

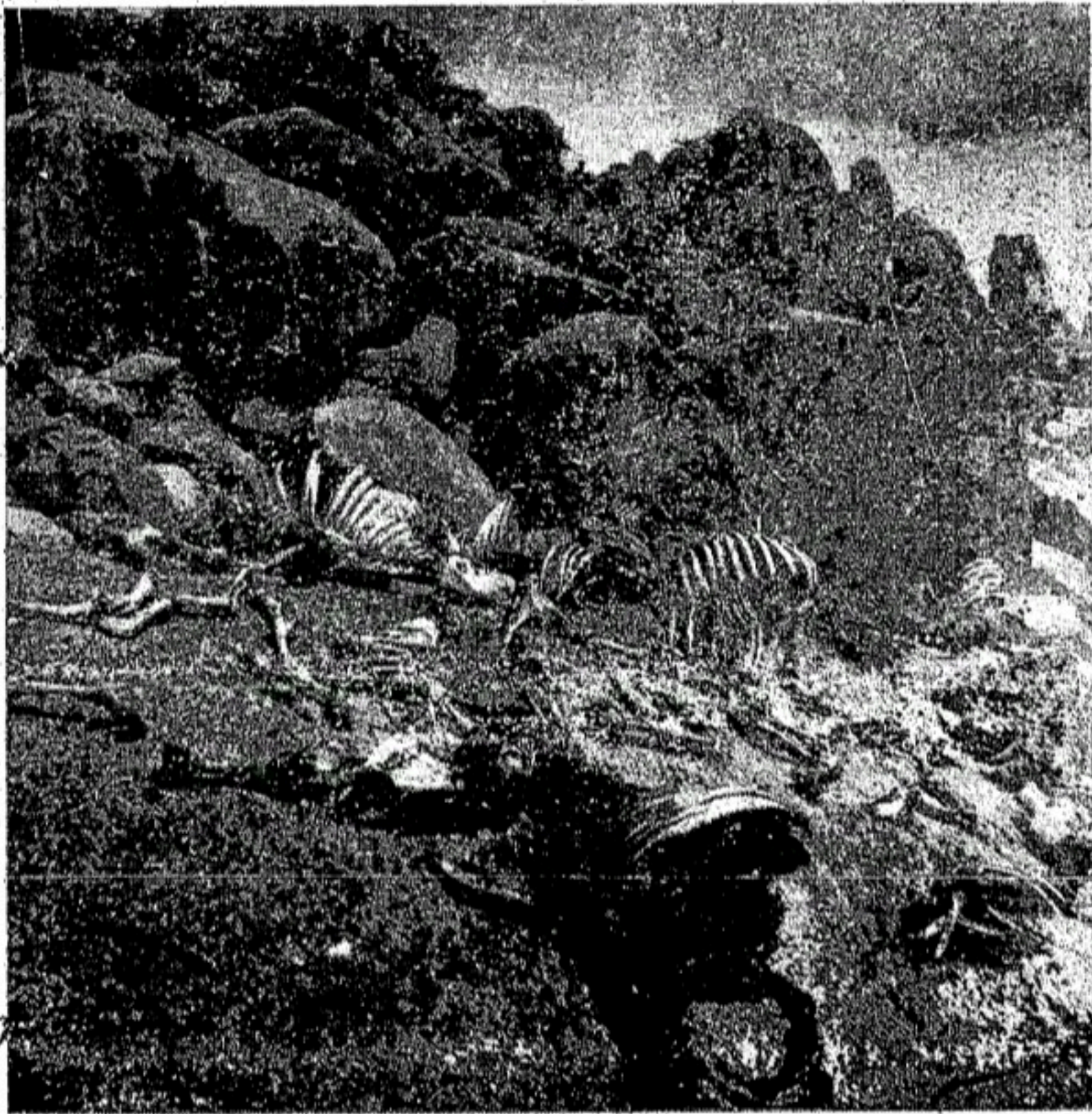
FAMINE CLOUDS IN THE SOUTH

(Story Page 12)



Destitute Peasant Women Begging In a Village in Anantapur (Andhra)

★ Photos :
Sunil Janah ★



Cattle bones piled on a hill-slope in Anantapur.

PEOPLE'S AGE

VOL. V. NO. 4

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As. 3.

IN THIS ISSUE

Goa Fights For Freedom

—Page 3

Ratlam Firing--Eye-Witness Account

—Pages 6-7

Conspiracy In Baluchistan

—Pages 6-7

Bombay Industrial Disputes Act

—Page 2

Anti-Democratic Offensive In Egypt

—Page 11

In The Oil Regions Of Iran

—Page 10

MOVE TO FURTHER CURTAIL WORKERS' RIGHTS

Proposed Amendments In Bombay Industrial Disputes Act

On May 22nd, the Bombay Congress Ministry announced its labour policy. It laid emphasis on introducing amendments to its own eight year old Act (Bombay Industrial Disputes Act) which had revealed in it "a few legal gaps and ambiguities and brought out certain administrative difficulties."

SIGNIFICANTLY enough, this statement was followed by a reign of whole-sale suppression of working-class strikes in Bombay, legal or illegal.

The proposed amendments to this act, which have now been announced, seek to put flesh into the skeleton of May 22. A bill embodying these will soon be on the anvil of the Bombay Legislative Assembly. It will then help other Congress Ministries to go ahead with similar legislation in their Provinces.

Will Hit Workers

The Act, as amended, seeks finally to close the gaps and loopholes (in favour of workers) in the present measure and give a better weapon in the hands of the owners to stifle militant trade unions. Let the Ministry be accused of "preferential treatment" (the present Act applies only to the textile workers), the amended Act will apply to all industries.

Eight years ago, when the Bill was first introduced in the Assembly, workers all over the Province had come out on a mighty one-day protest strike against it, demanding its repeal.

The Ministry instead of bending before it tried to drown this fury in the blood of the two workers whom its police murdered in Bombay on November 7, 1938. Since then the B.I.D. Act has come to be called the "Black Act."

The father of the Bill, Syt. Gulzarilal Nanda, was then Parliamentary Secretary to Premier Kher. Now he himself is Labour Minister. Naturally, he likes to do his job better and he has learnt a lot too.

In the Act as it is, unions recognised by the owners—a position Nanda knew could never be attained by the Red Flag unions—had some definite advantages. Nanda then fondly hoped that unions under the aegis of the bosses would flourish. Unfortunately for him that only proved a dream.

But if that failed, Nanda refused to accept defeat. If being owner-recognised means that the union is boycotted by the workers, then give it a twist and call it "Government-recognised", thinks Nanda. With the Ministry in your hands, it may as well serve the old game. Why not?

Compulsory Arbitration

And what will these "unions" look like? They must accept the principle of compulsory arbitration. In other words, they must say good-bye to strike as the legitimate and inalienable right of the working-class.

In return, Nanda offers them some 'favours'. They will be 'free' to collect subscriptions inside the mill or factory, put up their notices inside, lodge complaints, etc. Let any trick be played, these unions must embody this principle of compulsory arbitration in their very constitutions. But the mass membership may one day revolt against the constitution itself? Cute Mr. Nanda says: "Then have no mass unions. Just raise the membership fees. Make it AS. 4 a month!"

What Nanda has offered as favours are really the basic rights of a trade union. A popular ministry should have made unqualified statutory provisions for the same. But Nanda's "square deal" will have no such deviations from its straight path!

ter how small, under the dead-weight of its long-winding conciliation, arbitration, etc. To Nanda's mind, however, just such provisions are its assets. So they must continue unimpaired.

Naturally he has not much to say about statutory recognition to trade unions, legislation regarding living wages and better working conditions, unqualified right to strike, etc.

The working of this Act has also shown in countless instances that it can never bend the war-rich owners. Conciliation, arbitration, or anything. The only exception to this rule was when Nanda's own Majur-Mahajan fought its dispute last year over continuation of dearness allowance. It won but only at the cost of a wage-cut!

Of course, Nanda has taken due care to tom-tom the illusory silver lining behind the dark cloud that is gathering over the working-class horizon. Under the amended Act, a union to be a 'representative union' will need on its rolls only 15 per cent of the workers in that industry (and not 25 per cent as today).

Work's Committees

Then there are the "Work's Committees" inside factories, creating "Labour Courts", for speedy redress of certain types of grievances, etc. Nanda wishes to administer poison-pills with sugar-coating.

The Work's Committee, for example, comes in as a part of the Government's scheme "to assist the growth of the workers' sense of responsibility to-

wards the industry and the community by securing increasing association of the employees in the administration of the industry....."

These 'Work's Committees' will have workers' and owners' representatives on them. It is not at all difficult to fill in the owners' seats on them, with paid stooges from the working-class—and then? Then—divide and rule.

Then again, both the Industrial Court and the Labour Court can only give decisions. They will have no power to get them executed. For that the workers will always have to take the help of a Police Court!

That is Nanda's amended B.I.D. Act!

End The Act

The way out is not to mend the Act, but to end it. "Repeal the Black Act" was the slogan of the organised working-class in Bombay Province for eight years. That remains its slogan today also and for more solid reasons.

If the Ministry is serious over its election pledges of a square deal for the workers, let it first appoint an impartial Committee (with workers' representatives) to investigate into the ravages of the Black Act, scrap it and enact new legislation on the basis of recommendations made by genuine working-class organisations in the Province.

Any other course will be resisted with all the might of the organised working-class. A General strike of Bombay textile workers is already in the offing. Industrial peace, so dear to the Ministry, can be had not in foisting on the workers a worse Act and depending on lathis and bullets to get it implemented, but repealing the present one and forcing the war-rich owners to concede the just demands of the workers.

India's Metal Workers On World's Map

AITUC Delegates At ILO Metal Trades Committee

There are over three lakh metal workers in India. The unskilled are paid as low a wage as Rs. 8 a month, while even the most highly skilled in Bombay receive no more than Rs. 41-8.

GROUND down in the war years by the soaring cost of living, the metal workers despite every effort of theirs could secure little redress. To quote just one example—the best—in Bombay, in the six war years the cost of living index number rose to 230, while the wages of the workers rose only to 172.5.

The Trade Union Congress was, therefore, glad when its nominees K. T. SULE and F. E. QURBAN, were selected to represent India's metal workers on the Metal Trades Committee of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), which met at Toledo, Ohio, U.S.A. in May.

The lies which British imperialist propaganda has been putting out in America and the world about the "improved" conditions of Indian workers could only be exploded by giving facts of the real situation.

India's Delegates

None were better fitted to undertake this task than Sule (one of Bombay's leading Trade Unionists and well-known for his brilliant defence of working-class interests in the law courts) and Qurban (President of the Punjab Provincial Trade Union Congress).

Of course, the International Labour Organisation has meant very little for India till now. For the Government of India has ratified hardly a dozen of the seventy labour conventions accepted by the I.L.O.

Even the Indian representatives of labour who have so far been sent to I.L.O., with of course a few very excellent exceptions, have been toadies and mere yes-men of the Government.

But at last the strength of the AITUC compelled the Government of India to send its representatives to this Committee. And Sule and Qurban were able to place the Indian metal workers' conditions firmly before the whole world.

There were a hundred delegates—employers, workers, Government. They represented 14 countries.

Right from the second day the Committee met, the employers of all 14 countries joined together and demanded: "Preservation and extension of the democratic, competitive Capitalism". Under this system alone, they maintained, was "maximum production" possible.

And to cap it all: "All interference from the workers in the management is destructive to world recovery."

On behalf of the workers, Anderson, the Australian workers' delegate, and Sule fought back. It was a proud moment for India's workers—when their delegate took on his shoulders the defence of the interests of the metal workers of the whole world.

Sule's speech was a thundering denunciation of the capitalist system and the havoc it had wrought in the world.

"We of the working-class of the world will pledge ourselves again with our own blood, to crush this ideology. We shall not surrender to you, and your class."

Recommendations

The three Sub-Committees, into which the Committee had divided, made a number of important recommendations:

● The Safety Committee has recommended international standardisation of statistics of accidents and occupational diseases. It has also recommended the study of international standardisation of warning signs in industry to reduce accidents.

● The Production Committee passed a number of resolutions relating to shortages of production in European countries, schemes of unemployment compensation and insurance, increase of economic and industrial potential in underdeveloped regions, and ef-

fects of technological improvements on the levels of production and employment.

● The Industrial Relations Sub-Committee was the stormiest and Sule was the centre of the storm. He moved a resolution recommending a close study of the wages and state of industrial relations in India and other underdeveloped regions.

Massing figures to prove the sub-standard wages of the Indian metal workers and the rate of mortality and the utter callousness of the Government and employers, Sule showed how in India industrial relations were practically non-existent.

He told them how the Government of India had refused all opportunities to India to expand and develop her industries during war, how India was maintained as a colonial market and how trade restrictions were stifling her.

All Governments with the exception of France and Australia, and all employers without a single exception ganged together and opposed Sule's resolution. They wanted no special reference to India.

Mr. Naoroji of Tatas, representing Indian employers, voted against the reference to India. Mr. Vesugar, representing the Government of India, after an apologetic speech, kept neutral.

Sule's Motion Defeated

On a vote being taken Sule's motion was defeated by 28 votes to 26.

But despite this, India's metal workers had come on the map of the world. And we can take it that the fight of the metal workers in India for adequate protection from the rapacity of the employers has been strengthened considerably by the exposures which Sule and Qurban were able to make at the Toledo Conference and the support they received from workers' delegates of other nations.

The next meeting of the Committee will take place most probably in Sweden next year.

by
P. B. Rangnekar



THE STERLING ASSETS OF THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA

By B. R. Shenoy
Published by the Oxford University Press for the Indian Council of World Affairs.

Price Rs. 4-8
THE problem of India's sterling balances occupies a place of major importance in any scheme of post-war reconstruction.

The entire Indian people have with one voice been demanding its availability to us so that on their strength we may be able to undermine the economic basis of British imperialism in India by buying off all foreign concerns and interests, and also import necessary machinery and other capital goods in order to build heavy industry in the country.

But because of our colonial status we are being deprived of their benefits. Our imperialist masters are planning to repudiate the entire sum or at least to scale it down considerably.

Written in a language beyond the comprehension of any layman, Mr. B. R. Shenoy's book is a shameless apology for these imperialist manoeuvres. Putting on the garb of an anti-Government patriot, Mr. Shenoy takes great pains to explode the Finance Member's "myth" of India having become a creditor country. Through sheer manipulation of figures, he wants us to believe that India is actually a debtor country to the extent of £1252.24 million because, at the 1945 price level, the value of British assets in India is £2274.78 million.

All the die-hard British Tories will be happy at Mr. Shenoy's brilliant discovery, because, he believes that "it would seem futile, therefore, to attempt to set the Sterling reserves of the Bank against the long-term debts of the country."

