

# COCHIN PROPOSALS FOR A UNITED KERALA

## A Plot For Unity Of Princes Against The People

In a message to the Budget Session of the State Legislative Council, the Maharaja of Cochin made two important declarations:

(1) "For my part and speaking for my State, I am prepared, indeed I earnestly desire, to combine with Malabar and Travancore in order to form the Province of Kerala. With these ideas in view and in order to ascertain how far my desire to bring into existence a Kerala Province will be shared, or supported by the people of Malabar and the progressive Ruler of Travancore, I have asked my Dewan to initiate discussions with the Government of Madras and with the Travancore Durbar."

(2) "It has not been settled yet how many representatives Cochin could send to the Constituent Assembly. However, to set at rest all doubts about the method of representation, I am glad to announce that, after mature consideration, I have decided to allow the people to elect their representative or representatives. This action will be by the Council."

### Surrender Of Sovereignty?

This was immediately hailed by Mrs. Dakshayani Valayudhan, a member of the Cochin Legislative Council and member (elected on Congress ticket from Madras) of the All-India Constituent Assembly as "a historic message", which has won His Highness "the gratitude and love of millions."

Similar sentiments were expressed by the Madras Kerala Samaj, an organisation of Malayalees residing in Madras, which sent a message of gratitude to the Maharaja.

This view was further supported by Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, the Diwan of Travancore, in his own way. He said that for Travancore to join the proposed United Kerala Province would mean the surrender of the sovereignty of Travancore. The obvious conclusion is that the Maharaja of Cochin is prepared to surrender his sovereignty

### Calcutta's Rally

(Continued from page 3.)

no scuffle. From among the different unions and student bodies, over 25 thousand volunteers had been raised for the general strike. The Mercantile Employees' Federation alone had recruited four thousand volunteers.

It was not a mere meeting. It was the rally of the most disciplined soldiers of Freedom.

But what had happened to our leaders who are supposed to lead us in freedom's battle? Here in Calcutta, none of the top leaders from either the Congress or the League bothered to come and join the rally. Only a handful from the middle ranks, like Sjt. Bepin Ganguly and Dr. Maitreyee Bose from the Congress, and Dr. Malek from the League, came and greeted the meeting.

But there were others who tried to split the ranks. A counter meeting was called at the Spadghamanda Park by some Congress leaders like Dr. Suresh Bhanji, M.L.A., M. A. Zaman, M.L.A., and Smti. Bina Das, M.L.A., together with the Students' Congress.

They called the meeting, but nobody came to their meeting, which thus could not be held. In this way with their own hands, they disgraced the Tricolour, by trying to split, instead of uniting, Freedom's ranks.

Perhaps it was the same fear of a mighty unity that led the League and the Muslim Students' League actively participated shoulder to shoulder with their Hindu brothers both in the picketing at Dalhousie Square and in the meeting at the Ochterlony monument.

Late in the night, fagged out but elated, as we walked down the deserted Esplanade, there stood the Government House, gaunt and grim. The White Sahibs inside must have lost their sleep, since this day they had seen a new giant rising from its sleep and moving as it pleased. And the day, it decides to strike, nothing—not even the tommyguns and the Sherman tanks kept at Barrackpore "for internal security"—shall save the Empire built with the bones of our people.

for the larger interests of Kerala.

But a careful reading of the Maharaja's declaration shows that he is no more ready to surrender sovereignty than is Sir C. P.

For he says:

"In order to achieve this, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore will have to join together and devise ways and means to frame a scheme of Government for the whole of Kerala without destroying the connection of the people to the ancient Royal Houses."

Again, "This does not mean that the functions of my family are abdicated but necessarily

How is it that the Maharaja of such a caste-ridden landlord-dominated State has suddenly become an ardent advocate of United Kerala, a champion of Constitutional Monarchy, and agrees to send elected representatives to the Constituent Assembly?

The reason is very simple. His Highness knows that the spirit of Kashmir is catching the minds of the people. (At the time of Pandit Nehru's arrest, there were huge demonstrations in several places in which the slogans shouted included: "Dethrone the Indian Princes.") This cannot be crushed by repression alone though that is being used in plenty. A show of "democracy" has to be made.

His Highness also knows that, if only the "democracy" is strictly limited to the upper classes, if

cal Department. A British civilian, Mr. Dixon, was foisted on the Maharaja. When he had to be called back to British India, another, the present Diwan, Sir George Boag, was sent.

Today the same European Diwan declares that United Kerala is the "wish" of the Maharaja who has no right to appoint his own Diwan.

No, Sir George, you voiced the wish of the Political Department couched in the Maharaja's language. Your masters think that the great Cochin Harbour, the vast tea and rubber plantations and the big textile, coal and tile factories owned by the British are safer in a United Kerala dominated by two Royal families than in a divided Kerala, a third of which (British Malabar) may be under Congress Government.

If your colleague, Sir C. P. opposes this, it only means that he is yet in the days of his patron, Lord Willingdon, and not in the days of Lord Wavell and Cripps; he will have to agree to this fake United Kerala before long.

### For A United And Democratic Kerala

● We, the people of Kerala, want a United Kerala, but a democratic Kerala.

● We want the question of sovereignty to be put to the verdict of the people. For centuries have the Royal Houses ruled over two-thirds of Kerala. It is time that they go to the people and ascertain their wish as to the future of the Royal families.

● We want democracy and responsible government but not of the jennies and profiteers. A Constituent Assembly elected on adult suffrage and proportional representation for all oppressed sections of the people alone should frame the future constitution of United Kerala and decide its place in Free India.

by E. M. S. Namboodiripad

they have to be modified."

Finally, "I am entrusting a grave responsibility to you in the firm belief that in your hands the prestige of my family will be safe and that you will not do anything which will undermine the ultimate constitutional headship of my Dynasty."

It is only when one looks at the way in which "the functions of his family" and "the leadership of his Dynasty" are used against the people that one sees how hollow is the Maharaja's declaration for United Kerala.

### How It Is Used In Real Life

● Only a month preceding this declaration, there was a big mass movement at Irinjalkuda for the right of Untouchables to use the public roads. An order prohibiting them to use the road near a temple was in existence and those who defied the order were arrested and brutally beaten up. Only the combined pressure of all organisations of Untouchable communities, the Communist Party and the Praja Mandalam forced the Government to withdraw the order.

● Even after this order has been withdrawn, untouchability is still being practised in the most shameless manner even by the Royal family. Officials, M.L.C.s, etc., belonging to Untouchable communities are allowed to interview the Maharaja only on certain days and at certain hours when he is already "polluted" and is going to be "purified."

● Peasants are rack-rented to the utmost. The Tenancy Act does not provide for the fixation of fair rent but has legalised the exorbitant rates of rent prevailing at the time of its enactment. (The Malabar Tenancy Act of 1930 fixes 2/3 of the net produce as 'fair rent'. But the Cochin Tenancy Act of 1942, while following the Malabar Act in most respects, said that existing rents will in all cases be considered 'fair rent'.)

● A reign of terror and gono-dalism is still going on at Azhikod indulged in by a notorious jenni of the place. His goondas beat up anybody, (members of Praja Mandalam, Communist Party and Ezhava community, etc.), who tries to organise peasants. The State police look on and even abet the jenni.

● It must, in this connection, be remembered that more than 40 per cent of the land in the State is owned and managed by the Royal Family and Government temples. As for the balance, it is owned mostly by jenni families which have marital relations with the Royal family. The State is thus very greatly interested in the preservation of present land relationship.

the rack-rented and oppressed kisans are not allowed to enter the citadel of State administration, "the prestige of his family" and "the headship of his Dynasty" will be preserved. Nay more. United Kerala will mean that the two royal families of Cochin and Travancore through their stooges and allies (big landlords, planters and capitalists) can extend their authority over the whole of Kerala.

It is, however, not the Maharaja alone that is behind this move.

It should be noted that this declaration of the Maharaja was read out to the Council by the Diwan Sir George Boag, a British civilian.

### The Hand Of British Imperialism

Four years ago, the then Maharaja wanted to appoint a Cochinite as Diwan. The proposal was turned down by the Political

## THE TRIAL OF GOA'S LEADER

### The Real Face Of Portuguese Fascism

PANJIM, July 25. Tristao Braganza-Cunha's trial lasted ONE DAY exactly. It began at nine in the morning. The sentence was pronounced at nine in the evening.

● The judgment was probably written long before the trial started. ● Eight years' transportation was the sentence.

● There is no appeal.

What were his crimes? According to the charge-sheet they were:

"1. That the accused on the 20th June last, at the place where the petrol pumps are situated in Margao city, delivered a speech attacking the Portuguese Government criticising its policy the rule of the Premier, the Colonial Act, and accused the (Portuguese) Indian Government of being chiefly responsible for the food crisis in Goa and the growth of blackmarket.

"2. That the speech was given publicly before an audience of 1,000 persons, wherein he affirmed that the situation would end shortly, "as Goa would have an independent Government."

"3. That the speech made by the accused represents an instigation or

provocation against the security of the State and that it was made in the company of two persons in the special dress of the Indian Congress (pant, shirt and white Gandhi cap) carrying the flag of the aforesaid Congress on both sides.

"4. That in consequence of the speech made by the accused on the 23rd of the same month a mass gathering of about two thousand people went towards the same place, and, exactly at the hour when the National (Portuguese) flag was being hoisted on the Government offices, it being Sunday, the flag of the Indian Congress was hoisted on one of the mango trees of that place.

"5. That the accused accompanied with others wanted to go to the same place on the 30th of last June to deliver a speech again, but as he was not allowed to do so, he turned back to the administrative and political authorities, with a provocative attitude and with fists shut and hands raised he invited the people, there present, to follow him and shouting "Jai Hind" incited them to revolt.

Know these facts and know what Portuguese Fascism means, know

## NEWS FROM GOA

GOA continues to fight. Today (Aug. 1) was Tristao Braganza-Cunha Day. Fifty young men paraded the streets of Carchovem with Black flags.

"Release Tristao," they shouted, "Break the Agoada Fort," "Jai Hind". Another procession of 30 men demonstrated in Kakoda.

The two processions met each other on the hill of Marutigarh, where they held a mass meeting, joined by hundreds of other citizens.

The police surrounded the hill, but dared not rush up. They knew of

the fighting traditions of the people of Kakoda. They had tasted their wrath before and feared they would be made to taste it again.

So they stood discreetly at the bottom of the hill and allowed the meeting to continue.

The speeches reflected the new spirit of Goa. Speaker after speaker pledged on behalf of his people to carry on the struggle to victory:

"Tristao Braganza-Cunha shall not be allowed to rot in exile. HE SHALL be rescued by the might of Goa itself."



### The Nizam's Raj

THERE is a great deal of talk about the Nizam's "reforms." Here is the truth about them what is happening in one village. But all Hyderabad is the same.

About three months ago an amin (police officer) of Jagirdar Raja Shyam Raj paid a visit to Dare Gaon, a village in the jagir (estate). These Jagirdars and amins treat their subjects as their own playthings to be utilised for their pleasure. Their words are law.

In the village the amin had his lustful eyes upon the wife of a Bhill. To clear his way he got the Bhill arrested without assigning any reason. In his absence this amin tried to molest the wife but neighbours came to her rescue and gave a good beating to the amin. He had to run for his life.

Three days after this incident, another amin came to the village along with some servants of the jagirdar. About a dozen persons, neighbours of the Bhill family, were arrested. One man was beaten to death.

Another young kisan was killed, and his body burnt by the police to remove all trace of their crime. There are still about 11 persons, including a Bhill, under arrest. No legal step has been taken against them, nor are they released.

State officials have pleaded their inability to "interfere in the private affairs" of a jagirdar!

The lives of the detained persons are not safe. Daily they are brought out in an open space and beaten severely. Chillies are sprinkled on their bodies when they faint.

The terrorism is not limited to the neighbourhood of the Bhill. It has spread all over the village. Kisans are tied to trees and beaten. Even women are not spared. They too are beaten in the same manner. Many kisans, and even women and children, have left the village and taken refuge in the jungle.

The village looks almost like a desert. Terrorism still continues.

A BHILL.

Aurangabad: July 20.

### Labour Committee

SOMETIME ago the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee set up a Sub-Committee to settle labour disputes in the Province. One of the members of this Sub-Committee is Lala Bhagwan Das, M.L.A., who represents the Commerce and Industries Constituency in the Punjab Assembly—obviously elected by mill-owners and big financial magnates.

On June 25, the very day he was appointed to this Sub-Committee, he led a deputation of mill-owners and financiers to the Minister of Finance and Industry, in connection with these very disputes in order "to clarify their own stand."

One can easily imagine what arguments he put forward there and against whom they were directed!

Already the workers are feeling that this Sub-Committee, instead of coming to their aid in getting their just demands conceded, will act for the employers.

July 15 Lahore Worker.

### PEOPLES AGE

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# BIGGEST EVER HARTAL IN OUR NATIONAL MOVEMENT

## 4 Million Respond: Total Stoppage Of City's Life

TWENTYNINTH OF JULY!—About this day a Calcutta paper has written, "The city ever since its foundation by Job Charnock, saw something which it had never seen before." The General Secretary of the Bengal Trade Union Congress (TUC) called it "a definite landmark in the annals of the working-class movement in our country."

But it was a day the like of which you and I had read before in books but had never seen with our own eyes.

