attacked the Agreement. Several liberal members of the KMT, including the present KMT dictatorship and launch a final civil war to exterminate all democratic forces, with the financial and military help of the Americans.

Extended Influence Of C. C. Clique

The C. C. clique has also strengthened and extended its influence in banking and financial circles by securing complete domination of the Farmers' Bank of China, and almost complete domination of the Bank of Com-

From Our Correspondent

munications. Through these banks—two of the four Government banks in China—the clique is securing control of various financial enterprises. Already it has a monopoly of the publishing business.

It is the C.C. clique, backed by other reactionaries, which is putting through a well-planned conspiracy to blow up the decisions of the Inter-Party Political Consultative Council (IPCCC), preserve the present KMT dictatorship and launch a final civil war to exterminate all democratic forces, with the financial and military help of the Americans.

KMT Breaks Truce And Attacks

Already they have started to enforce their Fascist order in certain areas under KMT rule. Murders and kidnapping of progressive students are reported from Peiping. The Communist headquarters and press in the

same city were raided by KMT police and troops on March 3rd, and many arrests were made.

Despite the truce, signed on January 10th, the KMT has been attacking the Communist areas and troops, thus threatening the whole country with civil war. The following facts (revealed by the Communist leader General CHOU-EN-LAI, at a Press Conference on April 5th) give a striking picture of the way in which the KMT is violating the "Cease Fire" Agreement.

● SIXTEEN towns and 331 villages have been forcibly wrested by KMT troops from the Communists, since the date of the "Truce."

● DESPITE the clear agreement that all troop movements should stop, except by agreement of the Joint Military Operation Department (in which the KMT, the Communist Party and the Americans are represented) the KMT sent seven armies to Manchuria, concentrated troops in Hopeh, Jehol, Hupeh and Honan, and besieged with nine KMT armies the 50,000 men of the Fifth Division of the New Fourth (Communist) Army.

● JAPANESE and puppet troops, instead of being disarmed, are being kept for the anti-Communist war. In Shensi Province, 50,000 Japanese troops were kept armed and actually to attack the Communists by the KMT Governor of Shensi!

Sham Demobilisation

● THE "demobilisation" part of the Agreement by which both the KMT and the Communists agreed to reduce their armies, is on the KMT side,

being reduced to a complete force. Most of the demobilised soldiers are being recruited into a new organisation to be called the Military Labour Corps and into the Traffic Police Force. Both these organisations are meant to be used, quite obviously, as shock troops for anti-democratic repression.

● AND to crown everything else, on the 1st of April, fighters of the KMT Air Force demonstrated over the Communist capital of Yen-an for a full half hour. When Yen-an protested, the KMT authorities admitted the "manoeuvre" but refused to explain it, dismissing it as a "minor incident."

Civil War Begins—In Manchuria

In Manchuria the situation is very much worse. And fighting on a mass scale has been provoked by the KMT.

It was decided under the terms of the Agreement that Joint Field Teams composed of the representatives of the KMT, the Communists and the American Military Command, should be sent to Manchuria to enforce truce. But the KMT delayed the sending of these Teams and, in the meanwhile, launched a civil war.

When at last the Field Teams arrived at Mukden, the KMT troops in Manchuria, under the command of General CHEN TUNG-KUO, refused to stop their offensive against the United Democratic Armies on the fantastic plea that this offensive was necessary for the purpose of taking over sovereign command, and, of course, "has nothing to do with civil war."

The whole purpose is to delay and obstruct the work of the Peace Teams, in order to secure enough time to present them with a fait accompli.

When considering the Manchurian question, it is important to remember that it was the Communists who first started guerrilla warfare and formed the "United Anti-Japanese Army" and who resisted and fought the enemy for fourteen years.

(Continued on Page 16.)