Buying off British investments in India, according to him, is not feasible. First, India is a debtor country; secondly, even the entire Sterling assets would not be available for the purpose because the Statutes of the Reserve Bank require a certain percentage to be kept as reserves; thirdly, whatever little amount of Sterling credits may be left should be utilized "for furthering programmes of internal economic expansion."

Mr. Shenoy clinches his argument by saying that the Indian capitalists, in the persons of the authors of the Bombay Plan, also agree with him, for they "not only contemplate appropriating the entire amount of the Sterling in possession of the Bank but, considering this to be insufficient, propose, in addition, to raise loans abroad for financing their plan."

The question of liquidating of British assets in India is regarded by Mr. Shenoy as entirely different from South Africa which is "virtually sovereign politically." Since "the likelihood of Great Britain being agreeable to part with her investments in India is exceedingly remote this question of the desirability or otherwise of our acquiring them may not arise at all."

Probably, our demand at the Brettonwood's Conference for free convertibility of our Sterling assets into dollars was a crime for which Mr. Shenoy will never excuse us. For, he thinks "that throwing the Sterling assets open for multilateral convertibility would be a suicidal step."

Mr. Shenoy continues, "It would lead to a scramble for the limited supplies of foreign assets and would thereby seriously jeopardise the post-war economic plans of Great Britain!"

Does Mr. Shenoy then want the entire amount to be written off? Oh, no, how could he betray his country! He says:

"Outright repudiation of an honourable debt is not only derogatory to the prestige of Great Britain but the circumstances of the case would render any such move wholly uncalled for. For, Britain's position of authority in India should easily enable her to negotiate almost any solution, less dishonourable than repudiation, which would satisfy her requirements more or less completely."

No wonder, Mr. B. R. Shenoy, once Principal and Professor of Economics of the S. L. D. Arts College, Ahmedabad, has been duly rewarded by imperialism for his meritorious services by having been taken on the staff of the Reserve Bank.

P. S. G.

GOA FIGHTS FOR FREEDOM

Break the ban on public meetings, which has kept Goa in its vicious grip for the last eighteen years—this was the first slogan, the first battle cry of the new post-war Goan Revolt.

M. R. Lohia's externment was followed by the holding of more and more meetings in defiance of the ban in towns and villages both.

And in reply has come a wave of inhuman terror, torture and arrests.

On June 23, the Goan leader Tristao Braganza-Cunha addressed the first defiant public meeting. The authorities were too shocked at this open defiance and rushed to the Governor General's headquarters to ask for "instructions."

Instructions

The instructions came.

On June 30, a public meeting was announced with Miss Berta Menezes Braganza (daughter of the great Braganza) as the main speaker.

About an hour before the meeting was scheduled to begin, the meeting place was cordoned off by armed military. Despite this terrorisation, over a thousand people gathered. Miss Braganza and Mr. Tristao Braganza-Cunha arrived and were ordered by the Officer-in-Charge of the troops to clear away before the military took drastic action.

Miss Braganza refused to obey his order. She began her speech. The Officer summoned his troops and ordered them to remove Miss Braganza from the place.

Mr. Tristao Braganza-Cunha intervened and told the officer firmly that there was no "danger of peace" if they were allowed to hold the meeting and if the troops withdrew.

Military Assault

Immediately, the officer began to belabour Mr. Cunha with the baton and ordered his troops to assault him. Six soldiers began to beat Mr. Cunha with the butt ends of their rifles till he fell on the ground. Miss Braganza was also beaten by the brutes.

But by this time the people present had fought forward and rescued their beloved leaders from the treacherous attack.

But the officer and his sol-

diere had not given up. They again grabbed Mr. Cunha and Miss Braganza, threw them into a military lorry and took them to Chandor, ten miles away, where they were released.

Terror Continues

In the meanwhile the terror continued throughout Goa.

● In Margao the troops attacked Vincente Cunha, because he was wearing a Gandhi cap. They beat him up, tore his cap to pieces and used the rags to wipe their shoes.

● On July 7, at Cuncoim, another Gandhi cap wearer was similarly assaulted, while a young boy of sixteen, Ananda Coredo, was thrashed with the butt ends of army rifles and made to suffer terrible agony when a bayonet was thrust into his mouth.

● Several meetings called in different villages on various days gave the army an opportunity to launch similar merciless assaults on all active workers of the Goan Freedom Movement.

● In spite of these brutalities, another meeting was called at Chandor on the 10th instant to commemorate the death anniversary of the great Louis de Menezes Braganza.

Troops March In

The troops drove in, as usual half an hour before the meeting time, and cordoned the maidan. Yet the public gathered and the meeting commenced right at the scheduled time. The troops did not interfere with the first speaker who spoke in Portuguese. But when the second speaker, Jochim Dias, had spoken for about 15 minutes, the administrator came forward and ordered him to stop. Unmindful of the order the speaker continued with his speech. The administrator repeated his order about thrice and then dragged the speaker away and detained him in the military car. No sooner was he taken away, then Chandrakant Kakodkar began addressing the meeting. This time the administrator instead of arrest-

ing the speaker ordered his soldiers to attack him. The speaker was mercilessly beaten by three soldiers at one time till he was rescued by the people. Others from the audience too were charged with butt-ends of the guns. Among the victims were Miss Berta Braganza, Vincente Cunha and others.

Cunha Arrested

● And finally on July 12, the army arrested Tristao Braganza-Cunha and announced that he would be tried by Martial Law. No reason was given for this unheard-of procedure —of trying a political leader by Martial Law.

But this has served to light up the monstrous barbarism of the Portuguese administration in Goa. The army authorities boast that they will see that the leader of the Goans is given the severest sentence possible: life imprisonment in the Portuguese penal settlements.

Don't Forget Goa

Will they succeed? The people of India must give the answer. Already Congress leaders like Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel have spoken demanding Cunha's release. But that can never be enough.

The fight for the release of Tristao Braganza - C u n h a

which symbolises today the battle for a Free-Goa, is being fought with a new intensity and a new vigour all over Goa, in its towns and its villages. To that fight must be added the voice and the action of India's 40 crores.

Don't forget Goa — Goa in revolt.

Civil Liberties In Goa

(Extracts from a recent speech delivered by Tristao Braganza-Cunha in Bombay).

"...We are at present deprived in our country of the most elementary human rights. We are ruled by outsiders who hardly know the conditions of our people, who have no wish to improve our conditions of life and who have for us the greatest contempt and ill-feeling. They do not wish any change because it is in their interest to keep us in the state in which we are at present.

"We are denied by them the most ordinary civil liberties. We have no freedom of Press, no freedom of speech, of association, and of holding public meetings. We are sometimes even denied freedom of conscience and the sanctity of precincts.

Press Censorship

"To give a concrete example, I can refer to the system of Press censorship as it is practised in Goa. In no country of the world are public writers subject to such arbitrariness and humiliation as in Portuguese India. No one has the right to issue a leaflet, a hand-bill or a small advertisement, not to speak of books or newspapers, without the consent of the all powerful Committee of Censors sitting in Panjim.

"These Censors never allow the publication of the slightest complaint against a public authority, nor the most mild criticism of the public administration, or even any unpleasant remark against the people who are in power. They only permit and even invite praises of the present system of government.

"Every fact, however true and notorious it may be, that is not pleasant to the authorities, is systematically suppressed from the public.

No Civil Rights

"...To this we must add the suppression of other liberties and rights. As every Goan must know, we have no voice in the administration of our country, which is entirely left to people from Portugal who send instructions from there to their agents in Goa. There are no representative bodies in our government system. The people holding all important positions are officially nominated and not elected. Even the municipal corporators are all nominated.

"The Government Council, where a minority of members are supposed to be elected by a very restricted electorate, has only a consultative voice

in the public administration, that is, it can only discuss and not decide. Those who retain power in our country do not represent our people and are not responsible to us. All power is practically in the hands of outsiders and we have to live in our own land like human cattle obeying their orders.

"...When people are deprived of all political rights, they can easily be reduced to a complete economic bankruptcy. That is what is happening in Goa.

"Some years ago the value of our imports was four times the value of our exports. That means that our condition was already bad at that time. Now the value of our imports has attained seven times the value of exports. That shows how our productive capacity has catastrophically deteriorated.

Economic Domination

"To maintain the economic balance we are reduced to export more and more our human labour which we are not able to feed at home. This exported labour has to pay, through their hard-earned remittances to their families, for the increasing imported goods that we need. This is the real meaning of our emigration.

"...Our cultural level is no better than our material standard. Eighty-five per cent of Goans remain illiterate after four centuries of the Portuguese so-called civilised rule. The main cause of the illiteracy is the forcing of the Portuguese language on a people who have no use for it.

"Our people are kept illiterate because they are refused primary education in the language that they speak at home. In order to learn to read and write, they are forced to study a language which is strange to them.

Discrimination

"...The military law has divided Goans in two classes: the 'assimilated' and the 'indigenous'. The assimilated are those who read and write the Portuguese language and are considered superior to the indigenous who do not know Portuguese.

"So low is the status given to Goans, both assimilated and indigenous, that they cannot aspire even to the rank of a simple sergeant in the army. To be an officer in the army one must be of pure Portuguese blood. We Goans are good only to pay a heavy military tax."

COMMUNIST PARTY GREET'S GOAN PEOPLE

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, which is now in session at Bombay, passed the following resolution on July 22, 1946:

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings and the fullest solidarity and support to the struggle of our Goan brothers against the clerical-Fascist dictatorship of the Salazar Government.

It expresses its strong condemnation of the brutal methods employed by the Salazar Government to drown in blood even the most elementary democratic demand for civil liberties in Goa; and sends its greetings to Tristao Braganza-Cunha, founder of the Goa Congress Committee and veteran leader of the Goan national movement, now under arrest and being submitted to trial under Court Martial.

The struggle of our Goan brothers for civil liberties is part and parcel of their fight for national freedom and self-determination.

Four centuries of Portuguese imperialist rule have made our Goan brothers virtual serfs of a handful of alien Portuguese overlords, driven thousands of them outside Goa even to seek bare livelihood, and reduced Goa to a position no better than the most backward and autocratic of the native States of India.

Today Salazar has dared to strike against the Goan people because he is encouraged by the support his friend and patron Franco is getting from British imperialism, and because he is panicky at the rising people's movement sweeping all over India and its support to the struggle of Goan people.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India demands the immediate unconditional release of Tristao Braganza-Cunha and all other jailed Goan patriots; and fully supports the just demand of the Goan national movement for complete independence from Portuguese imperialist rule and their right to be reunited, as they wish, with their Indian brothers.

Tristao Braganza-Cunha

TRISTAO BRAGANZA-CUNHA, leader of the people of Goa, is today locked inside the Portuguese Military Prison in Aynada Fort, awaiting his trial by Court Martial.

From his school days, Tristao plunged into political activity, determined to free Goa from the shackles of the Portuguese, who have ruled it for the past four hundred years.

As a student in Paris in the twenties, Tristao began to contribute to anti-imperialist and radical newspapers and magazines, putting before the people of France the story of India, its slavery, its struggle for liberation. He wrote the first biography of Mahatma Gandhi written in French, and no less a person than Henri Barbusse wrote a preface to it. Cunha returned to Goa in 1927, burning with a deep unquenchable passion for the emancipation of his country. It was only a year since the Salazar dictatorship had taken control in Portugal and there were still vestiges left of the formal civil liberties which existed under the old Republic.

Organises Congress Committee

Taking advantage of these conditions, the young Goan patriot set to work as soon as he landed in India to organise a Congress Committee in Goa—This was no easy task, but he succeeded at last and by 1928, a Goa Congress Committee was affiliated to the Indian National Congress. Cunha was elected twice to the All-India Congress Committee.

Congress work began in his own house—when he opened a school to teach spinning.

But the Portuguese dictatorship soon found its claws.

The Goa Congress Committee could not function legally any more, nor could Cunha's revolutionary writings appear any more in the pre-censored Press of Goa.

But Tristao would not be suppressed. He began writing political pamphlets both in Portuguese and in English—which were published in British India. These served to educate a whole new generation of the Goan patriots. His "Portuguese India", and "Denationalisation of the Goans" are scathing exposures of Portuguese imperialism, which every Indian patriot must read.

Apart from writing, Cunha fought for Goan interests in every possible field.

● It was his indefatigable work which was largely responsible for the repatriation of several Goan labourers employed in Assam, who were no better than slaves, and who had no chance under the corrupt system of employment of ever coming back to Goa.

● During the recent floods in Goa, when several families were rendered homeless, he collected funds and himself rescued no fewer than 500 families.

On several occasions Cunha has been prosecuted for his articles and books. But nothing has ever deterred him from his single purpose: to build a Free Goa in a Free India.

Goa's National Movement

There is a little strip of land on the Konkan coast, 63 miles long with an average breadth of 20 to 25 miles, separated from the rest of the Bombay Presidency by the high range of Western Ghats. Its name is Goa. It is the most important of three small enclosures in the West Coast of India which together form Portuguese India.

OVER five lakh people live in Goa—and all five lakhs are on the battle-field today, fighting for elementary human rights.

You did not hear of Goa's national movement, till suddenly the Indian Press flashed the news of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's arrest and externment on June 19.

But Goa has been fighting for many years—fighting an inhuman Fascist dictatorship, whose official colonial policy is a blatant assertion of the right of Portugal to 'possess' for ever its Empire and of the divine superiority of the Portuguese race.

First Battles

Early this century, the banner of revolt was raised by Louis de Menezes Braganza—who attacked the reactionary monarchy of Portugal and supported the Portuguese Republicans. During the period of the Portuguese Republic, 1910-1926, Braganza and a small band of his colleagues fought for self-determination for Portuguese India.

With the advent of the Salazar Dictatorship in Portugal in 1926, ruthless repression and curtailment of civil liberties drove the entire democratic movement more or less underground. And yet Braganza with the help of Tristao Braganza-Cunha, who had recently returned from Europe, built patiently a new patriotic movement, which asserted the right of the Goans to be free. Louis de Menezes Braganza himself died in 1938, but Tristao has carried on the movement.

The War And Goa

The war years brought terrible suffering for the Goans, for the 'neutrality' of Portugal brought with it a tug of war between the British and Portuguese Governments, resulting in dislocation of all trade between Goa and British India. Scarcity, famine, the blackmarket—all took their toll in Goa.

With the end of the war—together with the rest of India, Goa rose in revolt against the inhuman sufferings which Portuguese imperialism has imposed on it for four hundred years.