It was a strike which by the numbers participating in it has broken all records. From Hooghly point to Diamond Harbour, over 16 lakhs of people, workers and babus, took part. And this despite the fact that the Trade Union Congress had exempted railway, water works and also electric workers from it. If the hartal as a whole is considered, then the number of those responding to the call—including shopkeepers, students, teachers, along with workers—would come to over 40 lakhs. IT WAS COMPLETE STOPPAGE OF CALCUTTA'S LIFE.

FOUR days ago when the Bengal TUC came out with a call for a one-day general strike to register Bengal's support for the heroic strikers in the Posts and Telegraphs Department, none—not even the sponsors—had any idea that the response would be so terrific. Many of us thought in terms of our usual hartals, our elders talked of the great boycott hartal during the Prince of Wales' visit twenty-five years ago, when even the sahib's khidmatgars had not come for work. There were others who were afraid there would be disorders—raids, firings and truck-burnings: The President of the Bengal Congress had appealed the night before for "strict non-violence." The police had made its own preparations for "law and order," and armed trucks and jeeps were kept loaded "standing by for action."

### Toiling Man's Response

But the toiling man—whether he is a mazdoor in the jute factory, a conductor in the tramways, a durwan in the Writers' Building or a clerk across the bank counter—needs no sermon on non-violence nor is he frightened by the brandishing of the tommygun. All his life he has run the factory or the office with clocklike precision, and today when he came to the maidan he amazed the whole city with his strength and discipline.

Early in the morning—before the first shift begins—we reached Metiaburj one of the most crowded industrial pockets in Calcutta's suburbs. The roads were filled with workers, but today there were no blacklegs; Birla's Kesoram Textile Mills and the Olive Jute Mills, the Lever Brothers Soap Factory had already been shut as none had gone in. At the Garden Reach works, the factory siren blew twice, but the workers joked that none would obey it today.

On the way to Kidderpore, we passed the King George's Dock. At every gate, volunteers stood, and inside it was all empty, the lights were off, the giant cranes stood still, it was all like a deserted hive.

The ENR offices were all empty and so were the Port Commissioner's docks.

As we entered Kidderpore, a long procession of thousands of Indian seamen, led by their own band, turned up. And shops on both sides were closed.

Ten o'clock in Dalhousie Square and Olive Street—the centre of official Calcutta—are the busiest areas in India but today where had all the clerks, stenographers and peons gone? Such a thing the burrasahibs had never seen in their lives. The 'babu' whom the sahib has always pitied and patted—even HE has not turned up!

And not only the babu, even the chaprasi and the liftman

by  
**Nikhil Chakravarty**

had not come. The sahib was not furious, his face did not turn red with anger as it happens so often; he was scared, and his face turned white with fear as it had never happened before.

### Sahibs' Way Barred

We found a crowd in front of the Writers' Building. At the main entrance, there lay on the pavement, students—both Hindus and Muslims—barring the entry of the big ICS bosses. Five months ago, on Rashid Ali day, these bosses had barred their way into Dalhousie Square, today it was the other way round!

The police made several lathi charges, but the students would not budge.

Soon, Mr. Walker, Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government, came and—as all Chief Secretaries have done before him—he walked in over the bodies of Indians, both Hindus and Muslims. But inside, he found none—not even his closest associates.

There were Indians too of Mr. Walker's mettle: at the Calcutta Port Commissioners' Office, Anil Sen Gupta, son of the great Deshpriya J. M. Sen Gupta and of Mrs. Nellie Sen Gupta, (Congress M.L.A.), repeated the same performance twice, wounding five pickets.

### Girls Picket A.I.R.

But the incident that roused the anger of all took place in front of the All-India Radio station. "There the girl students had started picketing from early morning: when they approached the Assistant Station Director, Prabhat Mukherji, to cease work, he replied without shame:

"To us the motto of obeying the sarkar is as great as the motto of obeying the call of the country for you. To flout that motto is something that hurts our conscience!"

And the way he with a bunch of his type saved their conscience was to sing songs and crack obscene jokes at the girls.

Soon after, the Station Director, Mr. Chib, came and pushed one of the girls; and the police too were called for.

The sergeants and armed police arrived in a jeep and tried to break through the girl pickets; they were hesitating when Mr. Chib and Prabhat waved to them to rush in.

### Sergeants' Violence

The girls threw themselves on the ground; a sergeant trampled on Parvati's arm; Sashil Sanyal of the People's Theatre held back the sergeant who then began to beat

him. At once, Gita Mitra, Suprava Roy, Gita Mukherji pounced upon him; the sergeant then hit Suprava in the stomach and kicked her as she fell on the ground. Gita Mitra with unbelievable courage tore off the sergeant's collar.

The Indian sepoy kept quiet all the time. As the girls were having the scuffle, the jeep pushed through into the station, wounding Dipti Dey and other girls. And all this took place with Chib and Prabhat looking on.

A huge crowd soon collected there. They would have torn Chib, Prabhat and the sergeants to pieces, but for the intervention of the girls and the volunteers. As soon as Niranjan Sen appealed to the crowd not to get provoked, they responded—in a remarkably disciplined manner though one could see the intense hatred and anger writ large on their faces.

As we came along the whole crowd was praising the heroism of the girls, who kept up the picketing.

For three hours, the Control Room in Calcutta Station did not function that morning and no artiste turned up throughout the day. Chib and Prabhat had to play gramophone records to fill in the programme hours.

We went along to the High Court: here too, as in other Calcutta Courts, work had to be suspended. All the offices in the neighbourhood had their shutters down.

The Assembly Chambers, next door were locked. It had been unanimously decided on the previous day, to cancel its sitting today in view of the general strike.

### Cinemas Closed

Along Chowringhee, the cinemas were closed, for the opera-



Girl pickets being lathi-charged in front of the Calcutta Radio station. In the centre marked (x) is Sunil Bose (Programme Executive); on the right marked (x) is Prabhat Mukherjee (Asst. Station Director).

tors had not come. The Grand Hotel was marked 'closed' though armed police were kept in front, which provocatively chased the peaceful crowd more than once, and stones were pelted on the street from the upper floors.

The New Market was completely closed, even the fruit and fish vendors who keep open on Sundays, did not come.

In the Muslim areas of Wellesley Square and Park Circus, all the shops—even the bidi shops—were closed.

College Street was deserted: schools and colleges had all closed, the University had declared a holiday on account of the "Vidyasagar anniversary"!

Further north, the same spectacle of a Calcutta-on-leave could be seen everywhere. Not even a rickshaw could be seen on the streets.

And in the jute areas of Alam-bazar and Barrackpore, the mills just did not work. Some

also the Oriental Gas Co., had declared a holiday.

### No Newspapers

All Calcutta's newspapers remained closed on account of the general strike. The Statesman not relishing the idea of a strike had declared a holiday on account of the King's Birthday, which had passed off many weeks before. The Muslim daily Morning News did not declare a holiday, but its staff kept away from office.

The day saw the welling-up of a new life too in Calcutta's humanity. It was not a mere negative 'cease-work' protest. The lakhs who downed tools and pens, came out to demonstrate their anger against the Government that is not only holding up the just demands of the Post, Telegraph, R.M.S. and Telephone workers, but keeping us under bondage that can no longer be tolerated.

# UNPRECEDENTED RALLY OF OVER 3 LAKHS IN CALCUTTA

The TUC had given the call for a rally under the Ochterlony monument. From all corners of the city, processions started in the morning—processions in which the workers and the bhadrals mingled in one solid phalanx—Hindus and Muslims, men and women, Communists and Forward Blocists, Bengalis and Hindustanis.

FROM Kidderpore and Metiaburj, the workers, the seamen, the Muslim tailors, tramped in columns for nearly ten miles. And as they passed Indian troops, the troops greeted them with "Fouji-Mazdoor Bhai, Bhai!" Thousands of voices from the procession shouted back: "Hindustan garam hai! Bhulo mat! Bhulo mat!"

And so they came in an endless stream, workers from every mill and factory. From Wellington Square started the long demonstration of the Post, Telegraph, R.M.S. and Telephone workers and employees. Forests of festoons and posters moved over their heads—posters that spell the doom of the Conran-Smiths and Krishna Prasad and also of the traitor Chaman Lal.

"Fight The Sarkar" Disciplined and orderly, they won everyone's admiration, and among them, the Telephone girls, both Bengal and Anglo-Indian, attracted the most notice.

At the Ochterlony monument, over a lakh had gathered nearly an hour before the meeting began and by one o'clock the crowd exceeded three lakhs. (The Hindustan Standard reported it was 40 lakhs).

On the platform sat leaders, many of whom indulge in the bitterest quarrels among themselves, but today the more than three lakhs who had gathered in front of them, silenced

all their bickerings, and dictated them to one course and one course alone—FIGHT THE SARKAR AND ALL ITS ZOOLOUM.

Mrinal Kanti Bose (President of the AITUC) presiding, said: "This hartal is the declaration of war upon the British Government."

Dr. Malesh moved the resolution of solidarity with Posts and Telegraphs Department strikers, and said: "Let us move forward. The Cabinet Mission has only widened our differences, but today's unity will defeat them."

Sibnath Banerji said: "What could not be done in 1942, is going to be achieved by the workers today. If the Government does not open its eyes now, then continuous general strikes will be called."

The All India Telegraph Union Secretary, Mr. P. C. Chatterji, greeted the public and the workers for their magnificent support to the strikers: "We have broken to bits the convention that kept the Government employees outside trade dispute activities."

Thunderous cheers greeted Sgt. Bhupen Ghosh, the first Dictator under the Joint Council of Action: "People Are Up And Awake"

"Today as the babu has stood by the worker, an invincible energy as powerful as the atom bomb has been released, which will shake even the Delhi Durbar."

Bankim Mukherji from the Communist Party said: "The White Sahibs of Olive Street have to realize that today the Bengal babu is not a poor creature to be pitied but a soldier alert and on the march. The strength that we have garnered today is not only in support of the Post and Telegraph

strikers. This vast mobilisation shows that our people, up and awake, are desperately impatient to fight our bloodsuckers and win freedom. Let our leaders too instead of compromising with the British come and stand by our people about to enter the battlefield."

Miss Helen Jacobs on behalf of the Telephone girls said: "This is the most memorable day in our life. We pledge that we will carry on our fight until Victory. Jai Hind!"

Annada Bhattacharyya of the Students' Federation drew cheers from all sides as he narrated the role of the students in the strike and said: "The Cabinet Mission has proclaimed to the world that Indians cannot unite. But let them come and witness here the face of another India that can unite and be strong as granite and instead of compromising is determined to drive the British out."

Zahir of the Muslim Students' League slashed at the All-India Radio bosses for their shameful behaviour towards girl pickets and said: "Such rascals will have no place in Azad Hindustan. If we Hindus and Muslims can unite as we have done today then we can force the British to quit in 24 hours."

Bagloo Moha, a seaman, spoke from his heart: "We are all men, Hindus and Muslims, if they don't unite, they are bound to perish. But to-day they are bound to unite for the mazdoor has become a 'mugar' (club) and the babu has become a 'baraboo'." And a host of others spoke: representatives from the Forward Bloc, Kisan Sabha, C.S.P., R.S.P., Depressed Class League, R.C.P.I. and over thirty unions greeted the assembly. Many more wanted to speak, but it was already five in the afternoon.

**Soldiers' Discipline** The thing that evoked the wonder of all was the sight of this huge gathering—the biggest that Calcutta has ever seen—dispersing in the most orderly fashion, despite armed police being posted provocatively in the neighbourhood. There was no rush, (Continued on page 2.)



# FORWARD TO FINAL STRUGGLE FOR POWER

## Smash The Imperialist Plan, Lead Rising Tide Of People's Struggles

### PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

The Central Committee of the Communist Party which met continuously for twelve days from July 23, concluded its session yesterday (Monday, Aug. 5). Members from all over India attended, among them being SOMNATH LAHIRI, only Communist elected to the Constituent Assembly, E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD, Kerala leader, and P. SUNDARAYYA, Andhra leader.

The Committee's main discussion centred round the political resolution, an 8,000-word document, which is being published in the near future, and of which a summary follows.

**T**HE resolution begins by describing the present situation in India as one in which the "Indian freedom movement has entered into its final phase."

It underlines the great significance of the R.I.N. mutiny and the patriotic ferment in the armed services; the ever-growing working-class strike wave, drawing in larger and larger numbers of workers, which reached a new peak in the postal strike and sympathetic general strikes; the new upsurge in the States symbolised by the glorious Kashmir struggle; and the increasing peasant unrest.

#### Mounting Revolutionary Upsurge

All these demonstrate that dominating India today is this mounting revolutionary upsurge, heralding a period of mighty battles that must lead to the end of the imperialist-feudal regime in India and the dawn of Indian freedom.

It is in this background, the resolution continues, that imperialism has brought out its evil award, which is directed to win over the leaderships of the Congress and the League to ally with the Princes and to crush this people's upsurge.

At the same time the leaderships of both the Congress and the League are trying to bargain with imperialism for gaining a compromise favourable to themselves, and are turning their backs on the rising people's movement, sabotaging and in some places even suppressing it.

#### Total Rejection Of Imperialist Plan

In this situation the chief aim of the Communist Party, which totally rejects the imperialist plan, is to expose the plan inside and outside the Constituent Assembly as a manoeuvre to smash the growing upsurge, split the freedom movement and perpetuate imperialist rule in a new form. Its single representative in the constituent Assembly will expose the plan from within "by utilising every opportunity of showing its undemocratic and non-sovereign character and by bringing in positive proposals of

Congress-League joint action to break up the Constituent Assembly."