KASHMIR'S PHANTOM ARMY OF PATRIOTS ON THE MARCH

July 12
Terrible Fun

THESE fellows have learnt to use their lathis well now. Crack they come straight on our heads, our arms, our ribs. I wonder if it is terrible fun for them... I wonder what they feel like when their lathis hit our women, our children. Is it fun to see a child's little head cracked open? Is it fun to smash the tender, beautiful face of a Kashmiri woman?

It happened again today outside the Durgah-i-Sharif after the Friday prayers. It was fun on a mass-scale... the biggest bit of fun the scoundrels have had so far.

Oh they hit and they hit as though it was a forest of trees they were felling. Crack! Crack! And again crack!

Firm As A Fortress

But our people never moved. They stood like a mighty fortress, grim, silent, unconquerable.

And as the beating continued, as the blood gushed like mountain streams out of our heads, young lads—workers, artisans—clambered up on the roof tops and began to speak... Yes, they spoke of courage, of Sher-i-Kashmir, they spoke with a light on their faces, they spoke of "New Kashmir"—the land we are going to build.

"Quit Kashmir," we shouted as the lathis tore up our flesh. Speaker after speaker was dragged away, bayonets thrust into his limbs, by the devil-soldiers.

But as one fell another leaped up on the roof-tops to speak with the same young firm voice, the same light of courage, determination, hate in his eyes.

That was our answer to Dogra autocracy, that was our answer to the lathis...

On and on, till tired of their fun, the brute herd went away.

And our youth went on speaking....

July 13 The Phantom Army

IT is Martyr's Day... And the underground War Council has given its call. There are posters on the walls, on the street poles, on the public notice boards... and, yes, right inside Kak's own house, on the gates of the Maharaja's Palace itself! Who put them up? And how in a city bristling with steel, with soldiers? How? How? The White Resident and the White Commander-in-Chief and the White Inspector-General of Police put on their thinking caps—But there was no answer.

Kashmir's Phantom Army of Patriots... it moves with the suddenness of a ripe pear falling from a tree, with the speed and the sweep of a mountain avalanche.

Today's Rendezvous

The Maharaja and his gang are scared stiff. They have thrown a cordon right round the Pleasure Palace—right through the Dal Lake, and over the mountain-side.

But today, you can rest in peace, Maharaja Hari Singh. Today we do not want to call on you. We have a different rendezvous—a rendezvous with our dead.

Thousands flock to the Martyrs' Memorial with their garlands and their flowers... with their tears too—tears of hate, of anguish.

The song of the martyrs is sung again as it has always been sung...

"The death of a martyr is the life of the nation..." The pledge is taken again. We shall avenge you. We shall free Kashmir.

July 15 Darbar Frivolity

TODAY is the Maharaja's "Darbar". All the toadies are there.

Hari Singh spoke. His speech was written by the Resident, okayed by New Delhi.

Hear the tyrant talking, with his thick tongue in his cheek:

"Naturally we are interested in the progress of India as a whole... We hope that India will be able to take its proper place as a great nation one of the brotherhood of nations..."

Sweet and sugary! You Hari Singh talking of India being a great nation? You, who have ground four million Indians under your fat feet till they are no more men but living corpses—YOU talk of making India great?

You make us laugh....

And then, then you dare to threaten Pandit Nehru if he comes again to Kashmir. Who do you think you are, Little Man? If Panditji will not answer you, we shall.

And we DID that very day in demonstrations against your darbar. Sixty of us were arrested, hundreds of us were wounded. But we answered your threats.

A BATTLE has begun in the Punjab—a battle of the kisans against a corrupt profiteering Canal Department. The kisans of Amritsar have launched a full-scale movement to save their lands from a man-made drought.

This drought is being caused by the rapacity of the big landlords of the Unionist Party who still rule Punjab—and are directing the precious canal water from the lands of the poor kisans to their own zemindaris.

Owing to the postal and telegraphic strike we were not able to get the full story in time for this issue.

But as we go to press, the story has come to us by hand. Every day, since July 16, kisans have been offering themselves for arrest.

The first batch was led by Sardar ACOCHAR SINGH CHEHINA, Vice-President of the Provincial Kisan Sabha, who was arrested following a huge, magnificent assembly of 10,000 kisans.

Local Congressmen, Communists, Akalis, Leaguers—the local Kisan Sabha—all are united in this first major post-war action of the Punjab's kisans.

The full inspiring story by our Special Correspondent will appear next week.

Men of the RIAF. (Bombay Area).

(It is a proud moment for India when its soldiers take the lead in backing the peoples' struggles. We shall send this money on to the Kashmir Defence Committee as soon as it is possible to do so—EDITOR.)

RIAF COLLECTION FOR KASHMIR

DEAR Editor,

After reading Pandit Nehru's recent statement about the British hand in the Kashmir repression and the reports of the heroic resistance of the Kashmiri people, which have appeared in your paper, we made a collection among RIAF Airmen (Bombay Area) for the Kashmiri People's movement. We are sending you the Rs. 115-4 collected—a token of our deep admiration for the fight Sheikh Abdulla and the Kashmiris are waging.



The British "Embrace"

THE British Army is frantically rehearsing all over India its preparations to crush the National movement.

In the third week of May, an exercise was held in the Nizam's Hyderabad. A friend has sent me a detailed report about it.

The code name for this exercise was "EMBRACE" (how beautifully affectionate the British are when they are plotting massacre!). The situation the exercise envisaged was an all-India revolt, General strike, communications cut, cities in Indian hands. And senior officers were taught through a series of conferences, telegrams and reconnaissance, how to meet situations such as this.

What they were taught is important—for if the Indian people are forewarned, they will be fore-armed. Take a look at these measures, taught in Hyderabad:

- * Enforcement of a Special Ordinance giving the right to FIRE AT WILL, exactly as in war, without Magistrate's permission or anything else.
- * Sorties from the cantonments to TERRORISE the crowds.
- * Low flights of aircraft—with what purpose you can guess.
- * Disarming of unreliable Indian troops.
- * Concentration of British troops in defensive perimeters in big cantonments on the principle of "island" defence.

Read these plans—being rehearsed in cold blood.

Know them and know the enemy, know how ruthlessly the British Empire intends to stick on in India, know how utterly and criminally wrong are the snail gentlemen who ask India to believe that Britain is quitting, out of the goodness of its heart.

The ABC Of Splitting

One last interesting point. Throughout the exercise, the revolutionary Indians (led by fictitious parties called Anti-Imperialist League and the Revolutionary Workers' Union) were represented as SAVAGE mobs, liable to quarrel among themselves.

All the time the officers were taught how the 'mob' should be divided by raising communal slogans.

The best example given was that in Hyderabad, the slogan "Down with the Nizam" could be made out to be

a slogan of the Hindus against the Muslims, and thus division could be created.

Look out, India, look out! These are not men, they are monsters. They think of everything, they work out everything.

Plans Go Awry

BUT somehow their schemes are not working out according to plan. And they are scared, terribly, terribly scared.

The Eastern Command's very secret Security Intelligence Summary for May 1946 moans:

"An interest in politics till now confined to the more educated technical and clerical Indian ranks, is becoming evident amongst the rank and file due to recent durbars and discussions...."

How dreadful! The Indian soldier is becoming interested in politics—and that WILL upset so much of the plans.

Court Martial

But the British have already prepared in advance for that. Almost anticipating events, they have come out with a "Guide for Presidents of Courts Martial as to the Amounts of Punishment considered appropriate in cases of Mutiny" a copy of which I have been able to secure.

This Guide quite clearly anticipates political "mutiny" (you, must not call it a 'strike', says the Guide, for a strike is legal and, therefore, there just cannot be a strike in the army). For it talks of collective insubordination as a result of a "desire to air political grievances or opinions or to make political demands by acts of collective insubordination."

It also anticipates "refusal to use weapons when called out in aid of the Civil power" (which means, in plain and simple language, refusal to fire on your own unarmed brothers—as the great Thakur Chandra Singh of the Garhwalis refused in Peshawar in 1830).

In fact, everything has been anticipated.

But this very preparation is a sign of their trembling and our strength, of their feet of clay and our deep foundations of steel.

Four Facts

The Bihar Congress Ministry has refused to conduct an enquiry into the atrocities committed by officials in 1942.

The Bombay Congress Ministry recently presented medals to certain Police Officers for "exemplary conduct" during the R.I.N. strike days, when they helped to quell the "riot."

A confidential circular of the U.P. Congress Ministry, quoted in the Times of India, declares that "all District Magistrates in the United Provinces have been asked to give their fullest support to the officials of the Posts and Telegraphs Department in their efforts to cope with the strike situation."

It directs the D.M.s to "extend all necessary help in recruiting temporary staff, lending temporarily the services of Government servants, affording police protection to loyal workers...."

Under the Bombay Congress Ministry, the peons in the Collector's offices at Jalgaon and Thana, are being used to do the job of striking postmen.

Four facts. What do they mean?

To Hell With This Power

Did the people return the Congress to power to shield the villains of 1942?

I remember the election speeches of Pandit Nehru and of every Congress leader threatening the officials with punishment for their crimes against the people. Was it all hot air? Is this the fate of the promises and threats of the Indian National Congress?

Did the people return the Congress to power, so that it should give medals to the men who shoot and kill the people?

Did the people vote Congress in order that its Ministries may help blacklegging with all the power at their command?

No, a hundred times no. Condoning the tortures of 1942, honouring butchers, breaking strikes—these are the jobs of the British imperialists, never of our own representatives.

Stop this rot and stop the stains of shame-spreading across the Tricolour. If "power" means this—doing just what the British have done all these years—then to hell with this "power", we have wasted our votes.

Romesh Chandra

Just Out! Order Note

A New Chapter In Divide And Rule

R. P. Dutt Exposes Cabinet Mission's Plan For India

Price Six Annas.

Simply and convincingly the book shows that:

1. The Cabinet Mission's plan does not give freedom to India.
2. British Imperialism is not yet quitting India.
3. The internal divisions among Indian political organisations are no excuse for refusing independence to India.
4. The fight for Indian freedom has still to be won.

Look Out For!

Salute To Kashmir!

by Romesh Chandra In The Press

This small booklet tells us the gripping story of the heroic people of Kashmir—their rich land, their miserable living conditions and the proud record of their national movement. The book throws fresh light on the "Quit Kashmir" movement and shows us our duty towards a people who are fighting a battle which is an integral part of our own freedom movement.

Indians Fight For Equality In South Africa

by Mohan Kumaramangalam In The Press

In this small pamphlet we read the shameful story of racial arrogance and persecution of our 250,000 Indian brothers and sisters in South Africa against which they have once again launched a mass struggle. You must read the revealing facts that this booklet gives in order to understand the full significance of the heroic battles that our brothers are waging against the White Government of Field Marshal Smuts.

Please write to any of our bookshops at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, Nagpur, Poona, Bexwada, Calcutt and Trivandrum.

SCHEDULED - CASTE SATYAGRAHA

COMMONS' DEBATE ON CABINET MISSION'S WORK IN INDIA

The debate in the House of Commons on the work of the Cabinet Mission had a two-fold purpose.

Its first object was to boost before the British public the great and historic effort made by the Ministers "to assist the people of India to form a great and a new State" (*The Times*, 19-7-46).

Its other purpose was to warn the leaders of the Indian patriotic parties, to give up propagandist slogan shouting and to settle down to working-out the compromise they had already agreed to by accepting the State Paper of May 16.

A Plan To Strangle Indian Upsurge

ONLY a couple of columns appeared in every daily of the British Press. Their purport was: The Labour Government was making an epoch-making experiment "of transferring by peaceful means sovereignty to 400 million people" (Cripps). And if an interim government was not formed, it was entirely the fault of Indian differences. *The Times*, the organ of high finance, wrote grandiloquently:

The Ministers have "manifested a determination to which history can provide no parallel—to transfer unconditionally to the people of India every vestige of authority wielded so firmly and so long, without reservation of commercial advantages or strategic bases or any other limitation upon complete national sovereignty."

They were told in Britain that the greatest act of imperialist abnegation was being staged. India was being handed to the Indians. Was it? The truth came out straight in Mr. A. V. Alexander's reply to Mr. Churchill's gibe.

The diehard Tory imperialist growled and cursed:

"What you are putting before us is the immediate independence of India and severance of all constitutional ties uniting our former Indian Empire to the British Commonwealth of Nations... I register my dissent."

Significant Pronouncement

Mr. Alexander almost apologized and explained why the offer of 1942 could not be the offer of 1946. He added significantly:

"We have to deal with a situation when there is a political awakening throughout the world and especially in the East, and if some attempt had not been made to get the agreement we have so far secured in India, I am certain we should have faced a position of uprising and of bloodshed and disturbances in India already and with a future military commitment that no one could at the present moment forecast."

The signal of the R.I.N. mutiny—the warning of the rising sweep of the strike wave embracing industries, transport and even Government departments was not lost upon the Labour imperialists.

They knew that India could no longer be ruled in the old way.

A new social basis had to be found for the survival of the British imperial domination.

Indian political leadership had to be placated.

A facade of "Independent" India had to be created behind which the reality of British domination could remain on the basis of alliance of the Indian bourgeoisie, the feudal Princes, and British monopoly capital.

This is the reality behind the grandiose and rounded phrases of conferring sovereignty on 400 millions, etc. A brief study of the summary of the speeches of Pethick-Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, and A. V. Alexander, to-

gether with the new correspondence they have released for the Indian Press, bears this out completely.

Things had moved after the Mission had left India. The A.I.C.C. had met. Congress leaders had thundered:

Once the Indian Constituent Assembly was formed it was going to be sovereign and the British would not be able to interfere with it.

The Congress was determined to smash the undemocratic groupings.

The British would not be allowed to interfere with what-

ever settlement about the minorities was reached in the Constituent Assembly.

The Princes would not be "independent" after the end of the paramountcy, but will have to come into the Indian Union.

We won't tolerate any Indo-British treaty except one based on equality.

Such was the Congress stand expressed through the mouth of Jawaharlal Nehru, its President.

The Muslim League leader was alarmed at the clear-throated Congress declaration. He turned to the British and asked—were they going to allow the Congress to nullify the pledges, the guarantees, and safeguards laid down in that sacred State Paper of May 16? If so, the Muslim League would have to reconsider its position in the forthcoming meeting of its Council.

The Sikhs had not joined the Constituent Assembly. They demanded that they should have the right to veto by majority of their own delegates in the Constituent Assembly any decision regarding their communal demand whether in the Province, Group B, or in the Union.

Dr. Ambedkar's Scheduled Castes' Federation was demanding that the Scheduled Castes be recognised as a distinct minority so that they could always appeal to the British against any decision in the Constituent Assembly about them if it was not satisfactory to them.

A One-Way Trap

The statements of the Cabinet Ministers and the further correspondence they have released as well as the editorials of the organs of British monopoly capital give clear-cut answers to all these demands and problems raised. The sum total of what emerges out of these answers is this:

The Cabinet Mission's plan is a one-way trap. If the Indian parties agree to respect the safeguards, guarantees, pledges, implicit in the document of May 16, then alone a constitution would emerge out of the proposed Constituent Assembly, one which would be based on compromise with the Princes and surrender to the British. If disagreement results in upsetting the grouping of Provinces, as laid down in the State Paper, then there would be a breakdown. In other words, the Constitu-

ent Assembly is not a sovereign body.

Warning To Congress And League

The Special Correspondent of the Hindu, reporting from London on the political significance of the Ministerial utterances as understood by informed observers on the spot, says:

"The British Government will not be bound to accept decisions of the Constituent Assembly if there is any departure from the terms outlined in the Statement of May 16 and 'accepted' by the main parties." (Hindu, July 20).

The same correspondent reports that Sir Stafford Cripps' speech contained a passage (not reported in the Reuters version received in India—G.A.) which refers to "the alleged intentions of the parties joining the Constituent Assembly", and says, "Union cannot be by force. It must be by agreement. It will be the task of the Constituent Assembly to attain that agreement."

by G. Adhikari

This seems to be a clear warning to the Congress: It won't do if you try to upset the groups, made specially to satisfy the Muslim League demand, and enforce a Union.

Similarly there is a warning to the League: The groups of Provinces are compulsory but the League may not use its majority in the Muslim-majority groups to draft such a group constitution as would make it impossible for the Provinces later to opt out if they so desire.

If the League did it, "it would be a clear breach of the basic understanding of the scheme."

In short, the undemocratic groups, which will perpetuate Hindu-Muslim differences, must remain.

Accommodate The Princes

The Indian States—by which are meant the autocratic Princes—are FREE to negotiate their entry into the Indian Union. The character of their representation, and how much representation, if at all, the States' peoples will get, is also to be negotiated. Cripps in his House of Commons speech expressed the hope that "accommodation would be arrived at" which would enable all-India to come into the Union.

ACCOMMODATION pleaded for is for the perpetuation of autocracy in the 583 Indian States. Given this accommodation the States would be brought into the Indian Union.

In regard to the demands of the Sikhs, as well as of the Scheduled Castes' Federation, the Minister gave the general assurance and expressed the hope that the Congress and the League and the Advisory Committee on Minorities, to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly, would do them justice.

The Mission is not interested in finding a solution for the just demands of the minorities, but only in exploiting the situation which would arise from their dissatisfaction with the Congress and the League.

They want these minorities to look finally to the British Government's pledge that no constitution which does not provide adequate satisfaction of the minorities would be ratified by them.

The Ministerial pronouncement on the Interim Government is also quite plain. The Viceroy will soon open negotia-

THE Bombay Provincial Scheduled Castes' Federation has launched a satyagraha campaign in Poona from July 15, the date on which the Bombay Assembly opened. The object of this campaign is apparently to remedy "the grave injustice" done by the Cabinet Mission to the Scheduled Castes by declining to recognise them as a 'minority' requiring statutory protection.

Under ministerial instruction Section 144 has been declared in the locality near the Assembly Hall. Meetings and processions are banned, and those who break the bans are promptly arrested. The total number of arrests so far exceeds seven hundred—many of whom have been sentenced to pay a fine or have been imprisoned for a fortnight.

The use of Section 144 and the banning of meetings and processions have now become the usual weapon of the Bombay Ministry in dealing with any mass-action, howsoever justified. Meetings have been shamelessly banned, in strikes, workers have been prohibited from entering the strike areas in order to facilitate strike-breaking.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the same weapon should be used against the Scheduled Castes' demonstration even before it had begun and when the leaders undertook to maintain its peaceful character. It is criminal that a Ministry of the National Congress should be guilty of such scant respect for people's rights.

National Movement's Failure To Tackle Problem

The satyagraha of the Untouchable men and women practised in Poona and Lucknow reveals the skeleton in the Indian cupboard. It comes as a reminder that the problem of the many millions of Indian serfs has yet to be solved.

That problem has, in recent times, developed into riots, murderous looting and stabbings—for which the main responsibility must lie on the heads of many irresponsible Congress leaders, who during the elections went on vomiting fire against the Untouchables and their leaders.

The bitterness created in these riots, the failure of the Scheduled Castes at the polls, their defeat in Bombay and the C.P. on the strength of non-Scheduled Caste votes—all these find expression today in the developing satyagraha.

The biggest factor, however, is the failure of the National Movement to offer adequate guarantees for the liberation of the Untouchables, and develop an economic programme which will convince everybody that the National Movement is determined to put an end to the present state of affairs, free the Untouchables from economic bondage to the Caste Hindus.

While it is these factors that determine the mass response to the call of the Scheduled Caste leaders, the politics of their leaders lead them in the wrong direction. It is patent that the final liberation of the Untouchables can come only through a thorough social revolution and uprooting of the imperialist system. Yet all these years, the politics of the leaders have been one of reliance on the British to do justice to the Untouchables, which has done immense harm to the cause of Untouchables themselves.

Wrong Politics Of Untouchable Leaders

Today Dr. Ambedkar says that the British have betrayed the pledges given to the Untouchables and he has lost faith in them. The advanced working-class movement had repeatedly warned the Untouchables that the British were only exploiting their leaders for their own end. Now at last let the leaders realise that to put faith in the British is to betray the Untouchables.

The satyagraha of the Untouchables, the leaders say, arises out of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

But the Cabinet Mission's proposals do not harm only the Untouchables. They constitute a conspiracy against the people of India, against the oppressed workers, peasants, Untouchable masses. They are meant to form an alliance of Indian oppressors against the oppressed and retain British domination.

If the Untouchable leaders are serious about fighting this plan, they must join hands with the workers and peasants, who all are opposed to the plan; with the Communist Party whose representatives will expose the plan in the Constituent Assembly and fight it outside. Let them help the mass strikes of the workers out of which will develop a new movement against the treacherous plan. Only by forging a common front with the other sections of the masses and directing it against imperialism, and putting demands for fundamental rights of Untouchables, will the Untouchable masses defeat the plan.

Joint Struggle With Workers and Peasants—Only Way

But the fact is that like the leaders of the Congress, the leaders of the Federation want to work the plan and compromise with the British. Their present satyagraha is only for the statutory status of a minority within the framework of the plan. Such satyagraha, therefore, cannot get the support of those who seek to defeat the plan itself.

The question of Untouchables cannot be solved by the aid of 'minority status' alone. Neither the programme of the Congress nor the programme of the Federation, which refuses to participate in the freedom struggle, will lead to the liberation of the millions of the oppressed.

While the Communist Party of India stands for adequate representation of Untouchables in the legislatures and for other immediate rights and facilities for them, it is equally convinced that the liberation of millions of Untouchables can only be achieved through the common struggle of workers and peasants against the British rulers, against the present plan and the present social system.

Such a struggle will guarantee rights of equal citizenship, give land to the Untouchables, guarantee their rights in other directions and see that they are enforced.

That is the direction in which the Untouchables' movement must move for final emancipation.

tions de novo with the parties, to June 16 or the present. Care-

form a Coalition Government. taker Government would continue. Either you agree to an Interim Government of compromise and surrender or the Caretaker Government would continue. This seems to be the stand of the Ministers.

The clarification given by the Cabinet Ministers in their House of Commons speeches thus only dots the i's and crosses the t's in the imperialist plan.

They make it quite clear that the Constitution-making Body, defined in the State Paper of May 16, can only produce the evil offspring of an imperialist-feudal constitution perpetuating British rule in armed form or burst.

Either the parties agree to a Coalition Government of the pattern suggested by the Viceroy in his pronouncement of

BAPTISM OF FIRE FOR RATLAM'S PEOPLE

Hindu-Muslim Blood Flows Together Under Maharaja's Butchery

Gandhi, Kashit, and now Ratlam! It is a new baptism of fire; new loss of blood—blood of Hindus and Muslims intermingled in death, a new people being born.

(From Our Correspondent)

THREE days, July 13, 14, 15. Ten thousand of Ratlam's men and women, the widows, demonstrated. On the fourth day, July 14, the Maharaja had solemnly promised to meet them. Instead of this, they were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire. The city was a scene of blood and fire. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

RATLAM STATE

Ratlam, "The Frontier State in Malwa Agency" had in 1924 (approx. estimate) a population of 1,00,000. It is a small state of 10,000 sq. miles.

It is a small state of 10,000 sq. miles. It is a small state of 10,000 sq. miles. It is a small state of 10,000 sq. miles.

The police charged. They were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

Three rounds they fired. Four lay dead on the spot. The police were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

To prevent the men from reaching to her rescue, the mounted police charged. They were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

They defy ban. That evening 1,000 marched from the Sabha Office to a public meeting. They were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

July 14th—some 2,000 people gathered. The police were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

There was a procession. The police were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

People hit back. There was a meeting. The police were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

The Maharaja has fled from the State. The police were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.



CONSPIRACY IN BALUCHISTAN

Behind Khan Of Kalat's Demand For Territory

THE Khan of Kalat is in the news. He is making demands for territory. The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference at its recent meeting in Bombay passed a resolution opposing these demands. Pandit Nehru has issued a warning. What is it all about?

The local British authorities had signed a protest with the nearest British Consul at Sindh. The Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference at its recent meeting in Bombay passed a resolution opposing these demands. Pandit Nehru has issued a warning. What is it all about?

There are two distinct divisions in Indian Baluchistan: the areas administered by the British and the areas proposed to be administered by the Khan of Kalat.

Kalat is the third largest State in India and is really a confederacy of partially independent Chiefs whose head is the Khan of Kalat. The British Government is governed by the Treaty of 1843 and 1876, by the latter of which the "independence" of Kalat was recognized, while the Khan agreed to act in "subordinate" cooperation with the British Government.

British of the areas round Quetta, Berak, Nusiaj and Narin—altogether 3,000 square miles of territory. The Khan of Kalat demands the return of the lands he has lost. He has lost 1,000 square miles of territory.

The most important part of agreement made in 1922, and the Khan's demand is the permanent loss of the Khan to the British.

A curious coincidence—the Christians in both Indian and British Baluchistan making the same demand! Nothing of the sort. A planned conspiracy.

The new "united" Baluchistan, "free" under Kalat, would be a magnificent military base for the British imperials from which they can:

- (a) Keep a permanent hawk's grip on the new "Free India."
- (b) Intervene in the internal affairs of Iran and Afghanistan and the rest of the countries of the Middle East.
- (c) Protect their oil interests in Southern Iran.
- (d) Maintain an army for conquest among the people, if the British and the Khans—the enemies of the people.



2,500 Jobless

The owners of Ratlam's three cotton mills have refused to employ 2,500 workers. The reason given was that they wanted to repair a crack in the mill chimney. It needed, they said, during the "monsoon period". Then why pay the men compensation for this essential repairs?

Workers' Demands

- Immediate reopening of the mill
- No retrenchment
- Withdrawal of all discharge orders
- And adequate compensation for the period of enforced idleness.

Citizens' Demands

- Nationalization of the cotton industry
- Lowering of the price of wheat from Rs. 12 per maund to Rs. 10 per maund. It was raised because the Chief Minister's firm which controlled grain distribution in Ratlam showed a deficit of Rs. 32,000 in the accounts on account of "wasteful" management.
- Opening of more cotton mills in the city.
- Supplying of "handy" (fodder) on ration cards to the tenants, etc.

People's Support

But if the Government and the Committee proved "unable" to ban the mill, the people of Ratlam took up the workers' cause.

On the 13th, a huge meeting fully supported the workers' demands. Leaders of the local Hindu Mahasabha, the League, the Khawaja, the Muslims, and Congress all came. They were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

Blood Of Women

The sea of humanity poured.

Late News

Victory For The People

- Even Ratlam comes now of its victory for the people's movement.
- The State authorities have had to bend at last to the people's will and have announced last:
- 1. A public inquiry will be held into the strike.
- 2. Compensation will be paid to all those who were injured in the strike and to the relatives of those who were killed, and on the same scale as that which obtain in Bombay.
- 3. The Maharaja's lands have been liquidated and all the loans on which mortgages lifted.
- 4. All the papers of the Maharaja's lands will be returned.
- 5. Ratlam, cards have been issued to the workers.
- 6. Assurance has been given that the mill will be opened shortly.

TRAVANGORE STATE CONGRESS'S POLICY

Compromise With Govt., Conflict Among Congressmen

Even a year ago, it would have been unthinkable that Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Union of Travancore, and Mr. Pattam Thannu Pillai, the President of the Travancore State Congress would line each other.

From Our Correspondent

MANY are the conditions in which the former declared that he cannot deal with the State Congress as long as it is not the State Congress and its activities on the ground that the State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

Mr. did the President of the State Congress conceal his hostility to the Union, who was in his eyes, the death knell of the State Congress, responsibility for the State Congress, the Chief Minister returned on the 13th, but he refused the suggestion of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

And the Kab of Kashit's demand is.

On the 13th, a huge meeting fully supported the workers' demands. Leaders of the local Hindu Mahasabha, the League, the Khawaja, the Muslims, and Congress all came. They were met by the forces of the Maharaja. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

On the 14th, all was quiet because the people expected the Maharaja to keep his promise and meet their leaders, and from early morning, Section 14 was introduced.

After 144—Fire! Suddenly, at 1-33 p.m., mounted police charged the citizens in the vicinity of the Mysore Sabha office. But that was just the beginning.

At about 2 p.m., a heavy party of police soldiers entered the Sabha Office. It was followed by a car belonging to Chief Minister Raja and his family. The end came about 10 p.m. when the police opened fire. The city was a scene of blood and fire.

Mr. Thannu Pillai for his part was hard put to it to explain this proclamation of the Union, for, to the general public in Travancore, anybody who is elected by the Union is automatically considered as having entered into some sort of relations with the Government.

Proposed to the Union the President immediately said at a public meeting in Travancore: "Perhaps a change of heart has come over Sir C. P. who is now prepared to deal with the State Congress and grant it responsible Government."

The President of the State Congress is fanatically convinced that the Government is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

1) The educational policy of the Government which is one of the main points of the State Congress's policy of compromise with the Government. The State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

2) The financial policy of the Government which is one of the main points of the State Congress's policy of compromise with the Government. The State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

3) The administrative policy of the Government which is one of the main points of the State Congress's policy of compromise with the Government. The State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

4) The social policy of the Government which is one of the main points of the State Congress's policy of compromise with the Government. The State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

5) The economic policy of the Government which is one of the main points of the State Congress's policy of compromise with the Government. The State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

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Kalat's "Independence"

The following facts light up Kalat's "independence":

1) The Khan is assisted in the administration of the State by a West-Indian, who is a British Officer of the Indian Political Service.