So also the Communist Party indicts the British plan of interim Government as a plan to set up "a government of compromise and surrender," which whether based on one or two parties "will be weak vis-a-vis the Viceroy and will be used by the latter as a convenient cover to hit at the revolutionary upsurge."

#### All Power To The People!

But if it is actually formed, the Communist Party will do its utmost "to prevent it from going further down the road of compromise and surrender, by rallying the people in joint front demonstrations" to demand of it: Establishment of full civil liberties throughout India;

The withdrawal of British troops;

No police and military interference to crush workers' strikes for better wages and living conditions, peasant mass actions against landlords and hoarders and mass demonstrations against imperialist rule;

War against profiteers, black-marketeers and landlords. Against the Imperialist plan, the Party puts forward the plan for a mighty joint front of all India's popular parties based on the central demand:

"All power to the people, for a Constituent Assembly, based on adult suffrage with proportional representation and complete self-determination to every national unit."

This Constituent Assembly, the resolution points out, is quite distinct and different from imperialism's bogus Constituent Assembly because it will come into existence as a result of an all-in battle, culminating in the end of foreign imperial rule.

#### National Democratic Revolution

In addition, the Party puts forward the programme of national democratic revolution, including the end of princely rule, the abolition of landlordism and land to tiller, confiscation of British capital and nationalisation of key indus-

tries, and fundamental rights of workers, peasants and minorities.

The Party recognises that the sweep of the present struggles of workers, peasants and States' peoples is drawing in greater and greater sections of the big followings of the Congress and the League, and is helping them to see through the compromising policies of their respective leaderships.

The Communist Party is convinced that a joint front of popular parties behind the programme of national democratic revolution can and will be forged out of the living experience of the masses in these struggles.

#### For Joint Action Of All Left Forces

In this connection the Party welcomes the increasing desire among Left-minded forces in the Congress to fight compromise; it puts forward a positive programme for joint action of all Left forces, based on united support for all struggles of workers, peasants and States' peoples. The resolution, while criticising the present policies of the leaderships of the Con-

gress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc, underlines the great importance of all Left forces joining together, to rouse the masses against compromise, and thus build a joint popular front for the final struggle.

#### Support To Workers, Kisans, State Struggles

In the final sections of the resolution, the Communist Party outlines the task of developing the struggles of the working-class, peasants and States' peoples; it is these, the resolution underlines, that can be decisive in moving all India's peoples forward.

The Communist Party foresees that in the present situation of famine, economic crisis and worsening of living conditions, the struggles of workers, peasants and of the States' peoples are bound to spread to wider masses and to develop in general strikes, big peasant actions and clashes, and States' peoples' risings. This will draw in greater and greater sections of the Indian people into battle, and directed all smash compromise, lead to the formation of a joint front and pave the way for the last chapter of the fight, cul-

minating in the end of British rule.

#### Call To Every Communist

The resolution concludes with a call to everyone of India's 50,000 Communists to rise to the historic occasion facing India, to throw in every ounce of their strength to ensure that imperialism's evil plan of crushing the Indian Revolution is frustrated and instead the mighty post-war revolutionary upsurge of the Indian people is led forward to forge unity of all India's people and to achieve the end of imperial rule and the establishment of Indian freedom. The Central Committee also passed resolutions supporting the Indians' struggle in South Africa, the fight of the Goan people, and expressing solidarity with the Post and Telegraph strikers.

It decided to hold the next All-India Congress of the Communist Party in January 1947 at Bezwada, and directed all Provincial and District Committees to hold their own Conferences in December and November respectively.

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

#### "Hospitality"

**O**N July 31, at Poona, for the first time in our national history, Congress Ministers allowed themselves to be entertained by a British Governor.

Sir John Colville, Governor of Bombay, entertained the members of the Bombay Cabinet and the Provincial Ministers, then in Poona for the Educational and Village Industries Conferences, to tea in the Durbar Hall of the Government House.

Premier Kher described the function as "a happy and memorable occasion," for "under the peculiar conditions of progress in the country, we never enjoyed the hospitality of the Governor in the old days."

Oh yes, we DID "enjoy" their hospitality" in the old days. We enjoyed it in 1942, in the recent massacres of Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay; the I.N.A. has enjoyed it, and so has the R.I.N.

And Colville's hospitality particularly. The martyrs of Satara know it. Bombay's 270 martyrs who fell at the time of the R.I.N. strike tasted it.

The tea Colville offers you, Bala-sahib, Kher, is not tea. It is your people's blood. Stop drinking it.

#### Gates Of Freedom

This strange, inexplicable tea-party—this "memorable occasion"—was no accident, no whim of Premier Kher's. It took place after consultation with Gandhiji and with Sardar Patel.

Why did they sanction the ending of the boycott of British hospitality? On the very next day, Sardar Patel, speaking at the Tilak Day meeting in Bombay, condemned vehemently those "who advocate that the people should prepare for another struggle." According to the Sardar, these people "do not seem to know the realities of the present day situation in India," for "actually, India is at the gates of freedom."

"India is at the gates of freedom"—and so:

- \* End all strikes, says Mahatmaj!
- \* Reinterpret the 'Quit Kashmir' slogan and take to the path of constitutional progress by preparing for the State elections which are to take place in October—that is Pandit Nehru's advice to the fighters of Kashmir.
- \* The Congress can give the Goan struggle nothing more than "moral support"—says Sardar Patel.

That has been, in a nutshell, the lead given by the national leaders

this week on the major freedom war-fronts of today.

And the argument has been all along the same: "We are at the gates of freedom, the Constituent Assembly is to meet—don't spoil things, when they are going so smoothly—call off all struggles."

#### Break Them Open

Are we just sailing into freedom—with our good friends, the British Colvilles, to help us along on our way with cups of tea? Or have we yet to fight for it, fight the British Colvilles off our soil?

India's postmen know the answer. It took three weeks' complete strike and the mighty support of the general strikes of all the workers of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras to make the Conran Smiths bend.

Kashmir knows the answer and is giving it. You can read it for yourself on Page 12 in the stories of the street battles of Srinagar, and of the great fight after the Dargah prayers.

The Goan people, newer to struggle, are groping their way to the answer too.

Yes, we are "at the gates of freedom." But it will take the might of four hundred millions to break them open.

The British are no chickens in the art of ruling. They have seen the writing on the wall. They are getting ready to meet it. These preparations are the reality behind Colville's cups of tea.

#### Take Your Aim

**T**HE next time you are in a procession or a demonstration, look out for your stomach. Protect it if you can. For that is where the British Tommies have been told to fire first—right in your 'guts'.

Oh yes, the times have changed. And with them, British methods. There was a time when it was the rule: you must first fire in the air, to give the people a chance to disperse.

All that is ended. No firing in the air. Straight at the guts—"It's a fine, big target." An army friend has just sent me this news. It seems he protested when he was given this new "instruction," and told his senior officers quite bluntly that this was sheer murder. "Not at all," replied the expert-killers, "this method is, in fact, specially designed to prevent people from being killed."

Oh, wonderful, humanitarian White Sahibs! And how? Just explain to us.

"Well, the point is that today, if you fire in the air, these wretched Indian crowds don't disperse... they rush at you, instead... which means they come much closer, and when you fire again, you have to kill many more. So fire at the guts, at the very start... and, save lives!"

Can you beat that splendid piece of logic? They kill in order to save. Poor, poor British....

Go on shooting in our guts. But tremble as you pull the trigger. For, maybe, "these wretched Indian crowds" will "rush at you", even with your bullets in their guts....

We can return your 'hospitality'.

#### Won't You Come?

**T**ALKING of hospitality, I have just received a pamphlet issued by the Publicity and Travel Department of the South African Government. Here are some extracts:

"The friendliness of South Africa's people... has long been acclaimed by visitors to the sunny land."

"Peaceful South Africa, far from the storm centres of the world, is waiting to welcome you... Won't you come and meet us?"

"South Africa has built up a high standard of European civilisation against a fascinating background."

And then—

"It (South Africa) is no colony, no overseas settlement of Europeans in temporary exile, but a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth in which two million Whites have made permanent homes and surrounded themselves with all amenities and comforts they could desire."

Beautifully put! Two million Whites—or rather, the rich industrialist and planter Whites—living in comfort, strangling the rest of the population—the eight million Africans, the two hundred and fifty thousand Indians.

And yet it is "a high standard of European civilisation!"

Welcome to South Africa, indeed! Yes, welcome to all the colour-baiters, the empire-builders, the White-sahib-leeches. But for how long?

The world is changing. Field-Marshal Smuts. And India in on its legs.

Ramesh Chandra

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# Gandhiji And Strikes

IN face of the mass awakening among industrial workers and the unprecedented strike-wave which is sweeping over the country, the leaders of the National Congress are rapidly retreating to take a position of open opposition and hostility to any direct action by the workers against the horrible economic conditions imposed on them by imperialist rule.

The Congress Ministries had begun the retreat with warnings against strikes, granting State protection to those who were willing to work in a strike, i.e., for strike-breaking, prohibiting strike meetings under Section 144, and drafting bills to legally take away the right to strike.

And how comes Gandhiji's article in Harijan, practically denouncing all strikes, asking the workers to submit all disputes to arbitration, practically forbidding sympathetic strikes, which according to the Mahatma must not take place unless and until the Congress has proved to have betrayed the interests of the strikers. Also no political strikes should take place unless the Congress calls them.

Gandhiji, therefore, calls all strikers to resort to arbitration, and all sympathetic strikes to stop whilst the Congress is engaged in making the contemplated Constituent Assembly a success and whilst Provincial National Governments are functioning.

Gandhiji's article is no doubt written under the impact of the historic events which compelled the Government of India to settle the postal strike.

The all-India postal strike, lasting over three weeks, when the Government expected it to last only for three days; the great sympathetic strikes of Bombay and Madras, drawing in lakhs of workers, and the mighty protest strike on July 29 of Calcutta, when sixteen lakh workers came on the streets, and the military had to be withdrawn from the city and the police dared not attend the giant rally in the evening—these form the background of Gandhiji's article.

## A New India On The March

It is but natural that those who are busy trying to make a success of the imperialist Constitution-making Body with the aid of the Maharaja of Burdwan and the Raja of Bobbili, and of the Princes and Landlords, should feel embarrassed and even indignant at this unexpected onrush of mass militancy and action.

On the other hand, every honest Indian ought to feel enthused over the events, because they disclose that the India of low wages, of miserable economic conditions, is on the march, fearless of bureaucratic repression and victimisation.

They show how lakhs of Hindus and Muslims unite to fight against imperialist exploitation when the policy of the leadership only accentuates divisions.

They reveal the tremendous striking capacity which the country has developed and which any sane leadership must utilise to implement the 'Quit India' demand.

Gandhiji's present stand against strikes only reveals the anti-national character of the compromising policy which accepts the Cabinet Mission's plan. The logic of that policy is leading the leadership to denounce all mass actions, even for betterment of their conditions and to urge itself with the vested interests against the masses.

The next step will be open suppression of these struggles by the Ministries with the aid of bureaucracy, which will mean that the imperialist game of baiting the Indian parties to do the dirty game of suppressing their own people has succeeded.

If the Congress Working Committee endorses Gandhiji's stand, it will bring disaster to the country. Even if we look from the point of view of the economic demands of the workers, Gandhiji's stand is neither fair nor just.

## No Condemnation Of Exploitation Of Workers

One wishes that Gandhiji had spared at least a few strong words for the barbarous exploitation of the workers by Indian and British capitalists and demanded a drastic change in working conditions.

But Gandhiji is very careful in not saying a word about it. In fact, he even withdraws his support to the postal strike. And yet who does not know the intolerable wage conditions of the postal workers. Who does not know that in this country the vast majority of workers get wages as low as Rs. 15 and Rs. 20.

It is against these conditions that the workers having patiently waited for years, are striking. Can these conditions form subject matter of arbitration? Can any man justify them, unless he is an open apologist of the capitalists?

Gandhiji's advice to the workers to go in for impartial arbitration only adds insult to injury, as if the workers were demanding something to which they were not entitled as human beings. It is as fantastic as if Gandhiji were to refer Untouchability to some "impartial" arbitration.

The fact is that the workers have always shown willingness to settle the matter amicably, but when the employers have found themselves in a strong position they have refused to do so, and when the workers are in a strong position, the "impartial" arbitration have generally cheated them.

Instead of denouncing strikes and recommending arbitrations, why does not Gandhiji recommend a still easier way? Now that the Congress Governments are functioning in the Provinces, why does he not ask them to immediately legislate for living conditions and minimum wage, and thus fulfil at least part of the electoral pledges?

But this the Ministries will not do; on the other hand they are busy forging anti-strike legislations—that is how they implement their promises and maintain the right to strike and bring about Madhoo Kisan Prasad Raj.

## Congressmen Must Reverse Leadership's Policy

Congressmen and others must see the dangerous trend in the policy of the Congress leadership.

Gandhiji's policy if implemented will mean that the people should not support the struggles of workers, clerks, postmen and others, i.e., of the poorer strata.

It will mean direct encouragement to disruption and give a free pass to the capitalists to lower wages and enforce unemployment all round.

It will lead to the Congress Ministries acting as an instrument of the capitalists and the vested interests against the people. Politically it will mean disruption of the freedom struggle.

Every honest voice must be raised against this dangerous trend. The people must declare that on no account will they let down the workers, just to suit the needs of the anti-national compromise and placate a few capitalists. The workers must make it clear that on no account will they tolerate present economic conditions, nor give up their right to strike in sympathy with other workers, or fail to launch protest actions against repression.