2) The President of the Agent to the Governor General in Baluchistan conducts the relations between the Government of India and the Khan, and exercises "general political supervision" over the State through the Political Agent in Kalat.

3) As for the feudatory States of Las Bela and Khuzdar, administration and political control are exercised also through the Political Agent.

4) These facts reveal the hand behind the new heralds of the Khan of Kalat.

5) This "united" Baluchistan could not exist in a free India without the British giving him the "full power" and there is a conspiracy to make it so.

6) Why? What are Kalat's masters after?

7) The prospect of being represented in the Constituent Assembly by Sir C. P. and three or four more as a district which is a Travancorean one face with responsibility.

8) This is therefore heard to create further confusion in the State Congress, Hindu-Muslim, and Christian conflicts. For the State Congress is moving further and further away from the policy of uniting Travancoreans of all creeds and communities against the colonial administration and against the new proposals to perpetuate it.

9) The Left-wing section, led by Mr. C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, is in a state of confusion with Sir C. P.

10) The Right-wing section, led by Mr. Thannu Pillai, is in a state of confusion with Sir C. P.

11) The State Congress is not a political organization working for a political goal but a non-political commission working for the overthrow of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer.

Popular Forces

The AITPO and Pandit Nehru are rightly leading these British manoeuvres.

But nothing really effective can be achieved by all their protests unless the people of Baluchistan are themselves roused against the Kalat conspiracy.

There are two organizations which claim to lead the people of Baluchistan:

1) The Andaman-Vatani led by KHAN ABDUS SAMAD KHAN, which is part of the AITPO and has Congress affiliations.

2) The Baluchistan Muslim League led by QAZI MUHAMMAD IBA.

Unfortunately both these organizations have failed to put across any sentence of the Baluchistan people which will rouse the British to fight against the British and the feudal chieftains.

Khan Abdus Samad Khan writing in the Frontier Pakistan, advocates the merger of Baluchistan with the NWFP as the only practical solution, while suggesting that it would be best if the British speaking areas could all unite and form a Baluchistan State.

The Muslim League, of course, had its solution of Pakistan. Leaders of both organizations realize that the national sentiment of the Baluchis are for a separate Baluchistan.

Khan Abdus Samad Khan writes that he realizes that the formation of a separate Baluchistan State has "great appeal" because that the Baluchis whom the British and their own leaders have kept divided and who are spread over Iran, Afghanistan, the Punjab, find and the present Baluchistan will find a rallying point. They through their sentiment they can create a Baluchistan State and receive their own language, which is now nearly dead.

The League has a resolution on its table creating Baluchistan the time to complete autonomy within the Pakistan Federation.

Yet the women of a united Baluchistan is being voted by the British and the Khans—the enemies of the people. This slogan will cow people, if also against the British Union.

CORRECTION

In People's Age of July 14, we gave a list of names of the Baluchistan people who were killed in the strike. We are sorry to hear that some of these names were misspelled. We are sorry to hear that some of these names were misspelled. We are sorry to hear that some of these names were misspelled.

Bombay's Working Masses Rally Behind Postmen

4 LAKHS OUT ON STRIKE, MEETING, PROCESSIONS

(By P. B. Rangnekar)

Textile workers, leaders of India's working-class, led the action. Railway workers from the workshop and the line, on the G.I.P. and the B.B. & C.I., Dock workers and Post Trust workers, tram workers and bus workers, engineering workers, Gas Company workers, transport workers, oil workers, rubber workers, glass workers, workers from hotels, workers from the Race Course and sports clubs; clerks from the G.P.O., clerks from mills (India United Group), clerks from the Industries and Supply Department, clerks from the Bombay Mutual Insurance Company, clerks of the BEST office, clerks from many more offices; 'gumastas' from a number of business firms, students from a number of schools. These were the men and women who came out on the streets to make July 22 a red-letter day in the annals of Bombay's working-class history.

Jafferbhoy. He suggested a token strike of 10 minutes. But the men wanted a far warmer response to the BPTUC's call in support of the postmen. Not 10 minutes but the whole day, they replied. And they just did it. Trams carried Red flags, so did some buses. And both tram and bus men took out a lorry and moved it in support of the postal strike.

And thus 90 mills, factories and workshops came out to back the postal workers. Four lakhs of workers were on the streets.

Dalvi's letter of warm thanks to the workers of Bombay for their splendid support was read out. It was also announced that the Postmen's Union would soon be joining the AITUC. It was received with wild applause.

Mirajkar, President of the BPTUC presided.

Kavalekar, Provincial leader of the postal workers said:

"It is a new postman today and he is out to fight a common battle to storm imperialism's fortress. That he does not fight alone is shown to-

day. He fights with 40 crores behind him. He shall win.."

B. T. Ranadive of the Communist Party received loud applause:

"Hindus and Muslims, Pathans and Madrasis, half-starved and ill-clad, earning Rs. 24 or less have hurled defiance at the Government. We say: do your worst if you can, try all your tricks, lies here, blacklegging there. Bring all your Diwan Chamanlals and Krishna Prasads. We know we can fight them all and win."

THEY came out in response to the call of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress (BPTUC) to observe a one-day sympathetic strike in support of the all-India postal worker's strike.

Military Display

Armed police and White soldiers displayed their guns on the streets. Their cold steel gleamed under the bright sun. Magistrates were posted at strategic centres to order 'fire'. It was imperialism's stupid show of power! But a far mightier power was today on the streets. The working men of Bombay!

A thumping good procession, organised by the Red flag unions and the Communist Party's Bombay Committee, paraded the streets on Sunday July 21, shouting "Victory to the Postal Strike", "22nd July ko kya Hoga. Bombai men Hartal Hoga," "Factories and Mills shall close tomorrow," "Lal Bawta ki Jai." "Victory to the Postal Workers' Unity."

Six miles they trekked—men and women—carrying banners, flags and placards.

HMSS Opposes Strike

A solitary lorry of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh (HMSS) campaigned against the strike. None minded it. All seemed to know what awaited them the next day.

The 22nd dawned. Parel was a bee-hive of intense activity.

As usual the mill-gates were opened. But there was none to go in. The workers waited outside. The 'nationalist' labour leaders were busy moving in lorries giving the slogan—"Not strike, but strike fund."

At the Union Mill, the workers gave them a stunning blow. Workers with the Red flag were standing at the gate. The Sangh leaders asked the men to go in. Before they could know what was happening some workers with a Tricolour came and halted at the gate. What would they do now?

There they stood at the gate, a solid phalanx, along with their comrades carrying the Red flag! The Tricolour and the Red flag crossed in fraternity. No disruption—they seemed to warn! The Sangh leaders had vanished. Thunderous cheers of the workers was all that they could hear as they bolted away!

Trains Stop

That was morning in the textile area with 58 mills out (out of 64). But elsewhere also great things were happening.

Workers from the railways did not march. They were out for business all over the line. On the G.I.P. the workshops at Parel and Matunga they closed down. Not a soul working in!

At five minutes to six something happened on the B.B. & C.I. That was the cabin-men's time for action. "Trains must stop at 6 p.m.," and trains did stop at 6 p.m.—exactly at 6 p.m. The Station porters echoed the mood. They turned the indicators on to 12 (zero hour). For two hours no train could move. Then at 8 p.m. precisely as they had stopped them, they restarted them. Everything correct to schedule!

The BEST Workers' Union is run by "nationalist" Abidali

It was an infectious fever. It infected the students and the clerks too, students from Bombay North, clerks from Bombay South—Khalsa, Rula, G. S. Medical and Veterinary College students came out. So did students from Municipal schools. Many of them marched in procession in support of their elders' organisation, shouting—"TUC zindabad!"

In The Fort Area

In far off Fort Area, away from the plebian sector, where no processions are allowed to disturb His Majesty's peace, postal clerks from the GPO crashed through.

Clerks from other offices, thousands of them, observed symbolic strikes lasting for a few hours and took out processions in the "forbidden" area. And despite the eternal ban, none dared stop them.

The gumastas (shop assistants) were out, hundreds of them, shouting "Jiski mehnat uski daulat" (wealth belongs to him who toils for it). They backed the hartal and the strike.

That was the morning. That was the noon too.

Workers' Rally

In the evening at the Kamgar maidan—flags, placards, posters, processions, a sea of humanity, rousing speeches, thundering applause—a great day must end in a great way.

Twenty thousand attended the rally, postmen, railway workers, textile workers, engineering workers, lorry drivers, hotel-workers, all processions poured in with Red flags, with postmen's flags. They continued to pour long after the meeting had begun. Such a mixed crowd, but they stayed on till the end. None left.



POSTMEN JOIN 'QUIT INDIA' BATTLE!

A DAY TO REMEMBER

JULY 17 will be a date to remember in the postal strike in Bombay. That day 25,000 students of the city marched out of their colleges, out into streets, out with the postmen, out with the workers, crossing the Red flags of the workers and the Tricolour of the Congress. The thrill of that sight and the din of that applause can never be forgotten by those who saw and heard them.

Both the students' organisations—the Bombay Students' Union (BSU) and the Bombay Students' Congress—had given the call for strike on the 17th, though not jointly. On the 16th, at a postmen's meeting, the news was given.

STUDENT - POSTMEN UNITY

Immediately the meeting was over, 55 postmen marched with students to the office of the Bombay Students' Union. As the students shouted "Postmen's Union Zindabad," they were replied with, "Bombay Students' Union Zindabad." Then both together would shout, "Up, up with Postal Strike—down with Wavell Raj". That was on the 16th.

On the 17th the strike was complete, except in the Grant Medical College and the J. J. School of Arts. Thirteen colleges and all schools—that was the response! Meetings were held in the Khalsa, Rula, G. S. Medical, and St. Xavier's Colleges. Postmen addressed those that were held outside the colleges.

But the big event that marked out the date was the giant procession. Four thousand students and postmen marched together, flags of postmen, of the Students' Congress and the Students' Federation flying together. As it marched along its six miles route through Bombay's business area, it swelled, swelled to over 8,000.

At every school on the way it would stop. In four or five minutes the boys would come out and join it, if they were waiting for it. Fourteen schools joined in thus.

At Dhobi Talao, on its way back it met another procession 2,000 strong. It consisted of Government Transport drivers on strike. They were cordoned off because their police permit did not specify a route beyond this point.

TRICOLOUR - RED FLAG CROSSED

But the very sight of the procession with a huge Red flag evoked a tumultuous applause from the students' and postmen's procession. The two merged and that instant the great event of the day happened.

Someone from the latter procession, as if drawn by an irresistible call rushed ahead. He carried a huge Tricolour. An equally huge Red flag flew with the drivers. A split second! The two flags crossed. The clapping that followed shook Dhobi Talao. It was spontaneous, it was vociferous!

The sight and the mood made the sergeant shake up. Wadud of the B.S.U. had just to warn him of the consequences if he still refused to allow the drivers to pass. The officer tried disruption asking the students to go ahead with their procession. Then he saw the two processions rising up together to defy his ban on the drivers' procession. Burly Pathans and little kids. In vain he tried to mass his forces and stop the cordon from breaking. It had broken. He yielded.

The two processions soon parted. Their routes were different. But they showed what happens to the bureaucracy when a people unite and resist.

Communist Party Pledges Support To Postal Workers

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, which is now in session at Bombay, passed the following resolution on July 22, 1946:

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of India pledges its wholehearted support to the strike of the postal and telegraph employees.

The Committee condemns the attitude of the postal authorities and the Government who, on the one hand, use the military and the police to forcibly break the strike and, on the other hand, refuse to make any move to negotiate with the leaders of the strike for a peaceful solution of the dispute.

In this connection the Committee is particularly shocked by the behaviour of the Congress Ministry in the U. P. in using their police force to arrest picketers, thereby helping the autocratic Government of India to crush the strike and deny justice to the starving postal employees.

It also condemns the disruptive activities of certain labour leaders like Dewan Chamanlal, etc., in trying to negotiate a shameful 'deal' with the Government over the heads of the strikers and the masses of postal employees, thereby helping the Government to parade the 'disunity' of the postal workers as an excuse not to meet their demands.

The Committee congratulates the general mass of postal employees on the fact that notwithstanding all the difficulties and disruptive propaganda mentioned above, they have stood shoulder to shoulder in support of the just strike and have helped the lower grade men to continue their struggle.

It congratulates the general public who, though greatly inconvenienced by the paucity of postal services and confused by misleading propaganda of the Government and some union leaders, have not wavered in their sympathy to the strikers.

It congratulates the heroic working-class of Bombay for its united action on July 22 in the form of a city-wide General strike in support of the postal strikers.

The Communist Party once again assures full support to the strike and calls upon the workers and the public to continue their support till the postal employees' demands are satisfied.

- America Fans Chinese Civil War
- End Of Mihailovitch—British Agent
- Anti-Democratic Drive In Middle East

NO more 'civil war' is raging in China. On July 18, the correspondent of the Free Press of India in Nanking sent a message that "over 2,000,000 troops are reported to be engaged in a battle which has flared up on a land front matching some of the longest of World War II."

The Communists have warned of the grave situation in China which is holding up the plans for reconstruction and industrial advance of the country.

U.S. Arms For China

How is it that this civil war has broken out again?

The basic cause is the continued intervention of the United States Army and high Generals in China. It is a well-known fact that Americans are the real armed power in those areas of North China where the Kuomintang Government is supposed to rule. And Chiang Kai-shek's army could not carry on war for a single moment longer if American arms and money were not pouring into China to buttress his regime and destroy the democratic movement.

Latest proof of this open assistance to Chiang was contained in the same Free Press despatch quoted above, which states that "a naval flotilla presented by the Americans (to Chiang's Government) is speeding towards Nanking from Japan". In addition, U.S. General Wedemeyer, who is well known for his conviction that the U.S. must back Chiang wholeheartedly, has just lately been sent back to China.

KMT's Isolation

At the same time the growing isolation of the Kuomintang (KMT) Government from the people is shown by the recent assassinations of prominent leaders of the Centrist Democratic League, who were murdered in broad daylight. Eleven other leaders of the League have sought sanctuary in the U. S. Embassy at Kunming for it is openly talked in China that Sako, the KMT secret service, is responsible for the assassination of the Democratic League leaders.

The KMT Government, faced with growing opposition, is attempting to crush this through the use of terrorist methods against its leading critics, the last resort of an unpopular dictatorship.

So also the cessation of UNRRA supplies to China (announced by the Director-Gener-

al of UNRRA, La Guardia, last week), on the grounds that these supplies "are being persistently misused by the Chinese Government for political and other purposes," shows the extent to which the corruption that inevitably follows a dictatorial regime, has eaten into the KMT administration.

Communists' Manifesto

It is in this black situation that the Chinese Communist Party on July 7 (anniversary of the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War) issued a powerful appeal to its people, to fight for the independence, peace and democracy of China. Here are its main points:

- It is American aid that fans civil war; only because of this military aid, the Chinese reactionaries are still able to maintain their dictatorship and launch a civil war.
- The Americans do this on the instigation of U.S. Big Business, which is out to enslave and colonise China.
- The only path forward is for China to stop the civil war and effect democratic unity, while immediately demanding the end of U. S. interference in China's internal affairs and the evacuation of all American land, sea and air forces.
- The real way out is the establishment of a democratic Coalition Government through a joint conference which will restore democracy and rebuild the national economy.

The Communists, while appealing to their people to fight for the above demands, at the same time express their determination not to be cowed down by threats of major warfare or the use of mighty armies backed by foreign aid.

Basing themselves on the strength of the 140 million Chinese in the democratically-governed areas and the rising discontent in the rest of China at the worsening economic conditions, the Communists express their confidence that democracy will triumph in China—despite all the intrigues of American Big Business and its agents of the extreme Right, today dominant in the Kuomintang.

Draja Mihailovitch

THE execution of General Draja Mihailovitch on the orders of a Yugoslav military tribunal on July 17 marks the end of an epoch in Yugoslav history.

Mihailovitch is well-known as the "guerrilla leader" who eventually became a Hitlerite agent. In the words of Bertha Gaster, correspondent of the Liberal daily, News Chronicle;

"One thing is clearly proved by hard factual evidence; Mihailovitch in his overwhelming hatred of the partisans, first overlooked collaboration (with Hitler), then connived at it, then directed it and ended in it upto the neck." (Bharat Jyoti, July 21).

But to begin with, Mihailovitch was not a German agent. A Colonel in the Yugoslav Army, in April 1941, he was left behind in Yugoslavia by the Yugoslav Government of King Peter. It was his job to keep a nucleus together which would pave the way for the re-entry of British troops and the re-establishment of the rule of the pro-British dynasty of King Peter and his Serbian industrialist-landlord supporters.

It was in carrying out this task that he opposed the popular upsurge against the Germans, expressed in Tito's Partisan movement; he and his associates in London feared that if the Partisan movement grew strong, then after Hitler's de-

feat, it would not be the old landlord regime that would come back, a regime that would inevitably be Britain's client State, but a new people's democracy that would sweep away the old reactionaries. And naturally enough the logical end of his opposition to the Partisan movement was unity with the Germans who hated Tito as bitterly as he did.

That his U.S.-British sponsors not merely approved of his stand—but actually advised him to it was revealed in the trial itself. According to Mihailovitch, in November 1942, a British emissary Colonel Baily advised him to wipe out the partisans in order to prepare for the Allied invasion in the spring of 1943.

Aim-Oppose Democracy

This advice to Mihailovitch from his British chiefs was no accidental mistake but part of a conscious plan. Ralph Ingersoll, today editor of the daily PM and during the war on the U. S. General Eisenhower's Staff, revealed in his book 'Top Secret' that in 1942 itself:

"The British clung to the hope that by encouraging the Allied sideshow in the Mediterranean, they might yet be able to have their victory cake and still eat the political advantages of getting into the Balkans before the Russians." (From the serialised version in Bharat Jyoti, July 7, 1946).

It is clear enough, therefore, that the British imperialists during the war planned to restore their old hold on Yugoslavia (the British had invested some six crore rupees in Yugoslavia and pre-war Yugoslav industry was almost completely in the

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, which is in session at Bombay, passed the following resolution on July 22, 1946:

THE Central Committee of the Communist Party of India sends its warm fraternal greetings to the two hundred and fifty thousand Indians in South Africa in their great resistance struggle, aimed to defend India's name and honour and to win equal rights and citizenship for Indians in South Africa.

It strongly condemns the repressive measures taken against the passive resisters by the South African Government and in particular protests strongly against the unbridled license allowed to White hooligans freely to attack all Indians in the most brutal manner, including even women.

Along with all Indians in South Africa it mourns the death of ANTONY PILLAI, murdered in cold blood by European hooligans merely because he was an Indian.

It congratulates the many hundreds of passive resisters who have bravely suffered in India's cause, borne all insults and assaults, and gone to jail.

The Committee expresses its vigorous condemnation of the racial Ghetto Act framed by the small minority of the people, the White ruling caste of industrialists and planters, to make permanent the subjection of Indian community and proclaim their inferiority as a people.

It declares that this Act is the most cynical exhibition of racial arrogance, that rivals Hitler's worst anti-Semitic laws.

The Committee protests against the complete betrayal of the interests of Indians in South Africa by the Government of India which for years took no action at all and only this year, after intense agitation by popular parties all over India, withdrew the Indian High Commissioner and applied economic sanctions against South Africa.

It declares that the interests of Indians abroad can only be guarded by India's people and recognising that all India's political parties have unanimously condemned the anti-Indian conspiracy of the Smuts Government, it appeals to them all to combine to launch an effective campaign in support of the resistance struggle in South Africa.

It warmly welcomes the support that Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, has expressed for the Indians' struggle, a sign of the growing joint front between Indians and Africans both sufferers under White domination; this joint front, it holds, is the only final guarantee of success for the democratic movement in South Africa in its battle against imperial rule.

The Committee further welcomes the whole-hearted support that the Communist Party of South Africa (the only political party in that country to include among its members Indians, Africans and Europeans, persons of all races) is giving to the Indians' struggles; in particular it sends its warm congratulations to Dr. YUSUF DADOO, South Africa's leading Indian Communist (today in jail) for his courageous and outstanding part in the leadership of India's struggle.

Finally the Committee pledges that it will do its utmost to mobilise the widest support in India for the just struggle of our brothers in South Africa—an integral part of India's own struggle for freedom and independence.

hands of foreigners). They did not want a new Yugoslavia, in which the people, and not Britain's financiers, would rule.

Reaction's Defeat

Thus the sentence on Mihailovitch was a sentence not on him alone, but on his foreign imperialist bosses; this sentence has been backed by both radical agrarian reform and the nationalisation of 85 per cent of Yugoslavia's industries, thus breaking decisively the grip of foreign capital and local vested interests on Yugoslav economy.

In the words of Marshal Tito: "The sentence announced on General Mihailovitch was

a sentence on international reaction." (Hindu, July 17).

Saving Britain's Hold

IT is now clear that the drive against "Communism" in Egypt is a part of a well-planned British inspired move to crush the democratic movement throughout the Middle East and make secure British domination of this area.

The correspondent of the American Associated Press reported last week that a spokesman of the British Foreign Office had revealed that the British knew in advance of the plans of both the Iraq and Egyptian Governments to take anti-Communist action; this action had also been taken in Saudi Arabia, occasioning no surprise in London as "Arab concern over Communist influence was well known".

In Iraq, the correspondent reveals, twelve left-wing newspapers have been suppressed and twenty members of the "unauthorised National Democratic Party" have been arrested for alleged Communism. (A.P.A. July 16).

In Lebanon also it is believed "drastic measures" will be taken against the Communists. (Reuter, July 15).

Arrest Of Vanguard

In fact in Iraq all that these extreme "Communists" were demanding was abrogation of the unjust Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1932 and division of the land among the farmers; so also in Lebanon, the reason for taking drastic action against the Communists is that they are demanding higher wages for the workers.

The truth is that the British are faced with certain difficult post-war problems; the end of the war, as in India, brought a mounting demand from all countries of the Middle East for the withdrawal of British troops and the establishment of real independence; but today the British have more soldiers in the Middle East than at any previous time, even during World War II.

The drive against "Communism" is a drive to crush the democratic movement that demands the withdrawal of these hundreds of thousands of British soldiers; for today only crushing the awakened democratic vanguard will enable the British to retain their hold on the Middle East and their domination of the Arab peoples.

★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★

LEAVE

An Indian airman stationed at World gets an annual leave of 28 days plus travelling days, while an airman stationed at B.H.Q. and other places gets 45 days leave in a year.

This question was raised during the R.I.A.F. strike last February and these airman were told that:

- Lack of personnel has meant that such long leave cannot be given;
- Indian airman are demanding speedy release and those airman who are involved in release work cannot get such long leave;
- In the R.I.A.F. leave is a privilege and not a right; hence, airman cannot demand this leave as a right.

The old rules still continue. Discontent is once more rising.

MONEY

THE R.I.A.F. personnel who are released from the service are supposed to get their fund money (demobilisation gratuity) within 56 days of the date of release. But I have come across some cases in which airman who were released in January 1945 have not yet received their fund money.

CONTRACTORS

THE Ville Paris R.I.A.F. camp has got a canteen. This canteen is run by some contractor. Airman can see a number of articles coming into the canteen but when they go and ask for them, they are often told that they are "out of stock." They do get some articles like shaving sets, etc., but they have to pay blackmarket prices for them.

For instance a shaving set which is priced Rs. 1-4 is sold at Rs. 1-8 and so on.

I suppose nothing better can be expected from contractors, slaves of our British rulers. But again trouble is threatening here too....

FILMS

ABOUT a month and a half ago a notice was put up on the notice board at the Ville Paris R.I.A.F. camp, saying that an Indian film was to be shown in British airman's dining hall.

Indian airman who were interested in seeing this picture went to the Britishers' dining hall. When the picture was going on some British airman came there and switched on the light and started taking their meals. The picture had to be stopped. Indian airman tried to persuade them to leave but with no success.

After this incident notices have twice appeared on the notice board announcing an Indian film. But Indian airman have had to return disappointed as no film was shown.

SUNK?

SOMETIME in the middle of last month I came to know that the H.M.L.S. Maratha had sunk at the Reserve Fleet Base, Trombay. I was also told that this was one of the ships from the Reserve Fleet.

After getting this news I met a number of R.I.N. personnel to find out what had happened. Each one of them told me some story or the other but the story that I got today reveals that the naval authorities are trying to hide this fact not only from the public but from the R.I.N. personnel too.

It is about a month since this incident took place yet the signal, which is sent to all the establishments every morning, shows that the H.M.L.S. Maratha is in Trombay.

Will the naval authorities issue a Press statement and disclose the cause of this mishap as well as the reason for keeping the whole thing dark?

July 23.

—From Our Forces Correspondent

PEOPLESAGE

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A JOURNEY THROUGH S. W. IRAN

Where British Oil-Imperialists Lord It
Over Poverty-Stricken Iranians

NOTES OF A SOVIET TRAVELLER



The first thing we noticed in Abadan was the contrast between the British residential section and the rest of the town. The British section lies on the bank of the Shatt al Arab, where its pleasant streets are swept by the fresh river breeze; but it is only after passing over the oil refineries that this breeze, now laden with the stench of crude petroleum and smoke, reaches the Iranian part of the town.

While the population of the Iranian quarter is much larger than that of the British, the territory it occupies is considerably smaller. Filth, congestion, and an utter lack of plumbing; sewage flows down the streets in open gutters, poisoning the air.

A few of the streets, however, are paved—streets, as the local inhabitants explained to us, which the British generally use.

Workers' Huts

The great majority of the workers in Abadan live in squalid, overcrowded clay-daubed hovels. Workers who have been in the employ of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company for more than sixteen years are allowed the use of small company huts, consisting of two rooms each, though the partition between the rooms does not reach the ceiling.

Such a hut is usually occupied by two families, one in each room. The only lighting comes from a solitary electric bulb, hung above the partition.

There are no big squares in Abadan. This, we were told, is the result of a deliberate policy, the lack of squares being calculated to prevent the workers from holding meetings. There is no public park, no library, no place of any sort of rest or recreation. On the other hand, there is an abundance of gambling hells, brothels, and opium dens.

By March 1 this year, the population of Abadan had grown to 160,000 (as compared with about 120,000 four years ago), including 31,000 workers. The working-class population is a mixture of many peoples and races: Iranians, Arabs, Indians, people from Palestine and the Bahrain Islands, and even Javanese.

Mixed Population

This mixed population results from the fact that, despite the great number of unemployed in Iran, the British prefer to import workers from India, Palestine, and other of their colonies and mandated territories—a policy not exactly in keeping with the terms of the concession agreement, according to which the Company is obliged to employ Iranians not only as unskilled workers, but also in the skilled trades.

The Iranian workers, who form the majority in the oil-fields, are generally employed at the heaviest and unskilled labour. The British speak of them openly as coolies. Only a handful of Iranians, men who have demonstrated their loyalty to the British, are employed as clerks or in minor administrative positions.

Foremen, overseers, and the like are always Palestinians, Indians, or persons of other British colonial origin, who hold privileged positions as compared with the Iranian workers. All the higher administrative and engineering positions are held by Englishmen only.

Wage rates are steeply differentiated for the different groups of employees. Just last February, the reactionary newspaper Teherane Mosavvar published an article by its correspondent Wala, written after a trip to the South, describing the conditions of life of the workers employed by the Anglo-Iranian Company. From this article we learn

by
M. SERGEYEV

that wage rates vary according to the worker's nationality, the language he speaks, and even his personal virtues or vices, as estimated by the company management.

Thus, the coefficient for an Englishman is 20: for an Indian, Palestinian, etc., from 10 to 15; for an educated Iranian, from 5 to 15 (if he speaks English); and for the ordinary Iranian worker, from 1 to 5.

Englishmen, Indians and Palestinians receive from two to four times as much as Iranians, even for the very same work.... Wage rates for Iranian workers here are lower than in Isfahan, Mazandaran, and other localities, and it cannot be denied that the wages paid by the Anglo-Iranian Company are the lowest received by industrial workers anywhere in Iran....

Health Protection

Health protection and medical treatment at the Company's plants are very primitive.

Article 17 of the concession agreement stipulates that the Company must provide health protection for its workers to the same extent as such protection is enjoyed by other workers in

Iran. But health protection in this country is still at a very low level, as we may judge from the statement made on April 11 this year, in an interview with a correspondent of the newspaper Iran, by the present Minister of Public Health, Eghbal.

According to this statement, Iran needs at least 30,000 physicians, and has only something like 2,000, of whom only 560 work in government organisations, while the remainder are engaged in private practice.

The Iranian workers want to know why the British, who pride themselves so on their advanced culture, do not provide medical attention for the Iranian workers in their plants to the same extent as such attention is provided for the British workers in these same plants, rather than confining it to the very low scale prevalent in Iran.

Abadan, with a population of 160,000, including 31,000 workers, has only one hospital with beds for 100 patients. The same contrasts prevail in this hospital as in the town as a whole: comfortable rooms for British patients, and extremely bad conditions for Iranians.

No Social Insurance

The outpatient department is unanimously declared atrocious by Iranian workers who have had to visit it. The treatment of patients is rude. Thus, our general impression is confirmed: the British concessionaires have no material interest in keeping their workers well, for there are always plenty of applicants eager to take the place of those who die or lose their capacity to work.