The people's and workers' unity must bring pressure on the Ministries and Congress leadership to forsake the present dangerous policy of compromise with imperialism and appeasement of the vested interests.

# ★ League Defection Upsets Imperialist Apple-Cart ★ British Government's New Manoeuvre ★ A Poser For Congress Working Committee

The Muslim League's total rejection of the Cabinet Mission's plan and its announcement to adopt the path of 'direct action' and struggle has, whatever its ulterior motives, neatly upset the imperialist apple-cart.

At first the imperialist circles in New Delhi tried to give the impression to the public as if nothing had happened and that, whatever the League decision, the thread of negotiations for the formation of the Interim Government would be renewed as promised earlier, and that preparations for the opening of the Constituent Assembly were going on. The pretence that everything was proceeding according to plan could no longer be kept up. The plan has gone awry and fresh manoeuvres are afoot to rescue it.

It is now reported that the Viceroy has taken no fresh initiative regarding either the formation of a Provisional Government at the Centre composed of the two main parties or for fixing the date of the Constituent Assembly.

The next move from New Delhi as well as from London

the Provisional Government strictly in accordance with their plan, so that they suppress India's rising freedom upsurge and produce a slave constitution for the greater glory of the British Empire.

The line of the Labour Government has been indicated by the recent broadcast of Major Wyatt, M. P., who accompanied Sir Stafford Cripps with the Cabinet Mission. Major Wyatt in his broadcast over the B.B.C. on 31st July repeated all the arguments of The Times.

He criticised Pandit Nehru for being "extremely provocative in his references to the Constituent Assembly," criticised the League for voting itself out of the Constituent Assembly, and added that,

"He was confident that if the charge of forming the Interim Government was passed on to the Congress that Party would not only include the representative Muslims but would even drop some of the points on which it had stood firm in the negotiations."

The suave spokesman of the Labour Government is putting across the line of the British imperialists in polite language so that it may appeal to the Congress leaders.

In the course of the Cabinet Mission negotiations it was the Muslim League's early acceptance of the long-term plan which was used to get the Congress into the plan. Now that the boot is on the other leg, the Congress is to be roped in to form the Interim Government, to use it to get in the League.

## Jute Bosses Want Congress Raj!

The aim is the same as ever—to yoke the leaders of the Congress and the League to an Interim Government and a Constitution-making Body both of which will serve as an effective brake on the rising tempo of mass struggles. The Statesman, mouthpiece of British jute bosses and planters in Bengal, puts it quite straight:

"The primary task of statesmanship for India is to transfer immediately from British to Indian hands the maximum amount of practical responsibility for rule. Formulation of some theoretically perfect constitutional scheme can wait..."

It goes on to say that, "Congress would have the good sense to bring in the League but even if it does not show that tolerance and high-mindedness—a Congress Government at the Centre would prove a smaller evil than the present 'Caretaker' regime."

This article appeared in The Statesman on July 31. On the 29th the whole of Calcutta was rocked as never before by an unprecedented strike and hartal of 18 lakhs in sympathy with the all-India Postal and Telegraph workers' strike. The significance of this mighty demonstration was obviously not lost upon the representatives of British monopoly capital in India. From the I.N.A. demonstrations of November and December last year to this magnificent rally of working class and common people's solidarity was a big stride.

They could see that the "Quit India" revolution was marching ahead with seven-league boots, and it was 'statesmanship' to transfer responsibility of curbing it to Indian hands especially Congress hands.

The British bosses of Calcutta as well as their principals in London, and the Labour Government all seem to agree on this. Have they all become adherents of the "Quit India" slogan? Nothing of the sort.

The plain fact is that the imperialists and the Labour Government want to rescue the plan (Continued on page 8)

by G. Adhikari

will depend upon the decision of the Congress Working Committee which is meeting this week-end at Wardha.

In the meanwhile, the Viceroy has summoned his satraps from the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, the Punjab, the U.P. and Bengal, for urgent discussion on August 8. Obviously the imperialists are making their police and military plans to meet every contingency.

## Imperialist Plan Upset

The imperialists had expected to trap both the Congress and the League in the Interim Government as well as in the Constituent Assembly.

They expected both to fight each other within the four corners of the Provisional Government and the Constituent Assembly, each trying to turn the imperialist plan in its own favour and thus actually leaving imperialist free to strengthen its position.

They expected that the Interim Government composed of the two popular parties—weak vis-a-vis the Viceroy because of the Congress-League conflict—would yet be a convenient popular cover to hit at the rising wave of mass struggles.

This plan has now upset after the League decision. True, the League's struggle threat was not directed against the British Government nor against its plan, despite the speeches at the Bombay meeting of the League Council. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, had stated quite clearly:

"If the Congress should form a Government at the Centre, we will resist it by all the means and make functioning of such a government impossible."

Mr. Jinnah too has made it quite clear that the League decision regarding direct action was against anybody, but a loaded pistol which he is going to keep in his hand in the fresh negotiations which he expects and wants.

All the same the fact remains that the bulk of the mass following of the Muslim League looks upon the League decision as a declaration of war mainly against the British. It has evoked tremendous anti-imperialist enthusiasm among the Muslim masses—despite the anti-Congress and anti-Hindu twist the leadership is seeking to

Press as well as from the Labour Government circles give an indication of this plan.

Rabidly jingo Tory papers like the Daily Mail and Yorkshire Post, of course, scream that it is Labour Government's policy of transferring power to Indians that has brought this dangerous situation of civil war in India, and that the sooner the policy is reversed the better it would be for the stability of British rule in India. They demand that power should not be transferred to the Congress alone in any case.

## British Capitalist Circles Alarmed

But the Tory papers like the Sunday Times and The Times, which reflect the real policy of British monopoly capitalists, know that Labour's plan was really their plan and it is based on the drawing in of the Congress and the League leaderships into an alliance with the Princes and themselves.

Any upsetting of the plan in the present dangerously growing revolutionary situation in India would be fatal to their interests.

They know it and that is why they look with alarm at the League's threatened defection and want a quick settlement on the basis of the plan. The Sunday Times puts it quite openly:

"So much is at stake for the British authority, and indeed, for the security of the whole Empire that we for our part, must strain every nerve to help to bring about a real settlement." (4-8-46) (Emphasis mine—G.A.)

Both The Times and The Sunday Times point out that the grievances of the Muslim League, which has been sticking to the provisions of the imperialist plan, are legitimate and criticise the Congress leaders for having made claims about the Constituent Assembly which "lack sobriety of expression."

At the same time they criticise the Muslim League for "abandoning constitutional activities" and "indulging in wild talk of direct action, unworthy of responsible statesmen."

In short, these oracles of British monopoly capital want the Congress leaders to stop talking of sovereign Constituent Assembly; they want the Muslim League leaders to be again their dutiful constitutional boys and drop threats of direct action.

They want both to do the command performance in the Constituent Assembly and in







# POSTMEN COULD HAVE SECURED BETTER TERMS

## National Leaders Pressure On Strikers, Not On Govt.

After fighting the first all-India strike for 25 days, at most of the centres the postmen, etc., have resumed work.

THE men have returned to work because a settlement was reached between Dalvi, their leader, and Krishna Prasad on behalf of the Government. They 'settled' it because leaders like Sardar Patel intervened and talked about the strikers losing public sympathies, if they did not call it off.

On the merits of the case, the men could not be said to have won a big victory, particularly in view of their tremendous and growing solidarity—of Hindus and Muslims, of Pathans and Madrasis, of Bengalees and Maharashtrians—and the staggering support our people gave to their battle.

Their unity was all the more praiseworthy in view of the Government's playing up the disruptive "nationalist" leaders of the Federation against them; leaders who were simultaneously backed by Congress leaders, and given widest publicity by the Press.

Their battle was all the more praiseworthy because with countless 'Unions' and 'Associations' in the field, and with their own organisation not at all experienced in even a local strike, they fought for 25 days an all-India strike battle against the entire might of the Caretaker bosses who at every step rattled their sabres. They fought because their cause was just and people's support behind them overwhelming.

### Total Relief Secured

The total relief that they have secured upto now, in stages, amounts to Rs. 3.96 crores. As a result of the notice of strike in February 1946, they got concessions amounting to Rs. 1.42 crores. By mid-July, the Rajadhyaksh Award gave them concessions worth Rs. 1.82 crores (including Rs 73 lakhs for non-recurring relief). To bring about a settlement the Government granted them further relief amounting roughly to Rs. 1 crore.

Was this really satisfactory to this "lowest paid employee of the Central Government?" In rejecting the Rajadhyaksh Award as "unsatisfactory", Dalvi, the leader of the strikers, had said that the "relief it granted was about 6 per cent of the cost of the demands." The subsequent relief is much less than that. How then does it satisfy?

It is estimated by the strike leaders that it would have cost

by P. B. Rangnekar

the Government about Rs. 30 lakhs if they had conceded the demand for wages for the strike days. This could certainly have been granted—no matter under what name—by a department that piled up Rs. 30 crores as war profits. Why then was it not done?

As for popular support the like of it had never come forth for any cause or struggle in our country. In spite of all his communique, Sir E. Conran-Smith on July 23 was forced to admit that the "strike situation was serious." And that BEFORE he had seen or heard of the mighty popular support for the strike, in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta.

### Sardar Patel's Role

Why then could not better terms be secured? The answer is, under pressure from the business world, Sardar Patel forced an unfair settlement on the strikers. Big Business was crashing, collapsing. In Calcutta alone in two days bank business dropped down by rupees one crore. Ministers were flooded with their telegrams "to end it up." And it was 'ended'!

Sardar brought the pressure of the entire Congress leadership to bear, NOT on the Government, but on Dalvi, the workers' leader. Threats were given to "withdraw the strike or face its smash-up." The nation's leaders, went forth the warning, would issue statements against it, 'volunteers' would be sent to break it. In the absence of the Strike Committee, Dalvi yielded.

To Krishna Prasad, however, Sardar was all assurances. All would be O.K. on my side. "Chamanlal is a good boy, he would behave himself". If not, Sardar promised to "show him the big stick."

Premier Kher, when Krishna Prasad asked him if the concessions were O.K., said,

"Yes, yes, even if we were in your place, we would not have given them anything more."

Why then should the bureaucrats of New Delhi yield? No wonder, when a telephone worker exposed these conversations at the memorable Jinnah Hall (Bombay) meeting on August 2,

unanimous cries of 'shame, shame' greeted the news. Some postmen even shouted 'Vallabh-bhai Murdabad'. Harsh words those for a national leader, but they revealed the people's mood.

The meeting had been called to ratify Dalvi's decision about withdrawal of the strike. So intense, however, was the workers' hatred for it, that the final decision had to be postponed to August 4.

And Bombay was not a solitary example. Delhi, Amritsar, Jubulpore, all told the same story of bitter disappointment and dissatisfaction over Sardar's deal for the strikers. Second after the R.I.N.!

The strike has revealed great weaknesses in the postal union. The men have not been defeated. They could not be. But they have not secured what they should have and could. They cannot until they build up a real all-embracing mass nationwide organisation for the ENTIRE Post and Telegraph staff.

The strike has steeled them immensely. As a postman said,

"We have learnt the use of a new weapon. And if they do not satisfy us, by God, we will not hesitate to use it a second time. And we know our people are behind us."

## STEADY COLLAPSE OF GOVT.

### Postmen Make Bosses Eat Their Words

This is the story of the steady collapse of a Government. This is the story of the Caretaker Government and the postal strike. Boast after boast, threat after threat, blown to smithereens by the resolute will of the strikers and forty crores who supported them. Listen.....

● Long before and immediately after the strike started, all the postal bosses—Conran Smith, Shoober and Krishna Prasad yelled: "The strike is illegal and unjustifiable." As Government employees postmen were not supposed to be legally entitled to go on strike!

The postmen not only went on strike, but in the end they forced Krishna Prasad to negotiate with their leaders.

"Illegal strike" indeed! How do you like eating your words?

● "Postmen will have to vacate their premises" ordered the Post-Master Generals of Bombay, Calcutta, etc., on July 11. "They will not be entitled to draw ration at concession rates" (as in Bombay) they had ordered earlier. On the 11th July a "72 hour notice" was given to postmen to 'return to work' on pain of dismissal.

Within 72 hours, the P.M.G.s themselves yielded. "There was no idea about ejecting the men from the quarters", was one apology. "They may continue to draw their rations as before", read another. About the notice of dismissal, somehow no one ever referred to that again till the settlement, when assurances were given that there would be no harassment, no victimisation. Countless earlier announcements about mass dismissals were withdrawn.

It is a regular meal you are having, Sahibs—a meal of your own threats.

● "Boy Scouts have volunteered their services," said Krishna Prasad on the 11th. He also talked about "other volunteers being ready"—all to end "inconvenience to the public."

Leaders of Boy Scouts refused to fall in as "blacklegs." It was "against their creed and constitution," they said on July 12. As for "volunteers" only Krishna Prasad's two sons could be collared. On July 16, Sir E. Conran Smith admitted

THOUGH the strike of postmen and Lower Grade Staff including RMS has been withdrawn, about 4,000 employees of the Telegraph Department in a number of major cities in India, Bombay, Calcutta, Agra, etc., and in the two Provinces of Assam and Bengal are determined to "fight out their cause at all costs."