There is nothing even remote-

ly reminiscent of social insurance, or of pensions for workers who have grown old, been crippled or lost their health in the service of the Company. A worker who has spent ten or twenty years in the Company's plants will be simply thrown out as soon as he is no longer able to work.

We met a worker named Abud, with two of his children, in the streets of Abadan. Abud is 37 years old. He worked in the Abadan oil plants from 1923 to 1943. During the last few years of his employment he worked as a mechanic. His pay was 19 rials a day.

He was discharged on March 14, 1943, as he had lost his capacity to work. He now has no means of livelihood, receives no pension or relief. And so Abud, a worker with a long service record, and the father of a family, is begging on the streets of Abadan....

People's Party Growing

With the assistance of the local authorities, the British concessionaires take all possible measures to prevent the development of the labour and democratic movement. Until very recently, trade union and People's Party (Tudeh) organisations could not legally be formed and carry on their activities in Abadan, or in other industrial centres where the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company had plants.

Despite all persecutions, however, the influence of the underground People's Party and trade union organisations among the workers has grown steadily, with the result that the concessionaires finally found themselves unable to prevent the legalisa-

tion of the trade unions.

On May 1, a trade union club-house was officially opened in Abadan; and this ceremony was followed by a May Day demonstration such as these parts had never seen before, a demonstration of the workers and office employees of the Abadan plants, with the members of their families, and the local peasantry—in all, according to trade union estimates, some 80,000 people.

The marchers carried placards and slogans in Persian, Arabic, Armenian, and Urdu. Never in the history of the Iranian labour movement, we were told, has there been such a mighty demonstration....

"Little India"

The Iranians call Khuzistan "Little India". On May 23, in the nationalist Teheran newspaper Jebhe, we read a report of a visit to Khuzistan in which the writer, Dukar, declares:

"A person who has not visited Southern Iran, and especially Khuzistan, can have no conception of the real meaning of the words: exploitation, capitalism, colonisation policy. In spite of all I had read in books, magazines, and newspapers of the sins of capitalism and imperialism, I did not grasp the true significance of these words until I visited Khuzistan, and saw with my own eyes the state of that British-controlled part of our country."

And the truth of this statement, for all its naivete, was easy to appreciate after our own visit to "Little India"—the British concession in South-western Iran.

against British interference in Persian politics." (The Hindu, report July 21).

Now, I am sure, we know what to make of the speech of Bevin—Labour-imperialist 'defender' of democracy and the rights of small nations—in the House of Commons:

"I have not interfered with the Persian Government at all and it is not my intention to do so." (Debate on Iran, Bombay Chronicle, July 18).

And sure enough too HE would not give the lie to the Red-bogey of the Tory spokesman (Sir Waldron Smithers) who asked him "to what extent these troubles were caused by the intrigues and propaganda of the Soviet Government." (11)

Bevin Gets His Answer

On July 20, Bevin got his answer from LOUIS SAILLANT, Secretary-General of the World Federation of Trade Unions, on his visit to Teheran. Addressing a 25,000-demonstration he declared:

"Today has proved to me that Persian workers are not only capable of safeguarding Persia's independence, but their power is great enough to back the World Trade Union Federation." (Bombay Chronicle, July 22).

And after this, I am sure, too, that the petrol-consuming public in India is not going to be fooled by the 'Caretaker' Government's announcement of further restrictions on petrol consumption 'because of the Abadan strike.' (The Times of India, July 22).

The fact is that any amount of petrol was available before the strike, and is so at any time in the blackmarket, where it can only go through the widespread bribery and corruption among Government and military officials of Bevin's agents in India, Wavell and Auchinleck!

Shamshur Rahman

Around the World

Anti-British Strike In South Iran

THE "strike fever is rising"—under British raj. (The Free Press Journal, Bombay, July 22).

So also on the biggest scale in neighbouring Iran, where too there is that "oil" raj of the British.

And in it, as in places in India, there has been mass murder.

On July 14, one lakh workers in all the British-owned oilfields rose up in a general strike—45 were killed and 170 injured. (U.P.A. message, Bombay Chronicle, July 18).

Now I am really surprised that up to date there has not been a single comment on this ghastly performance in the national Press.

And this unprecedented general strike is not something sudden, but the high-point of a "strike fever", which has been rising since May—a part of the strike-wave sweeping the entire world, post-war.

On May 1, the Iranian workers at Abadan, British oil headquarters in S. Iran, formed a trade union and struck work against their slave conditions. Their wages are the lowest in Iran, no paid rest days, not to speak of vacations.

More Join In

Again on May 10, 10,000 more struck at Aga Jari, another British oil colony, after their newly-formed trade union had been declared illegal. They fought for several weeks for freedom of speech and assembly, increase in wages and improved medical service.

In the article above is a vivid glimpse of the living and wage conditions of the workers.

The huge demonstrations of solidarity with the May strikes in the oilfields, in Teheran, Kerman, Kazvin, Hamadan, Chalus, and Noushehr (Iran's main towns) forced the British to agree to the oil-workers' demands (Zafar's report).

Fearful of the mounting democratic upsurge gaining a permanent hold in their "raj", the British oil bosses launched a terror against the workers.

First, they went back on the May agreement—through forcibly collecting signatures of workers against it,

mass dismissals and victimization, engaging new workers at lower rates (40-50 rials for drivers) instead of the 105 as per agreement. (Rahbar's report, Teheran).

The Central Council of the Iran T.U.C. was compelled to appeal to the Premier to intervene against the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's violations of the agreement terms. (Rahbar's report).

Secondly, the British now resorted to their usual 'divide and rule' game in a new and big way.

During wartime the British tried to pit the better-paid 'loyal' Iranians, Indians and other foreigners against the mass of the Iranian workers. In face of the growing strength of the Tudeh Party and the trade unions among the oil-workers, this method proved insufficient.

Sheikhs' Conference

On June 23, another conference of Arab Sheikhs was attended by leading officials of the Oil Company. It was addressed by one Colonel Anderwood who had been arming the local tribal chiefs against the democratic organisations (i.e., the trade unions and the Tudeh Party). This Colonel Anderwood (possibly a pseudonym for a secret British agent) told the conference that the "disturbances that will break out in Khuzistan shortly are meant to weaken the Central Government of Persia." (The Hindustan Times, July 20).

Last month the 'Saadat-e-Khuzistan' gangs attacked workers and trade union premises and Tudeh Party

offices. In Mashour, the Persian Gulf oil port, they drove the Tudeh workers out of the town. (The Times of India, June 22).

The truth is that British oil imperialists were determined to crush the workers' unions and the Tudeh Party and to restore the old regime of ruthless oil imperialism inside their raj—no civil liberties, no democratic parties and trade unions, no increase in wages, and no improvement in living conditions.

And the newspaper Ettelaat tells us that in a letter received from a certain Hakpur in Abadan: "Labour leaders declare that the Abadan authorities, are completely controlled by the British Company." (June 16, 1946).

It was to crush the anti-British general strike then that "the Persian authorities declared martial law throughout the whole of Khuzistan Province" and not, as it were, according to Reuters because of "a clash between local Arabs and Tudeh supporters." (The Times of India report, July 17).

Mass Support

The general strike has evoked the biggest mass democratic support throughout Iran.

On July 15, representatives of the Central Government and of the Tudeh Party flew down to Abadan from Teheran.

On July 18, some 50,000 Tudeh supporters and trade union members demonstrated in Teheran to protest

BRITAIN LAUNCHES DRIVE AGAINST EGYPTIAN DEMOCRACY

Attempt To Drown Mass Popular Upsurge

Over two hundred persons arrested, a thousand houses searched, eight papers suppressed, the two universities in Cairo and Alexandria indefinitely closed down, six thousand teachers all over Egypt on strike, and thousands of workers out on the streets—this is Egypt after three months of Treaty negotiations with Britain.

MR. Bevin, the British Foreign Minister, had announced that the Labour Government had entered into negotiations with Egypt "as between equals"—for arranging a new treaty between the two countries.

But the British delegation, led by the Air Minister Lord Stansgate, came and went and has again come back. Yet the Treaty is nowhere in sight.

Four Provincial members of the Egyptian delegation have, in the meantime, expressed their resentment against the delaying tactics of the British, and one of them, Makram Ebeid Pasha, leader of the Centrist Kotia Party, has come out with a vehement protest against the proposal of a joint Anglo-Egyptian Defence Council, the acceptance of which was made a condition for the resumption of negotiations by the British delegation.

Centrist Leader's Protest

Makram Pasha in the course of a statement says:

"Since the joint Defence Council is to function not only in war time but during peace time as well, it is a sufficient proof that it constitutes virtually a Protectorate Council over Egypt... From all evidence the creation of a joint Defence Council imposes technical and military occupation on us and participation of Britain in our Defence ques-

by
Ali Ashraf

tion and for permanent control of our army." (Free Press Journal, July 18).

So this was what Bevin meant by negotiations "as between equals". It is evident the British Government have no intention of giving up their hold over Egypt.

The people of Egypt have, however, opposed these negotiations from the very beginning. They demanded not the revision but cancellation of the 1936 Treaty, which limits Egypt's independence, and the complete and unconditional withdrawal of British troops from Egypt and Sudan.

The Wafd, the most representative national organisation of Egypt, refused to participate in the negotiations and stood aloof.

Daily Clashes

Clashes have been taking place almost daily between the British troops and the people demonstrating against the former's continued stay in Egypt.

It started with the historic events of February 21 when, just when the RIN mutiny took place at Bombay, the entire working-class and youth of Egypt came out on the streets in the biggest demonstrations Egypt has ever seen, demanding immediate withdrawal of British troops.

Scores of people were killed and hundreds wounded by shots fired by British soldiers. "The position in Egypt," wrote the special correspondent of the News of the World, is "highly critical than any similar situation after the world war!"

In order to tide over this crisis, the indispensable Sidky Pasha was installed in office by the Court and the British (see column 1).

But the spirit of revolt demonstrated by the Egyptians on that memorable February 21 was not stilled by the British-organised mass murder.

It has expressed itself through each act of protest, through each strike of the workers and students and through each demonstration of the unemployed until it again developed into a huge flame of revolt enveloping all.

Mass Upsurge

The May 1 demonstration of the workers and students in Alexandria developed into a big fight between the demonstrators and the police. Since then the Farouk I University of Alexandria has remained closed.

The strike in the 30,000 strong Red district of Shubrah-el-Khama turned out to be one of the most bitter struggles, with the workers in complete possession of the factories for four days. Close on its heels followed the strikes of the workers of Alexandria's spinning factories, the employees of the salt and soda plant and of the workers of the Filature National concern. Even the 6,000 school teachers struck work.

Earlier all the engineers and linesmen of the Misr Airlines had resigned en masse as a protest against the agreement concluded between the British Imperial Airway and the Misr Airlines, enabling the former to avoid nationalisation to which it would have been subject like all the British transport companies.

General Strike

The process culminated in the successful General strike on the occasion of the Victory Parade. The Egyptian Government took all measures to prevent the strike and the British authorities hurriedly issued a communique announcing the abandonment of all victory celebrations. But the strike was carried out all the same.

These events have rudely shaken up the present ruling circles of Egypt who were planning a shameful deal with the British. The Court, Sidky Pasha, and the British all realised the danger.

Here was a new kind of opposition growing to their nefarious plan of yoking Egypt permanently to the imperial chariot. The Wafd too had opposed their deal. But its opposition, as before, never went beyond constitutional non-cooperation. And that could be easily overlooked or ignored and forgotten.

But here were workers and Wafdist youth and students giving their own strike calls under the leadership of the National Committee of Workers and Students; here were unemployed demonstrators acting under the instructions of the Workers' Committee of National Liberation.

Government Moves

All this was something new; something more dangerous than anything before.

The Government decided to strike.

All the workers' and students' leaders were arrested and cases were instituted against them on the charge that they incite hat-

red against the present system of Government.

The Press was forbidden to discuss the basis of negotiations; to publish news of accidents caused by British troops; to carry on anti-British propaganda; to publish reports opposing Sidky's policy; and to publish support for Wafd's political manifesto or any manifesto of student or youth organisations unless these are in support of the Government.

Having made these comprehensive arrangements Sidky Pasha went ahead with his "negotiations". The formal Draft Treaty as prepared by him, reported the Hindu correspondent, "is remarkable in at least two respects. There is no mention of evacuation of British troops and no reference to Sudan." (July 11.)

This gave rise to a storm of protest all over Egypt. Al Wafd el Misri, the leading organ of the Wafd, demanded that the country should be taken into confidence and consulted and the Prime Minister should give reasons as to why the Egyptian Government had not appealed to UNO.

Ismail el Azhary, the head of the Sudanese Delegation to the Egyptian Government, has demanded that the negotiations be immediately broken off and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 denounced.

National Mourning

All the popular parties of Egypt decided to observe July 11 as a day of national mourning—a day on which, 64 years ago, Alexandria was bombed by the British. The entire Egyptian Press appealed to the nation to demonstrate against the unlawful occupation of the country by Britain. Even the moderate Wafdist Al Balagh raised the slogan: "No negotiations, no alliance, no cooperation."

The Government confiscated all papers in which the appeal to observe July 11 had appeared.

It was at this time that eight papers were suppressed, a thousand houses were searched and 200 persons were taken into custody.

Sidky Pasha told the world that this was done to suppress "Communism". Mouthing the usual stock-in-trade of imperial agents, he declared that:

"I believe although I have no proof (!) that Egyptian Communists had received instructions from abroad to prevent the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty by demonstrations and bomb incidents."

In fact, this manoeuvre of Sidky, in the words of the Free Press Cairo correspondent, is only "a pretext to stifle opposition of the present regime."

Sidky knows that the Draft Treaty will never be voluntarily accepted by the people of Egypt—just because it will not end but perpetuate British domination of Egypt. So he is using anti-Communism as a cover behind which he is planning the destruction of the entire Egyptian democratic movement.

Unity Or Disruption?

In the face of the mighty popular upsurge Sidky will not find it easy to put through his plan; but his greatest asset is the vacillating position of the Wafd leadership.

Last week Sabri Abu Alam Pasha, Wafd General Secretary, declared that the attack on the Wafd was unjust because it was a greater enemy of Communism than even Sidky Pasha!

It is this division in the ranks of the popular movement that Sidky hopes to utilise to carry out his real objective of smashing the entire democratic movement, and much of Egypt's future will depend on whether the growing people's movement is able to effect real unity between the new working class and radical student movements and the traditional nationalists of the Wafd.

SIDKY PASHA--AGENT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

ISMAIL SIDKY PASHA, Prime Minister of Egypt since February 1946 by the grace of the British and order of King Farouk, is the most typical representative of Egyptian Big Business and an ardent collaborator with foreign imperialism.