Indeed in the latter two Provinces even the postal employees are reported not to have resumed duties as per settlement. They mean to fight on till their demand for an additional grant of Rs. 30 lakhs for these two worst-ravaged Provinces is met.

Not all the telegraph employees are affected, nor are they on strike all over the country. Led by the All India Telegraph Union, they served a strike notice of only 72 hours by wire. As the Government did not yield, they came out on strike.

### Their Demands

Their demands are: 1. Acceptance of all demands of the postmen and lower grade staff Union and withdrawal of all repressive measures against the strikers.

2. Six months' pay or Rs. 300—whichever is greater, to all non-gazetted staff to enable them to tide over their difficulties.

3. Payment of gratuity of one month's pay for each year of service, in addition to pension.

4. Monetary compensation to officers 'stagnated' for breach of service conditions, etc.

The Union has submitted a schedule of proposed scales of pay where the lowest is as low as Rs. 30-2-50 for boy peons and Rs. 30-2-60 for sweepers. Except in two or three categories of very highly skilled staff the highest starting salary asked for

is Rs. 100. Led by the President of the All-India Trade Union Congress, M. K. Bose, the union has decided to continue the strike till their demands for "no victimisation and no forfeiture of pay for the strike period" are granted.

Their leaders have condemned the terms of settlement of the postal strike as these will "benefit only a small fraction of the workers and that to a little extent." The intention they say is for creating a cleavage among the workers. Offering "a few rupees" for those workers in big cities and 'starvation level' for those working in the mofussil is a really "nasty bureaucratic game."

It is worth noting that in Bombay where the telegraphists ratified their Calcutta co-workers' decision to continue the strike, even sharply critical reference to Sardar Patel was loudly acclaimed. Indeed the speakers deplored the fact that while they had held in abeyance their strike in March last, in deference to the wishes of the national leaders, nothing ever came out of it.

### Strike Is Complete

At a subsequent meeting on August 5, a telegraph worker put it very bluntly while referring to Sardar Patel's intervention: "The first atom bomb was dropped on the R.I.N. boys. The second on the postmen."

The strike is so complete that even a handful of straggling blacklegs at Calcutta soon joined up. Indeed more cities are joining up, particularly in the U.P. In Bombay 200 boy peons of the Central Telegraph Office, who really belonged to the postmen's union, have refused to resume work till the demands of their department staff are fulfilled.

(As we go to press news has been received that the telegraph strike is over.—Ed.)

## WHAT THE POSTMEN HAVE SECURED

1. 50 per cent of the clerks' posts (and not 20 per cent as before) will be made available for postmen who pass the necessary tests.

2. No more need to pass medical examination for confirmation in higher posts. One loophole for corrupt practices closed.

3. Confirmation after one year's service. This means increase in leave reserve. The service put in by the present staff will be taken account of in matters of pension.

4. Extra wages for work on Sundays and holidays. No more will postmen put in, as at present, 13 1/2 years' extra unpaid service during their normal service of 30 years. In future for every extra day's work they will get Re. 1 extra.

5. After a stipulated period (one year in case of postmen and three years in case of lower grade staff) a person working temporarily on a higher grade will be confirmed, if his work is found satisfactory.

6. Abolition of the term "inferior staff."

7. Assurance that there would be no retrenchment and that jobs will be secured, for those who have been retrenched—so-called!

8. Demand for a gratuity amounting to as many months' pay as years of service put in, will be finally settled by the Pay Commission after five months. Meanwhile as an interim measure, maximum concession on this point will be made from the Compassionate Gratuity Fund.

9. Demand for pre-1931 leave rules for postmen and lower grade staff will be settled by the Pay Commission. But some gains had already been secured in the previous concession. The new emblems may now accumulate leave for over 90 days.

10. As regards the demand for abolition of 'A', 'B', 'C' areas and uniform rules as in 'A' area for all, in matters of leave, wages, dearness allowance, etc.: the 'C' area is abolished (gives an increase of Rs. 2 p.m. to this staff) and included in 'B' area. Talks will be opened for including some 'B' area towns in 'A'.

### Concessions In Cash

In February 1946, as a result of the first strike notice, they got an increase of Rs. 5 in good conduct allowance, making the Department pay to the tune of Rs. 78 lakhs. This, along with increase in D. A. with retrospective effect from July 1944.

Under the Rajadhyaksh Award the men got the following:

(a) Rs. 2 more by way of dearness allowance to staff in 'C' areas.

(b) Rs. 3-12 by way of cheap grain allowance where cheap grain shops do not obtain. This with retrospective effect from Feb. 1945; accumulated amount available per employee is Rs. 67-8.

(c) Increase in wages for new entrants—clerks, postmen, packers, telegraph peons—with retrospective effect for 18 months.

(d) Compensatory allowance for old scale staff.

(e) Increase in house allowance in Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta.

(f) Outstation allowance for RMS staff.

Also other monetary gains for 18 months other staff.

Assurance of no harassment, no victimisation; strike days will be counted as leave days and not a break in service.

## WEEK IN REVIEW

(Continued from page 5)

which had broken down after the League's Bombay decision.

The prospective offer to the Congress to form the Interim Government is not an offer of real power at the Centre, but one under the limitations of the Cabinet Mission's plan. Whether the Congress forms it alone or with the aid of the League it would be on the same formula, with veto in the hands of the Viceroy.

It would be one of compromise and surrender, having no power to solve the pressing problems of famine and employment and better living conditions, but faced with the task of suppressing the people's struggles and of coercing or conciliating the Muslim League.

This would be the main question before the Congress Working Committee which meets this week end. The Viceroy's offer to form the Interim Government is a trap.

Let the Congress High Command at least now recognise that

the bankrupt imperialist plan has collapsed after the League's rejection. Imperialism wants to use the Congress as a cat's paw to revive it.

The Congress can do it only by agreeing to the vicious undemocratic principles involved in it.

If it does so the Congress would have to be a party to the imperialist conspiracy to enslave and divide India and to suppress the growing people's struggles.

The way forward lies through a total rejection of the plan. The way forward lies through developing the present people's upsurge into a real struggle for power and for the end of British rule. The way forward lies through the Congress and the League joining in this common struggle, both agreeing to solve their differences on the question of Pakistan and Indian Union by putting them to the democratic vote of the people of every national unit in India.

—by P. B. Rangnekar



# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

- BRITISH DELAY IN EGYPT
- PALESTINE'S CHARTER OF SLAVERY
- DEMOCRACY FOR TURKEY?

FOUR months have passed since the negotiations between Egypt and Great Britain began; directed to reach the present Anglo-Egyptian treaty, they were heralded by a pompous announcement broadcast over the world with the fanfare and publicity which British imperialism could organize—that British troops were to be evacuated from Egypt unconditionally.

But though this was four months ago, nothing has yet been done. Neither the negotiations have reached any conclusion nor have British troops been evacuated from the streets of Alexandria and Cairo. As the Hindustan Times reported July 26:

"There is much to be said for the Wafdist contention in today's papers that the British are 'not serious' about the treaty negotiations and that their tactics suggest that they are 'merely playing for time'."

**Issues in Dispute**  
But while negotiations have produced no final result, they have brought into the foreground the real issues at stake. August 3, the correspondent of the Free Press of India, cable that the differences between the British who had so proudly tom-tommed the process in less than a year; the Egyptians were fighting on twelve to eighteen months.

The British want a joint Council which will negotiate; but final success depends on whether the British are able fully to put their neighbours, Egyptians, through his anti-democratic

sceptical because this would mean conversion of Egypt into a British military base for the 'defence' of Britain's virtual colonies like Greece, Palestine or Transjordania.

### Still in Balance

And in the meantime the real forces of Egyptian democracy are not standing still. Sidky by his clean-up of 'Communists' thought he had crushed the country's rising movement. But only last week news came (Hindustan Times, August 1) that non-commissioned officers of the Cairo police were still planning to go on strike within 30 days if Government did not consider their claims.

All Bevin's tricks have not yet carried him to success in the negotiations; but final success depends on whether the British are able fully to put their neighbours, Egyptians, through his anti-democratic

drive (started in the name of 'fighting Communism') and crush all anti-British opposition.

### Diabolical Plan

THE full details of the Anglo-American 'expert' plan for Palestine have now been published.

By it Palestine is going to be divided into four parts; first, a Jewish autonomous Province bordering on the sea, stretching from Tel-Aviv to the Syrian border; second, an Arab Province which will include the port of Gaza but in the main consist of territory inland; third, the District of Jerusalem, probably a wedge of land extending from Jaffa to Jerusalem; and fourth, the southernmost district of Palestine, the district of Nageb.

Although the two Arab and Jewish Provinces are supposed to be virtually autonomous as far as internal administration is concerned, the Central Government will exercise authority over Defence, Foreign Relations, Customs, and Excise and initially "Law and Order including the Police and Courts."

### Key Authority

In this way, key authority will be retained in British hands at the Centre, particularly as far as the retention of Palestine as a British imperial military base is concerned.

At the same time the way is left open to ensure that the Arab-Jewish conflict continues; the Jewish Province will be given the right to control immigration into its own territory, and clearly enough this will keep the two peoples at one another's throats.

The most mysterious part of the plan—which in fact reveals the real intentions of the devils who concocted it—is the fate of the district of Nageb in Southern Palestine. On the paucity ground that territory in Southern Nageb is "beyond the present limit of cultivation," the British have neatly detached it from the Arab Province and made it a fourth Province.

The real intention, however, is clear if one realises that Nageb borders on Egypt and is not far from the Suez Canal. Evidently the British want Nageb under their undisputed and sole control so that they can use it as a military base from which to threaten Egypt.

The true objective of the plan, therefore, emerges simply enough from this; it is not a plan for Jewish or Arab freedom. It is a plan to make Arab fight Jew, and on that plea retain British control of Palestine; it is an imperialist plan of partition to retain Palestine as an imperial military base and to perpetuate imperialist domination of the Middle East.

### Fake Elections

THE national and municipal elections held in Turkey have been widely acclaimed as the introduction of democratic methods and democratic rule in Turkey. The official Ankara Radio even went so far as to claim that "our elections can serve as an example for many other cultured countries."

This was the first attempt to give a democratic mask to Turkey's one-party rule that has existed for twenty-three years.

How far was the attempt successful?

Over the municipal elections, held in June, opposition papers sharply criticised the Government because it had not ensured "impartiality in the conduct of the elections." (Eni Sabah).

In spite of threats and pressure by the Government, less than 50 per cent of the electors came to the polls and one Deputy, Tikmed Briur, protested in Parliament that the elections were not free.

### No Real Opposition

Similar was the outcome of the national elections; biggest opposition was expected to come from the Democrat Party; yet the ruling Republican People's Party won 395 seats; the Democrats with 66 seats, and four Independents, make up a house of 465.

The Democrats even lost in their stronghold, Izmir — and allege that intimidation and false voting took place on a large scale; just before the election day, it accused the Government of "poisonous propaganda, and pressure through the gendarmerie...."

This is not the least either; in fact the real opposition to the RPP was effectively driven underground some months before when the newspaper offices of the democratic Socialist elements were looted by a supposedly 'anti-Russian crowd'—while in fact it was an attack, organised by the official gendarmerie.

### A Failure

Thus when the election did come it was a contest between the RPP and the Democrat Party in which the latter's main burden of attack on the RPP was that it was not an efficient enough government and therefore did not properly serve the interests of the bosses of Turkey, the war-rich capitalists.

As a result the boasted elections were no more than a battle between two rival capitalist factions—and considering the criticisms being made by both sides of the way the election was held, one can conclude (as did the Hindustan Times Cairo correspondent in a dispatch dated July 22) that:

"These elections in Turkey 'revealed the failure of Turkey's first attempt at democratic rule.'"

## ★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★

### Blackmarketeer's Lesson

AFTER the blackmarket exposure some of the airmen of the Indian Air Force at Vile Parle camp went to see the canteen contractor to force him to stop this blackmarketeering.

Showing him the cutting from the last issue of People's Age they told him that he should mend his ways. But the contractor lost his temper and shouted:

"Don't you know R.A.F. regulations? Why did you send this to the Press? In future if you have any complaint go to your Commanding Officer and not to the Press."

The airmen looked at each other and left the canteen. On their way one of them said, "We must teach this dishonest fellow a lesson. The best way is to get every airman in the camp to make payment for the purchases; only after seeing the printed price list and not to pay a pie more."

Everyone present immediately agreed; and from what I hear this is already beginning to make sense to the loud-mouthed contractor.

### Newspapers Wanted

LAST week there was a big uproar in one of the barracks of the Indian airmen at the R.I.A.F. camp, Vile Parle. Talk centred round the postal strike news and airmen were complaining that they did not get news because the papers they were supposed to get in the recreation room were not being supplied.

One airman said: "Can't we demand newspapers be supplied regularly? We should ask the officer to tell us the way he has been spending the Rs. 35 every month which is allotted for newspapers? Once again we must make a demand for newspapers and see that we get them."

At the end of the talk it was decided that the airmen should approach the officer again and ask for newspapers and if he fails to supply these newspapers they should go to the Station Commander, Wing-Commander Arden, and see that the newspapers are kept in the recreation room.

### Welfare Committee

THE meeting of Indian Airmen (R.I.A.F. Vile Parle) Welfare Committee was held in the middle of April. In the meeting a number of important decisions were taken and the airmen thought that there would be better arrangements in their recreation room. Now it is four months since this meeting was held but not a single decision has been carried out. And this is not all. Since then no other meeting of this Committee has been called. Airmen tried their best to persuade the Welfare Officer to call a meeting so that the matter could be discussed but with no result.