He is Minister of the Interior, Minister of Finance, one of the directors of the Suez Canal Company, and member of the Boards of Directors of twenty-two industrial and banking enterprises the majority of which are controlled by foreign capital. He is also the founder and President of the Egyptian Federation of Industry, 32 out of whose 40 members are foreign capitalists.

National Movement's Foe

Once a follower of Zaglul, the founder of the Wafd and Egyptian democracy, Sidky Pasha soon broke with him and in the words of the Tory London paper, Observer "established himself in finance and commerce, and with the British, and soon became the Wafd's most redoubtable enemy."

And since then his services have always been handy and available as the bloody executioner of Egypt's national movement.

In 1924 he was for the first time appointed Minister of the Interior. "His special task was to undo what the previous Zaglul administration had done and to collaborate with the British." (Observer) Again and again, every time the popular Wafd Ministry had to be overthrown, Sidky Pasha was called in.

Three he was instrumental in getting the Egyptian Parliament dissolved because his masters the British wanted to get rid of the Wafdist majority returned in spite of very elaborate "precautions" at the election.

In June 1930, after having shot dead scores of people in Cairo and Alexandria and suppressed the Wafdist Press, Sidky Pasha established his

"new dictatorship". Parliament was first prorogued, then dissolved.

A new Constitution was promulgated by decree greatly restricting the right of the Parliament and enlarging the King's powers. Suffrage was restricted and the age for franchise raised.

The railway workers came out on strike as a protest against the abolition of the Constitution. Sidky Pasha's answer was to send a big police force to the railway workshops with orders to "expel the rebels by force." Sixty workers were killed and many more wounded.

The revolt spread to other towns and villages and was everywhere repressed with the same brutality.

Same Old Methods

Sidky Pasha is trying to use the same methods today in 1946. On his first appearance in Parliament this time he said: "Forget Sidky Pasha of the past and await the acts of Sidky Pasha of the present."

People did not have to wait for long, however. "Sidky Pasha of the present" had added but one more weapon to his anti-democratic armoury; loyal servant of his imperial masters as he was, like them too, he has taken over from Churchill the weapon of anti-Communism. All the workers' unions in Egypt, says Sidky, are hotbeds of Communism and they ought to be therefore suppressed.

What that old friend of Egypt's independence, Hans Kohn, wrote in 1930 is even truer today. "The Court, Sidky Pasha and the influential foreign settlements in Egypt... refuse to believe that a new Egypt has arisen."

REPRESSION IN IRAQ

(We give below a letter from a democrat inside prison in Iraq, which conveys something of the real situation in that country, another "independent" country where British troops lord it over the people and British monopolists make money out of oil.)

The writer of the letter is a Communist sympathiser, one of a growing group who are followers of the great Jafar Abu Tamam (who died last year), one of the foremost leaders of the democratic movement in Iraq and who openly expressed his adherence to Communism. —EDITOR.)

HAVING been thrown into prison we write to you explaining the real motives that are pushing reaction in Iraq to persecute and terrorise the really democratic and revolutionary elements. We hope that you will spare some space in your paper so that the world public may know the true state of affairs in our country.

The authorities banned the Usha, the organ of the Anti-Zionist League, and have put under arrest the leader of the League. The reason for this is that the League and its organ are the most consistent opponents of imperialism and Zionism and the best defenders of democracy, exposing ruthlessly the unstable and undecided elements who enter into treacherous compromise with British imperialism.

A delegation sent to demand the removal of the ban on the paper and the release of the League leader was put under arrest along with some forty others.

The repressive measures of the Government do not end here. The Constituent Committee of the Al Taharrur al Watni Party (National Liberation Party), the most democratic and revolutionary party of the most advanced class in modern society, has been put into prison in violation of the terms of the Constitution.

In short, the vanguard of the toiling masses fighting for national liberation and for real democracy is being brutally suppressed. The shackles of imperialist and feudal rule still weigh heavy upon our working people.

With Comradely Greetings,
YASIN AHMAD

They were charged under Section

FAMINE-CLOUDS IN THE SOUTH

A Three-Day Tour Of Anantapur District

I have just returned from a three-day tour of Anantapur district—one of the four districts of the Rayalaseema area (Andhra) where famine has become almost an annual occurrence.

THIS year the situation is very serious and the symptoms of a major famine have begun appearing in several districts.

This is the third month of the sowing season but there has been no rainfall and large areas of land, tilled and ready for sowing, are lying uncultivated. There is a big shortage for food-grains and fodder is so scarce that cattle deaths are occurring on an alarming scale.

The poorer peasantry and the agricultural labourers are starving—they have no stock of grain and no work to do in the fields.

Years of scarce rainfall have dried up most of the big tanks which used to irrigate thousands of acres of land, and for want of proper attention their old massive stone embankments are crumbling down.

Even the wells have gone dry and people have to come from many miles to get drinking water from the few wells which still have water.

I visited several talukas in Anantapur district with two local Communist Party workers. We drove from Anantapur to Penukonda through miles of arid, rocky landscape, and from Penukonda another road took us to a village 40 miles away.

Fodder Shortage

On the way we saw a group of women and a small boy carrying bundles of grass. We stopped to photograph them.

They were returning from the hills several miles away from which they collect this tall mountain grass to feed their cattle. There is no other fodder available in the district for most peasants who own only a pair of bullocks and cannot afford to let them starve to death. In many households the bullocks have died and their land has not been tilled. In each taluka there is at present only one fodder supply depot and their stocks are so limited that people are never sure of getting them and prefer going twenty miles to the hills for grass.

We asked the women carrying the grass how many cattle had died in their village. They merely said they were too many for them to keep count. They were not sure their own would survive because they themselves had very little to eat, and they couldn't walk all the distance too often for getting the fodder.

First Sign Of Famine

We reached a bazar in a small town spread around a tall conspicuous pile of sheer rocks. Here we saw the first unmistakable sign of famine—destitute peasants crowding in towns begging for a living. There were about a hundred of them—mostly women and their faces told their stories.

I remembered the first stages of the Bengal famine when the streets of every town were being filled with beggars. It was impossible not to visualise all the stages that would follow the trek to the big cities, the tearing despair, the slow withering of their bodies, disease and squalor and then the dead lying unnoticed on the pavements. No one who has seen it can ever quite recover from the horror.

Their menfolk had gone away to look for work to places where the crops have not failed. They were poor and they had no grain from the fields, they had no stocks to live on, nor any money to buy 'rag' or millets.

Now they were starving. They were squatting on the roadside quietly, hardly observing anything, and they did not know what they were waiting for. They probably expected someone to give them money and food but very few did for it was too small and poor a town for anybody there to be able to

by
Sunil Janak

afford charity in a big way for so many people.

In the village we saw the same thing. The crowd was much bigger, more than three hundred women, old men and children.

Kitchen Fires Unlit

All of them were begging and said that they had not had anything to eat for the last four days. In their homes the grain pots were empty and the kitchens had no fire. And all over the village there was the grim quietness of famine. We came back to Anantapur next day and set out for Nagasamudram and Perur areas.

The landscape here was even more dismal—lonely stretches of burnt, fissured earth and cliffs. There were no furrows; it seemed nobody ever tilled this soil or could hope for anything out of it. But I was told when it rains even this desolate landscape turns green and pleasant.

The peasants have no work now. The only relief measure the Government has introduced in the district is employing many of these peasants in road repair work. The road we were on was the only road in that area and we soon came to the place where they were at work. They were digging out earth to widen the road.

A Pitiless Task

It was a pitiless task. The soil looked hard as granite. They had to bring their own pick and shovels and these often got broken and they had to pay for their repairs out of their miserable wages of four annas a day. Many people who wanted work could not get it because they had no implements and the Government could not supply them with any.

When we reached a village the first thing we saw was a pile of cattle bones spread over a rocky slope of a small hill. The cattle were let loose to graze in the hills but there were very few leaves left in the bushes and they began to drop dead. The people carried the carcasses to this rock to remove the skin and the forty skeletons of bullocks and cows lying there were of animals dead during the last fortnight.



Group of destitute peasants in a village near Penukonda, Anantapur district.

It was incredible how people were yet keeping alive in most of these places. I was told that the district officials were refusing to supply local Communist workers with facts. In fact, they often do not know the facts. The district is not yet declared a famine area. The total deficit in Anantapur district is 9,000 tons of grain per month if the consumption per head is taken to be 12 ozs.—although the Government admits that even 18 ozs. cannot be considered quite adequate in which case the deficit would be 12,000 tons. The Government imports come to only 3,000 tons.

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO PUNJAB'S 7 LAKH TONS WHEAT SURPLUS?

Failure Of Ministry's Procurement Policy

In a situation when the entire country is threatened with a famine, the Punjab, the granary of India, has a special duty to perform. In spite of all the emphatic denials of the Government, the Punjab's wheat surplus is seven lakh tons—1½ times the total Indonesian offer—an amount sufficient to feed 56 lakhs of people for a year. Will the people of the deficit provinces benefit by this huge surplus?

ALL through the war years, the Punjab Unionist Ministry, representing the interests of the big landlords, resisted any effective scheme of procurement. It had opposed both the grain levy and monopoly procurement.

The system of its purchase had been the 'tender system', i.e., along with the other traders it entered the market as one of the purchasers, invited tenders from dealers for the supply of certain amounts of wheat at 'convenient' prices. Having accepted the tenders it relied upon a group of 19 privileged wholesalers to undertake the process of actual purchase and clearance.

But this method has always failed and stocks have passed into the hands of the hoarders to be smuggled out or sold at blackmarket rates in scarcity districts.

To take only last year's figures, as against a target of 7.32 lakh tons of wheat for export, the Ministry was able to secure only 4.83 lakh tons, and that also by offering an additional bait of one rupee per maund for cartage.

Grain Levy Given Up

The natural alternative to this should have been a system of compulsory procurement and grain levy on big zamindars, and the announcement that the Punjab Government had accepted this principle did come soon after the advent of the new Coalition Ministry.

But a fortnight later, on about the 20th April, came a Press Note declaring that the grain levy had been given up and the Government would continue their reliance on the normal trade channels.

In this decision were united all the Assembly parties; the Unionists, Akalis, League and Congress. In the entire Legislature, not a soul was found to

Punjab's Wheat Surplus

(1) This year's crop	33.5
Consumption	30.0
Surplus	2.5 (a)
(2) Last Year's Crop	39.08
Consumption	36.00
Surplus	3.08
Actual exports	4.83
Carry over	4.65 (b)
NET EXPORTABLE SURPLUS	
(a) plus (b)	7.15 lakh tons.

Even the Congress Minister, Lala Bhim Seh Sachar, preferred to throw millions of starving lives to the dogs rather than risk "bitterness" (as he called it) with Khizar and his gang, the imperialist lackeys!

Old Method Continued

Instead, till the 27th May, the Government continued the old tender system, but with a little modification, a modification which made matters far worse (better for the hoarders, of course).

The Government announced that they would buy in the market only on two days in the week, thus leaving all the 'mandi' (market) arrivals on the other days and a part of the arrivals on these two days to be quietly bought and cornered by the wholesale dealers.

The Government boasts of having purchased quite 75,000 tons of wheat during this period. But actually the figure only represents the quantity for which tenders have been accepted and it is generally believed that hardly 50 per cent would come in.

Moreover, even these alleged purchases are much less than the arrivals in the mandis, the rest having gone to the hoarders. The crop starts coming in

to the 'mandis' by the middle of April. But arrival figures for this entire period are not available.

As much as 66,000 tons, however, came to the Punjab 'mandis' in the course of three weeks, from May 6th to 20th. And surely much more than 9,000 tons came in from April 15th to May 6th—the whole quantity having gone to the hoarders.

New Contract

On May 27, even the tender system was given up. Straight came a contract with 14 leading wholesalers for the supply of 85,000 tons till the 20th June. The Government accepted the following conditions laying down however, that "they need not form a part of the contract terms."

FIRST, "with immediate effect upto June 20th, 1946, Government will make no purchases through the provincial reserves" (Emphasis mine—P.S.).

SECONDLY, this condition excludes "direct offers which may be received from zamindars." But in the case of such direct offers, however "Government will not in any way take the initiative in viting such offers".

What does this imply?

The Government has finally eliminated itself as purchaser in the 'mandis'. The traders can do whatever they like. The general opinion is that even the contract will not be fulfilled on the pretext that there are no arrivals in the 'mandis', signs of which have long appeared, because traders are buying in the villages and thus checking the flow into the 'mandis'.

Arrivals which were more than last year's in the first few weeks, fell immediately after this new deal. For example, arrivals during the week ending May 18th, were 43,283 bags a day against 28,749 bags in the same period last year. But during the week ending June 1st the arrivals this year have fallen to 35,232 bags per day as against 54,278 bags last year.

By giving up the compulsory grain levy, the Government had left the big landlord-hoarders safe with their stocks which are quite over 50 per cent of the

total marketable surplus. But now as a result of this deal they have gone a little further and agreed not to make even an appeal to the big landlords to voluntarily sell their stocks to the Government.

The Latest Move

The latest move of the Punjab Government is the announcement of another scheme of so-called "monopoly procurement," by which the "village producer will be prevented from selling wheat in the village beyond a quantity necessary for village consumption." But this scheme is just as new as air.

FIRST, the scheme is to come into force after six weeks, that is, after the end of August—and hence will be totally ineffective, because those who have to sell will have sold their surpluses long before that.

SECONDLY, even then, the purchases in the 'mandis' would be continued through the traders, who, it is said, "will send grains only to those destinations which are determined by the Government."

The result of this present policy has been that the entire marketable surplus has already safely reached the hands of the landlord and trader hoarders. As the Food Secretary too admitted on July 13th, blackmarket has already come into existence.

Traders are buying stocks at prices much higher than controlled rates. They are paying quite about Rs. 1/8/- per maund more than the control price, as much as Rs. 10 to Rs. 10/8 in the villages, when the price in 'mandis' is fixed at Rs. 9/8 per maund.

Smuggling of wheat into outside bordering States has probably already started through Gurdaspur and other districts where curiously enough no ban on movements of grain exists.

The Government stocks of wheat (including provincial reserve, N.W. Railway and Syndicate stocks) are very low, as little as 56,762 tons on June 6th whereas 2.64 lakh tons alone are needed to keep rationing going and another one lakh ton or so for the provincial reserve.

The continuance of the present policy promises a very grim future. Unless immediate steps are taken to unearth and compulsorily requisition all the present stocks of the big zamindars and traders, and a system of direct Government purchase through the help of representative popular committees is adopted, the people of the Punjab itself may soon face a scarcity unknown in the past.

—By PREM SAGAR