It is said that the Station Commander, Wing-Commander Arden, is also not interested in the Welfare Committee because this station is

likely to be disbanded in a short time.

### Promises Broken

AT the time of the last R.I.A.F. strike one of the demands of the airmen stationed at Walton, Lahore, was for electric lights, fans in the barracks and a loud-speaker for the radio. It was made clear to the Commanding Officer that the demand for electric fans was not made simply because the B.O.Rs are provided with fans but because of the intolerably hot weather.

The Commanding Officer accepted the justness of the demands and promised that in a short time arrangement would be made for these things. It is a long time since the R.I.A.F. strike, but till now only electricity has been provided and there seems to be no move on the part of authorities to fulfil other demands.

### No Electric Lights

INDIAN airmen stationed at Yellanka, Bangalore, are facing great hardship in the camp. In some of the barracks there are no electric lights with the result that after dark they cannot do any reading or any other work.

Equally bad is the situation regarding water. They have got only three water taps and these also are running at only certain hours in the day. Often a number of airmen have to go without bath or wash.

### Strike?

FOR a considerable time discontent with bad conditions on the H.M.L.S. "Trend" has been growing. This discontent, it is reported, reached a climax when the ratings of the ship went to the C.O. and explained the bad state of affairs on the ship. They thought that this complaint would set the matter right but when nothing happened they decided to go on strike in the middle of last month.

Immediately the strike took place, however, one telegraphist and a signalman were arrested and brought to the Castle Barracks.

The authorities have not revealed anything about what happened on the H.M.L.S. "Trend." It is more than time that they explained the full situation as the families of the ratings concerned are anxious about the fate of their relations.

### Monthly Meetings

WHEN the Commanding Officer of R.I.A.F. Camp, Marine Drive, was addressing a meeting of airmen recently, one of them said that general meetings should be called at least once a month so that a collective decision can be taken on the quality of food.

"Assemblies are not allowed in the Air Force," said the C.O. in answer to the above suggestion. In fact, every Indian airman if asked his opinion will tell that he wants these monthly meetings in order to see that the mess is run effectively. How long is British Tory Red-tape going to rule in India's Air Force?

—FROM OUR FORCES CORRESPONDENT

## Strike-Struggles In S. Iran

Continued from page 11) red and the Indians felt deformed. They saw the Con- and he promised to 'consi- their demands; he was and mild, quite a change Ashgar Ali's windy, trucu- obviously our British were learning their les-

The oil bosses are mighty a-raid today. It is said that 500 out of 1,500 Indian workers, marked out as 'leaders' of the strike, are to be deported. Already some have been deported and have reached India's shores.

### General Strike

this was not the end. July 14—a few days later Iranian workers declared a general strike. They de- 100 per cent rise in pay equal pay for equal work; tion of Iranian representa- in the administration of company, and transport fa-

Those of us who have been deported are not sorry; for we look back to the stirring days of June and July when a new spirit moved us all in Abadan.

It is to crush and wipe out this new spirit that troops are being sent by the Indian Government to Basra; Abadan is changing, no longer is the big White oil-capitalist king where he ruled supreme for forty years; the common worker is rising—and the oil king is in danger of losing his throne and his profits.

### Hands Off Iran

Are India's money and India's troops to be used to save him and his tainted, wealth, this leech who has sucked the blood of hundreds and thousands of Indians?

This is the question every Indian must answer today.

And I answer—NO. Once more I look back to beautiful Abadan; beautiful despite its ugly, dirty huts, smell of oil, bad food, foul water, no cinemas; beautiful because THERE was sealed the unity of Indian and Iranian oil workers, a unity no imperialist bullet can ever destroy—And I repeat:

NO! Indian money and Indian troops must not go to destroy the Indian and Iranian workers in Iran.

Down with the British oil bosses!

Hands off Iran!



# DANGE'S IMPRESSIONS OF LAND OF SOVIETS

## Workers' Leader Interviewed On Moscow Visit

[We give below some highlights from the interview taken by our Bombay Correspondent from S. A. DANGE, Vice-President of the AITUC, just back from his Moscow visit.

Dange is a member of the Executive—27 members in all—of the 65 million strong new workers' international—the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). The Executive met recently (June) in Moscow.

Dange is the first Indian workers' leader to have visited the land of Soviets legally and in a representative capacity since the 1917 Revolution—EDITOR]

A group of us on the staff of *People's Age* and our language papers crowded round Comrade Dange—eager to get from him his impressions of his Moscow visit.



Dange addressing the WFTU Executive at Moscow.

### A Different World

**Q**UEST: What is the first thing that struck you about the Soviet Union?

**A**NS: Well, from the moment we delegates of the WFTU Executive arrived we felt we had come to a different world.

As we alighted from the Soviet plane, the Red Army man, near the plane came to attention and saluted us—so also the airport chief.

Just imagine that happening in London, where I had been to the first WFTU Conference as a guest of the British T.U.C.!

To receive us was Mr. Tarasov, member of the Central Council of the Soviet T.U.C., who was a fellow delegate to the WFTU Executive meeting.

Next moment, in quick succession, each of us had what looked like a huge hose-pipe pressed to our mouths.

When it came to my turn, I thought I was going to be 'gassed' for medical purpose or something. Well, it turned out I was on the air over Moscow radio—speaking to the whole Soviet people!

In another moment I had recorded an impromptu greeting in the name of our workers!

Then without further ado, before we had even collected our wits, we found ourselves speeding away in a fleet of waiting automobiles and soon were at the Hotel Nationale, opposite the Kremlin and Lenin's Mausoleum.

In London, we had to fend for ourselves, which presents no end of difficulty for foreign arrivals—especially delegates from the colonies. In Moscow we found all arrangements and every comfort.

### In Moscow

**Q**UEST: Tell us what you saw of Moscow?

**A**NS: We had about 12 days' business—10 to 6 each day—with two week-ends in between, which we spent outside Moscow.

After 6 P.M. practically everyday we were attending some reception or meeting, so we had no time to spare to look around at leisure.

Still I had a few glimpses of Moscow to give you an idea.

There is the famous Moscow Metro—the reality beats all the printed stuff I had read—it is a hundred times more beautiful.

When I went down one of the escalators and emerged into a station of marble columns and bronze statues of heroes—each with a history and a story to tell—I felt I was in that mythical world of beauty and wealth in which our epic hero Arjuna suddenly found himself when he dived into the Ganges....

We visited all the 29 stations and there will soon be 40 odd to cover the whole city for a 5-million population.

**Q** What was the attitude of the ordinary Soviet people to you—from your talks, etc.?

**A** Well, you know we had no time to talk but you will gather it from our visit to

one of the finest ballets 'The Swan Lake'—at the famous Bolshoi Theatre.

The director came on to the stage to announce to the audience that the WFTU delegates were among them. Then he proceeded to call out our names.

### Ovation At Opera

When it came to mine, like the rest I got up and waved to the applause and sat down, but the ovation would just not cease. I was feeling rather bewildered until a Soviet delegate prodded me, told me that the continuing applause meant that I should get up again to acknowledge it—and this I did.

You can realise my feelings at this extraordinary reaction to the presence of an Indian delegate.

It was wonderful too to watch ordinary Soviet working people in the house. Unlike in the Paris Opera I saw no segregation of an aristocracy in the best seats.

(Dange gave us a vivid description of a visit to a Soviet factory and the delegates visited many).

When you visit a Soviet factory you are welcomed both by the management AND Factory (Workers) Committee. For example, I visited the Krasnoi Proletari—a huge Machine Tool and Lathe works.

### Settlement Of Disputes

One of the delegates asked the Managing Director what happened if there was a difference of opinion between him and the workers.

He pointed to the Factory Committee leader. Ask him!

"In most cases, pertaining to the works, we have a full discussion and no differences remain; if any, the views of the Factory Committee prevail. But these discussions produce no feelings of 'estrangement'."

He emphasised the word 'estrangement' in a peculiar way and all of us laughed at it.

That is to say, unlike in capitalist countries, where the two sides part growling like dogs after a spate of barking at each other!

"On questions outside the scope of the Factory Management, we refer differences to the Central Council of the TUC, and even higher, to the Central Council of Production, in charge of matters concerning the Five Year Plan." From this we got a glimpse of the social relationships in the workers' Socialist State.

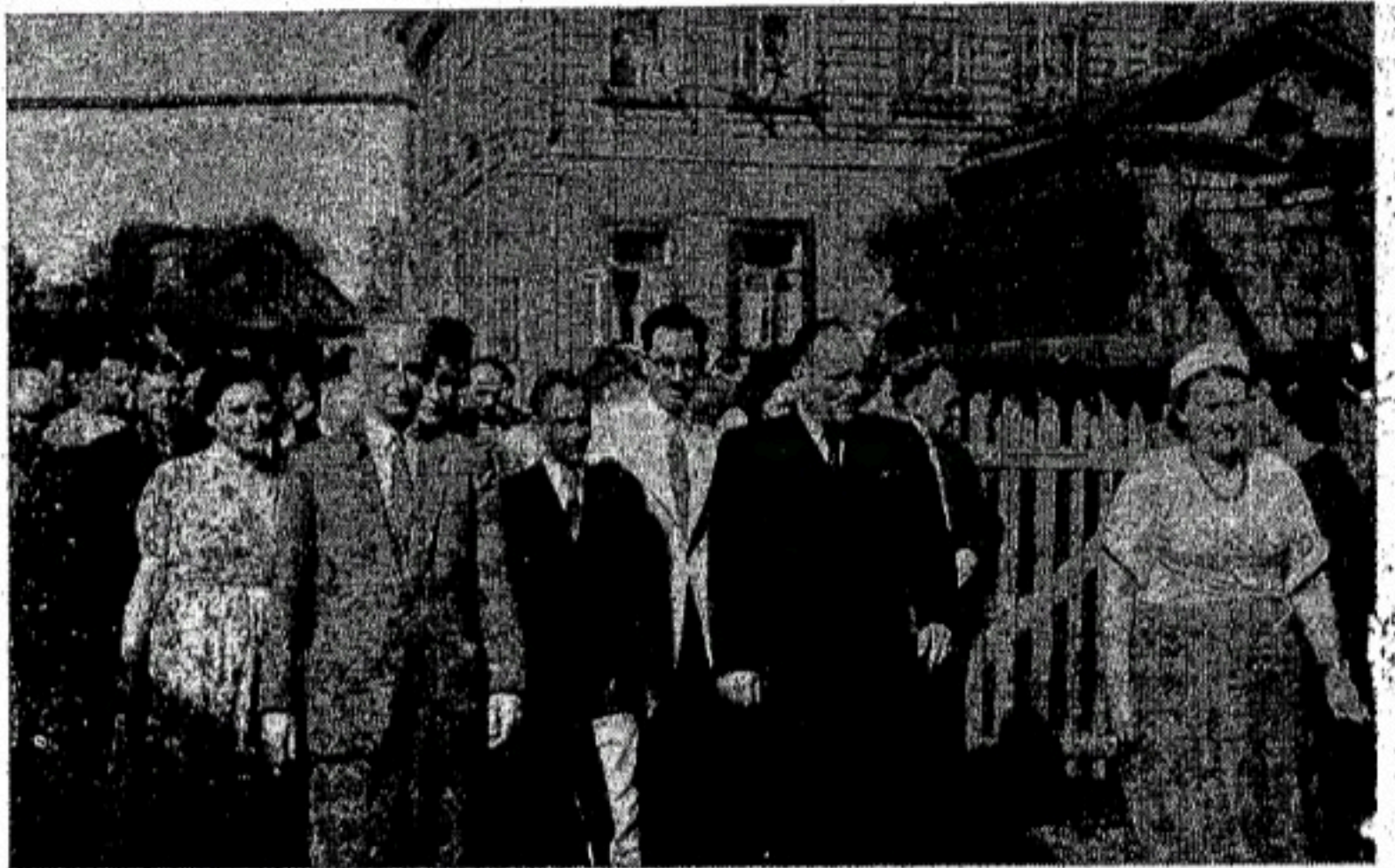
During the war this factory produced for the army; now it

was turning out machinery for transport. In this factory 98 per cent of the workers were trade union members. There were 15 women engineers....

(When he mentioned the women engineers, we asked Dange to tell us more).

Well, there were five women on the Factory Committee here. The chief of Moscow's entire Transport system was a woman, General Zinalda Troitskaya, whom we met. There were two Soviet WFTU women delegates—on this World Executive too!

When we returned to the office from our inspection, the Managing Director said with a smile: "While I cannot present either a lathe or a locomotive, which we produce, don't think that is all." He presented each of us



Dange in company of other delegates to the WFTU.

with a revolving top of beautiful colours. "This is what we do for our children out of the scrap. We have no waste!"

"Did you bring it back?" One of us jumped up.

"No," said Dange, "I gave it to a child of a Resistance family in Paris on a visit on my way back!"

### Soviet Children

This brought us to the topic of children.

**Q** What about the Soviet children?

## From Dange's Speech At A Moscow Mass Meeting On June 22

"You will feel proud to know that the pioneers of mass trade unionism in India were inspired by the Russian revolution and the teachings of Lenin.

"Our conditions of poverty are indescribable but you can imagine them when we say a railway worker who kept transport running through the second world war and famine, got 30 roubles a month and is forced to strike for better conditions of living and against unemployment.

"Our country with all its vast land and labour is threatened with famine because a foreign imperialism maintains the worst possible feudal land system in our country.

"Our task is to fight against foreign imperialism for freedom and against the indigenous exploiters, for socialism.

"We know, we have to pay a price in order to carry out this task.

"For example, in February when our working-class demonstrated its sympathy with the strikers of the RIN, 300 of them were shot down in cold blood in the streets of Bombay.

"And yet we are organising and going ahead in spite of the repression organised against the freedom movement and the trade union movement.

"Because we know world peace and prosperity cannot be guaranteed unless the colonies are freed from imperialism and unless we achieve the establishment of a labour movement free from the tainting influences of social democratic compromising leadership.

"With the help of the world's working-class, united inside the WFTU, we hope to achieve our aims."

**A** In one of Moscow's huge automobile plants—25,000 here. This Count was a belle-works with a one-lakh ver in the democratic revolution, output of vehicles per year—has and was a donor of the Bolsheviks. Lenin knew him.

Here I got a glimpse of the Soviet people at leisure. Their zest is unequalled—dancing, music, sport—I joined in a volleyball game among the delegates. There was just no business talk!

The Managing Director of this plant was at one time an ordinary soldier in the Red Army, became a Divisional Commander during the Civil War of 1918. Afterwards he qualified as an Engineer and because of his organising ability, he rose to head the plant.

You won't find the Soviet children shy, artificially. At one Children's Home when the matron explained I was an Indian—they were terribly curious to find out—I soon found them all over me, as they repeated "Induski, Induski!"

I remember in Birmingham how a group of English children shouted "Blackie, Blackie" as I was passing along a street!

**Q** Why did you come away so soon? Didn't you want to travel to other places outside Moscow?

**A** Well, yes, some of us had fixed up an air trip to Leningrad, Stalingrad and

### Decisions Of WFTU

**Q** What were the important decisions taken at the WFTU Executive's meeting in Moscow?

**A** Well, the main item on the agenda was about Franco Spain—a regime that is a threat to international peace and democracy and fir its main supporter in British reaction today.

The WFTU has called for a break of diplomatic relations with Franco as the first step towards winning back the democratic rights of the Spanish people.

We are going to hold a Conference of Asiatic Trade Unions

Kazakhstan in Central Asia. But in Shanghai, very probably next year.

A special commission was also set up to tour the East and to go into the conditions of the working people. This Commission will be coming to India too and is likely to visit a number of important working-class centres.

I am sure that this visit will help to strengthen the ties of India's Labour movement with the world movement, help both in the common struggle.

—by Our Bombay Correspondent



# "HANDS OFF IRAN!"

## Victimised Indian Oil Worker From Persia Tells Of Great Strike-Struggles In Abadan

Two days ago the India Government announced it was sending troops to Basra to safeguard the interests of "Indians, Arabs and British" in South Persia.

I am an Indian and I was in South Persia—for full ten months—as a skilled worker in the oil-refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Abadan. And I know that it is not to safeguard my interests nor those of my Indian fellow-workers that these troops are being sent. Rather it is to murder us—and our Iranian brothers—that these troops go to Basra. They go to protect the profits of the big British oil capitalists who have sucked the blood of Indian and Iranian workers for forty years.

FOR something new, something big, is happening in Abadan and South Persia. The workers, Iranian and Indian, for many years carefully kept at loggerheads by the British oil magnates, have joined together in revolt against inhuman conditions of labour; for the first time in the forty years history of this British oil company, a mighty trade union, uniting all the oppressed, has been organised and last month it led a great general strike of all oil-workers, a strike in which Indians and Iranians fought side-by-side, helping each other to victory.

It is to crush this movement—born out of the blood and toll of Indians and Iranians—that troops are going to Southern Persia.

### Bogus Promises

There were 1,500 of us Indians in Abadan. We had all been recruited by contract, promised wonderful quarters, a fine well-equipped club, light work, good pay. Of course we were also warned that Iranians are evil fellows, anti-Indian, not to be trusted. This was the mood in which we went to Abadan.

And what did we find?

### THE PROMISES MADE WERE ABSOLUTE LIES.

Fifty-four hours a week we had to work; our quarters were supposed to be brick huts; in fact, they were mere hovels, badly built, horribly overcrowded; the water supplied was undrinkable and the quality of rations worse than anything seen even in India—with more sand than wheat! Everyone of us went down in health and fell ill—and there were no proper arrangements at all for medical treatment. Worst still was the treatment meted out to us by big bosses. Every Britisher thought himself a king—and would kick any Indian on the slightest provocation. The so-called Labour Superintendent, one Sheikh Asghar Ali, nephew of League leader, Firoz Khan Noon, was their vicious agent in all this; we were looked down on as inferiors, made every day to feel this.

### The Much-Boosted Club

The club, the club that we were told would give us everything, would transport us to every place—it was a farce. Of the 1,500 of us, everyone of us had to pay one rupee a month as subscription and there were Rs. 85,000 in the club's bank-account. But it had no arrangements for outdoor or indoor games; no films were ever shown; one could not even get a glass of decent water there; it was managed by a Committee, NOMINATED by the oil bosses. And to spy on the workers, the Office of the Labour Welfare Officer, Alif Shah, was set up in the premises of the club.

All this was bad enough; but worse, far worse, were the bad relations between us and the Iranian workers.

The British oil bosses are a mischievous, evil, cunning group of men; they had carefully planned the scale of wages so that every race got different scales; at the top were their own White brothers who got paid the best; next came the Jews from Pales-

Exclusive  
by M. A. FAROOQI

time; then we Indians; and at the bottom of the ladder were the Iranians.

We had brick hovels; for the Iranians the company had made no arrangements whatsoever. They lived in tents, or huts, or very often on street pavements. The Iranians were given worse rations—and in every way were treated even worse than ourselves.

Before even going to Iran, we had been pumped full of anti-Iranian propaganda. After arrival there we found two things; first, the Iranian worker looked at us as enemies; secondly, in our absence at work, Iranians used to loot our belongings; they even attacked us in broad daylight.

It was only after being there some months, that we discovered that these attacks and lootings were being carried out not by the ordinary Iranian oil-worker, but by hired goondas of the company.

### Upsurge in Iran

But bitter experience taught us much. Of course, we had all been told we should not "meddle in internal politics and mix with the Communists and Russian agents"; but some of us heard of a new thing in Iran, a group that talked of uniting all the oil workers against the oppressive oil bosses; we went along to meetings, which we found, had been organised by the local branch of the Tudeh Party.

I remember, these were addressed by Agha Nagafi and Agha Tarbiat, local Tudeh leaders. They told us in stirring words of the new awakening of the workers all over Iran, of the strikes in Ahwaz, Agha Jari, Masjid Sulaiman.

## "Withdraw Indian Troops From Basra"

### P. C. JOSHI'S STATEMENT

P. C. JOSHI, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

THE action of the Government of India in sending Indian troops to Basra on the ostensible plea of safeguarding the interests of Indians, British and Arabs must be condemned by every Indian patriot because the real intention is obviously to crush the growing movement of the Indian and Iranian workers in Southern Iran against the brutal oppression and exploitation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

In addition, this action of the Government of India, coming immediately after the formation of a new government in Iran, is clearly directed not only against the oil workers, but also to threaten this new government that has come to power as a result of the rising people's movement in that country and is pledged to an advanced programme of social and economic reform.

It is a part of British imperialism's game in the entire belt of countries in the Middle East, which is aimed to bolster up feudal semi-colonial regimes that are its willing agents, while rigorously suppressing any attempts at democratic advance.

I strongly condemn this attempt of the Government of India to interfere in the internal affairs of the Iranian people by placing troops at the disposal of the big British oil-capitalists so that they can carry on their vicious work of murdering the Iranian workers' movement and disrupting the new Iranian people's government.

Indian Communists demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of these troops and appeal to all popular parties jointly to protest against this move of the Indian Government and thus force the speedy withdrawal of these troops.



(Mohammad Ahmed Farooqi, the writer of this article, was the leader of the Indian workers in Abadan in South Persia. A fitter in the oil refinery for ten months, he was Chairman of the Committee of Five elected by Indian workers there to fight against the British Company bosses.

Soon after the Indians' struggle began, the Company deported him from Abadan. He was not allowed to see his friends, nor even take all his belongings with him, but was hurried away to Basra by air and thence to India.

In this article, he gives a first-hand account of events in South Persia during the last two months and calls to all India to fight the oil bosses and give help to democracy and the workers in Iran—EDITOR.

And then in June came the first great strike of Iranian workers in Agha Jari; it was a great strike, every worker stood steadfastly; no company terror, shootings, threats, could move him; he gave back to this evil oppressor more blows than he received; and he won his demands.

We just looked on passively but we drank in all the experiences of this historic event. We saw a new Iranian worker, walking the streets proudly, a self-respecting man; we saw the bosses had become nervous and did not beat the Iranians so quickly; and we began to learn that unless we too joined up with our fellow-Iranian workers there would be no future for us.

At the end of June, came the greatest days of my life, the memory of which will never fade.

On the 25th of June this worm of a Labour Superintendent, Sheikh Asghar Ali, told us that

in future we would get no rations, but only an allowance. We knew that an allowance was useless for prices of foodstuffs were very high and there was no guarantee that we would always get them.

### Indians Begin Battle

So, on June 26, fifty of us met together to plan out our course of action; a Committee of Five was elected with myself as Chairman.

Our demands were:  
\* (1) Free rations;  
\* (2) Dismissal of Ashgar Ali, and his two creatures, Alif Shah, the Labour Welfare Officer, and Ismail, Indian Quartermaster.

\* (3) Democratic elections of the Managing Committee of the club.

One thousand Indian workers marched to Ashgar Ali's office on June 27. One thousand Indians on the streets of Abadan—it was a great sight and the Iranians cheered and cheered as they saw for the first time the Indian workers' phalanx passing by, strong, defiant, a new spirit within us.

The bosses were stupefied. For years they had used US against the Iranians and now we were attacking their own sacred person. But they fought back quickly. Ashgar Ali was given orders: "Call up the five leading Indians and tell them they must resign; if not, we shall punish them." This way we (for I was one of the five) were packed off to Basra by air and thence to India.

But our brothers carried on the battle. They collected 1,200 signatures for their demands and decided to march the ten miles from Abadan to Khorramshahr and demonstrate before the British Consul.

### Indo-Iranian Unity

On July 12 they started to walk. — But they did not walk far. Iranian trucks and lorries came pouring down the road; the drivers had heard of the decision of the Indian workers to walk to Khorramshahr and they came to drive them there.

So the Indians went in triumph to Khorramshahr; it was a triumph, all the Iranians (Continued on page 9.)

## Around the World

### AT PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE — SMALL NATIONS' SCARE

SO it is happening again—this would be anyone's comment on reading the news about the Peace Conference.

"Small Powers' Battle For Equality," "Soviet's Obstinate Stand"—"Fight over Procedure Begins"—and so on; it seems almost as though we were back in the days when the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations used regularly to hit the headlines of the world's Press.

And in essence the battle is the same. Leading the "small powers" once more is Dr. Herbert Evatt of Australia, "a country even more dependent upon Anglo-American goodwill than France." (George Padmore, reporting the Conference for the Free Press Journal, August 2).

### Dutch Hypocrisy

Following him as usual are the two colonies Britain possesses in Europe; first Greece where a Fascist Government of British agents is buttressed in power by 40,000 British troops; second is Holland which cannot exist as an "imperial power" minus Britain's help and leadership!

In fact, it was Holland's representative, one Baron Boetzeler Tot Dostertout (a very democratic name!), who was most valuble in defending the "rights" of small nations.

Ignoring the fact that his own Government was daily assaulting the sovereignty of the people of Indonesia, he told the Conference with the most consummate hypocrisy that the proposed procedure was "not in conformity with the sovereignty of the small and medium powers represented at the Conference."

The real truth underlying the battle over procedure—whether decisions were to be taken by a two-thirds majority vote or by a simple majority—was revealed by Padmore in his dispatch of August 2.

### Towards Imperial Bloc

The fact is, he wrote, that if Dr. Evatt's attempt to change the voting procedure goes through, the Anglo-Americans will be able to swamp the Soviet by utilising the votes of their "client states."

Already Evatt could "mobilise twelve supporters," enough to make an anti-Soviet majority certain.

Finally Padmore warns: "Colonial peoples must be mindful not to be carried away by the demagoguery of Dr. Evatt and others pleading ostensibly for the rights of small powers, who, in many cases, as for example Holland and Belgium, are

leading imperialist powers, holding down hundreds of millions of coloured peoples."

A useful warning—for I remember how the Indian Press in a similar situation during the San Francisco Conference wrote columns criticising the "imperialist" Soviet Union for insisting on the "Dictatorship of the Big Powers"!

The Soviet insists on a two-thirds majority so that Britain plus USA plus their satellites cannot parade a decision of their own as a decision of the Peace Conference; this is the cold truth—and the sooner all imperial humbug about "rights of small nations" is exposed, the easier it will be to understand what is happening in Paris.

Of course there is yet time for the Anglo-Americans to break up the Conference on this issue—and they may do it if they find that certain disputed points are not being settled as they desire.

And it is these issues that expose most clearly what interests dominate Anglo-U.S. policy.

Sweetly, Labour-imperialist Bevin will plead for "democracy," the "small nations."

### Aims--Of Big Business

In practice, he and Byrnes fight for:

\* (1) Full compensation (100 per cent) of property of British and U.S. capitalists in Italy whose property has been destroyed in the war. (The Soviet says only 1/3 compensation should be paid, so that the burden on Italy may not be heavy. And we can well understand, considering the profits made by these capitalists in India, even this is too generous!)

\* (2) Free navigation for the ships of all Allied nations on the Danube—which means Anglo-American capitalists would get a death-grip on the life-line of the Balkan states. How would we like "free navigation" on the Ganges?!

\* (3) Equality for all nations in obtaining internal commercial aviation rights in these countries—which really means the right to dictate what terms the financially powerful Anglo-Americans wish.

Very far removed from "democracy" and "rights of small nations"! And this is the real battle being fought out at Paris; not the rights of small nations but the right of Anglo-American Big Business to get footholds for exploitation of Europe's peoples.

Mohan Kumaramangalam



# KASHMIR AT WAR

## Street Battles Herald Pt. Nehru's Arrival

July 24

PANDIT Nehru is coming back to Kashmir today. Will he be stopped from entering the State again?

Very few people think this will happen.

This whole visit of Panditji's has somehow been such a weak-kneed, tail-between-the-legs affair. We wanted Panditji to declare clearly that his purpose in coming to Kashmir was to help the Kashmiris' struggle for freedom. He did nothing of the sort. Instead he went out of his way to make declarations that he only wanted to arrange Sher-i-Kashmir's legal defence.

We are children yet in the art of struggle. And yet we know what the national movement itself has taught us: the best defence of Sheikh Abdulla is NOT in the stooze law-courts of the Maharaja, it is on the streets and in the villages of Kashmir, in the battle which we wage.

Fine words and law books do not storm a Bastille. Battering rams, stones, lathis, axes, guns—alone can break down the prison walls which lock Sher-i-Kashmir.

### The Voice Of Battle

Panditji came by car from the aerodrome at Chaklala (near Rawalpindi). With him were Major-General Shah Nawaz and Colonel Abdur Rahman of the Indian National Army. They had lunch on the British Indian side of the Kohala bridge. Crowds collected and shouted slogans in their honour. Little kids sang:

"The slogan of freedom is 'Inquilab Zindabad'".

Another song for the immortal Bhagat Singh and his comrades. Did Panditji hear?

The voice of the people was not the voice of the law-courts. It was the voice of battle.

The Kohala Bridge is painted red on the Kashmir side. Symbolic, did you say? Symbolic of the blood they have shed? Maybe.

An iron gate has been erected since Panditji's last visit and barbed wire has been put round the railings of the bridge.

But clearly these were NOT meant to stop Panditji. They were meant to stop the march on Kashmir of the new Indian National Army of 1946. That Army never came, because its leaders refused to give it the order to march.

The barbed wire was a waste. The iron gate meant nothing.

The car which carried the Congress President and the Commanders of the old INA was not stopped; it went through like any other car.

### "Purpose Of Visit"

And then came the crucial moment. The signing of the forms which have to be filled in by every visitor to Kashmir. On this depended every thing. Normally these forms are signed half way to Srinagar at the Domet Customs Post. But the Kashmir Government had sent forms for Pandit Nehru and his party to Kohala.

There was one column which was important to this State: "Purpose of Visit."

Would Panditji boldly write: "To strengthen Kashmir's national movement." If he did so, the authorities were ready to stop him.

But they won again: Panditji left the column BLANK.

The authorities heaved a sigh of relief. The Officer on duty phoned through to Kak giving him the "glad tidings". Everything was going "according to plan." The rulers of Kashmir

from  
**Our Correspondent**

—White and Black—had scored one more victory.

Policemen were posted all along the motor route. Shops had been forcibly closed. On every branch road which led to the motor route, gangs of soldiers and policemen prevented people from coming to meet Panditji. Village officials had been instructed, on pain of dismissal, to prevent kisans from leaving their homes on that day.

It was all part of a studied plan to make Panditji believe that Kashmir had been crushed.

But the plan misfired completely.

### Baramula's Greetings

At Baramula (a small town on the route) a batch of students with Tricolours and National Conference flags stopped Panditji's car and shouted the great slogans of the Kashmir National movement.

(It was learnt later that when the car had gone away, the police arrested two of the leaders of these students and beat them up severely.)

The short drive through Baramula was a victory march. The police was lined up in very large numbers, but that did not prevent the whole city from coming on to the roadside. As Panditji's car approached there was thunderous clapping, flags were waved and shout after shout came:

"Quit Kashmir!"

"Tear up the Treaty of Amritsar!"

"Quit Kashmir!"

Again and again, "Quit Kashmir!"

Beyond Baramula, too, were heard slogans... loud, lusty slogans. And yet not a soul could be seen. Only line upon line of policemen. Surely they were not shouting "Quit Kashmir"? No. It was the kisans of Kashmir, who had come marching stealthily from their villages and were now hidden in the paddy fields, from which they were shouting at the top of their voices, to tell Pandit Nehru:

"The movement is alive. 'Quit Kashmir' is the slogan of the entire people."

### In Srinagar

In Srinagar, the authorities had made absolutely fool-proof arrangements. There was a grand display of Dogra might on the Army Parade Grounds which were covered with military tents and lorries. Soldiers stood along the entire route in Srinagar. Cordons blocked all roads leading to Pandit Nehru's route.

In the morning a Special Magistrate went specially to all shopkeepers telling them that they would be held responsible for any demonstrations held in front of their shops.

Throughout the day, columns of Dogra Army marched up and down the streets. The old, old trick—to strike terror in our hearts.

It was, as always, in vain. Clashes began early in the day. We would shout a slogan... a lathi charge... clash... our bare hands are strong... we would disappear through the lanes, leaving the brutes to nurse their wounds.

As Panditji's car passed through, the real storm began. Clapping, cheers, shouting—and all the way he must have seen the lathis falling on our heads.

At Amirakadal, the car stopped at the motor agency's office to report arrival. This was the

signal. The cordon broke at a hundred places, as Kashmir surged forward.

High officials puffed up and down shouting: "Stop them, lathi charge." But it was impossible.

"Quit Kashmir"—the famous Amirakadal Square was ringing with this cry. It became a battlefield with Pandit Nehru's car in the centre—the soldiers versus the people.

You watched us, Panditji—you watched us breaking through lathi charge after lathi charge and rushing to embrace you. You saw the tears in our eyes—the fire of hate and determination in our eyes.

You saw us catching Dogra soldiers by the neck and throwing them and their guns and lathis out of our way.

### The Power In Our Hands

Your car moved in a triumphant procession. The police went on lathi-charging. Three times you rushed out of your car to be with us as we faced the lathi charge. Once a lathi just missed your head.

Again and again you intervened to save a policeman from being beaten to death by an infuriated people.

You saw the hundred arrests being made....

You saw our blood....

You saw the power in our hands....

Right to your houseboat in Ram Munshi Bagh we left you, fighting nearly all the time.

You were right.... You were in the midst of Revolution.

# DOGRA ARMY ON THE RUN

## Sixty Soldiers Injured

IT is Friday today and for the Dargah prayers there is a monster gathering. One-fifth of the audience consists of women. All the Pressmen in Srinagar, some of whom have specially come to Kashmir because of Pandit Nehru's visit, are here.

As they entered, they received a tumultuous ovation. Slogan after slogan was raised:

"Inquilab Zindabad!"

"Kashmir Ke Chor Do!"

Old militant women came rushing to welcome the correspondents.

An old grandmother told a correspondent:

"If you have come here to fight on the side of Sher-i-Kashmir, you are nearer to me than my own son."

The Free Press Journal correspondent was embraced by another old woman, who told him:

"They used to say that Hindus are cowards—but you see, they fight for our Sher just like Muslims, do."

### PANDITJI

There are slogans:

"Pandit Nehru Zindabadi!"

But where is Panditji? All Kashmir was expecting him here today—to speak to us, to give us hope, courage, strength—to give us instructions for the next round of our War of Independence.

Panditji has not come. The whisper passes through the Dargah, "Panditji will not be speaking ANYWHERE during his visit to Kashmir."

But why? Why? No one knows the answer.

Suddenly two leaders of Kashmir's underground mount the improvised platform. Their names are:

ABDUL GHAFOOR and NIRANJAN NATH RAINA.

# NO REINTERPRETATION OF "QUIT KASHMIR"

## Sheikh Abdulla Will Not Take Back A Single Word

Pandit Nehru's visit to Srinagar is over. He had a number of interviews with Sheikh Abdulla.

Panditji was very anxious that Sheikh Sahib should "reinterpret" the 'Quit Kashmir' slogan in such a way as to 'conform to the stand of the All India States' Peoples' Conference'—which is "Responsible Government."

I UNDERSTAND that Panditji be a free man within two weeks argued repeatedly with the pronouncement of the Sheikh Sahib that it was sentence.

merely "a technical matter", What Panditji meant, no one really knows, but he repeats this assurance to others also, including the leaders of the underground Resistance, whom he was able to meet, eluding whole corps of C.I.D. men were always on his heels.

### Not One Word

I understand that Sheikh Sahib was adamant.

"I shall not take back one word I have said. 'Quit Kashmir' means the end of Dogra Raj and the people of Kashmir will stand for nothing less. It is no longer within the power of any individual to reinterpret the meaning of 'Quit Kashmir'".

This remained Sheikh Sahib's stand throughout. He did his utmost to persuade Panditji to back the people of Kashmir and the 'Quit Kashmir' movement without reservation. He explained how this was the only way to blow up the British Plan, whose cornerstone was the Princely autocracy.

Panditji failed to be convinced, but he told friends quite categorically:

"It does not matter what Sheikh Sahib's attitude is, what our differences are, we will give him our full support."

Panditji visited Sheikh Abdulla's home and assured Begum Abdulla that he would see to it that whatever sentence may be passed on the Sheikh, he would

### Panditji Shaken

Panditji visited Mujahid Manzil (the old headquarters of the National Conference); the National Hospital where he met the wounded soldiers of freedom; Khanga-i-Maula, the shrine which has now been hallowed by the blood of the men who have died of bullet wounds on its precincts....

In Anantnag, Panditji saw the places where women had died that Kashmir might be free.

Mothers of martyrs saluted him and called upon him to come and avenge their sons.

Panditji was visibly shaken by what he saw.

Kashmir expected him to translate this emotion into action, to speak in Srinagar to hearten and strengthen the movement.

They were disappointed. Panditji left Srinagar on the morning of July 29. Sheikh Abdulla's trial continued in the law-courts. The battle for a Free Kashmir continued in the streets.

—by Hardev Singh Sandhu

# DOGRA ARMY ON THE RUN

## Sixty Soldiers Injured

One is a Kashmiri Muslim, the other is a Kashmiri Pandit. Raina is Secretary of the All Kashmir Mazdoor Union, one of the best loved younger leaders of Kashmir's workers.

Everybody here knows these two heroes.

The applause is deafening. "Quit Kashmir"—the battle cry is repeated again and again. It was the people's mighty tribute to the entire underground leadership of Kashmir.

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The applause is deafening. "Quit Kashmir"—the battle cry is repeated again and again. It was the people's mighty tribute to the entire underground leadership of Kashmir.

### SPEECHES

Abdul Ghafoor spoke first:

"We wish Pandit Jawaharlal was here today amongst us... But he is not. Still we hope that our greetings will be conveyed to him and that he will be told on our behalf that 'Quit Kashmir' is not the 'invention' of an individual, it is the 'battle-cry' of all."

The whole audience electrified, rose and shouted the slogans of Resistance again and again.

Ghafoor ended proudly:

"In this fight for Kashmir, we have to use every weapon on which we can lay our hands. Then alone can we win."

Raina traced the history of the Cabinet Mission and of the importance of the Kashmir struggle:

"Ours is not the struggle of one section of our people—ours is the struggle of all—Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs. It is not the struggle of one State. It is part of the struggle in every State, it is part of the battle for the freedom of our entire country, a part of the freedom movement of the whole world."

They had guns and lathis. We had our hands and our courage and determination, and above something glorious to fight for.

They say we injured sixty of them. Maybe it was more, maybe less. But our wounded and our dead were many too.

They arrested over one hundred of us—and among them was Abdul Ghafoor and Raina. We fought to save them. They could have let us go. We begged them to escape. But they stayed to fight with us to the bitter end.

The battle of Dargah is over. But now such battles will be fought in every village, on every street. And when four millions of us are in the battlefield—what will Kak's guns be able to do?

A haughty officer came forward at the head of a huge battalion of soldiers and police, and shouted: "Retreat! main peaceful or I will open fire."

A young lad, replied: "Go on, fire! We are not afraid of you."

"You son of a dog!" the officer yelled back. "Why don't you stop the people from shouting slogans?"

"Nothing can prevent them," came back the reply.

"Till show you," said the Officer.

And the lathi charge began. But it lasted only a minute.

Suddenly... suddenly... the most wonderful thing that has been seen so far in Srinagar, happened....

### BATTLE

THE MIGHTY DOGRA ARMY WAS ON THE RUN BEING PELTED WITH STONES!

Oh, how we cheered. This was "Quit Kashmir" in practice.

But Kak was not defeated. Lorry loads of soldiers rushed to the spot. And the battle began again in right earnest.

They had guns and lathis.

We had our hands and our courage and determination, and above something glorious to fight for.

They say we injured sixty of them. Maybe it was more, maybe less. But our wounded and our dead were many too.

They arrested over one hundred of us—and among them was Abdul Ghafoor and Raina. We fought to save them. They could have let us go. We begged them to escape. But they stayed to fight with us to the bitter end.

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