

# WORKERS' LEADERS ASSAULTED, RED FLAG PULLED DOWN

ON NOVEMBER 3, IN FRONT OF THE DELHI CLOTH Mills' (DCM) gate, some active workers of the Hindustan Mazdoor Sewak Sangh (HMSS) joined hands with the mill agents to beat up workers' leaders. They also hauled down the Red Flag and hurled abuses at the Communist girls. The occasion was the flag-hoisting ceremony in connection with the November Revolution Week celebrations.

**JUST THE DAY BEFORE, PANDIT NEHRU WHILE ADDRESSING a meeting of workers specially organised by the Hindustan Mazdoor Sewak Sangh in Delhi had gone all out against the Communists at the same time giving high praise to the Sangh.**

**HERE IS THE FULL STORY OF THE HOOLIGANISM** which followed the day after Jawaharlal's speech.

**THE TEXTILE MAZDOOR SABHA** (the only active organisation of the Textile workers built up by the Communists) had announced a flag-hoisting ceremony on November 3 before the Delhi Cloth Mills' gate. It was to take place between the change of shifts in the afternoon. Sometime before the ceremony the organisers had hung up their board giving the programme of the November Revolution Week. A Red Flag was also put up alongside. Nearby, the HMSS had also put up its board without any flag.

With the Mazdoor Sabha this was no new practice. For quite a long time it has been its practice to display its board at the mill-gate. But the HMSS has taken this up only recently.

Soon after the Mazdoor Sabha board and the Red Flag had been placed the children of Lala Jagan Nath (a mill officer who calls himself a Gandhi-ite) brought the tri-colour flag on a long pole and put it up beside the Red Flag. For the Mazdoor Sabha workers of course, there was no question of rivalry between the two flags and so nobody objected to this.

After a while, one Lal Singh (an HMSS worker) came on the scene, removed the Red Flag and the board and threw them on the road. Ram Chander Sharma (President of the Delhi T.U.C. and a member of the Mazdoor Sabha Working Committee) who was present on the spot tried to prevent it.

While he was doing this twenty-five people or so belonging to the HMSS and the mill akhara (gymnasium) led by one Gomit (notorious for breaking workers' meetings) and Rajbeer Dayal began to assault

to break up the function. But when they saw the temper of the workers and the courage of their leaders they sneaked away.

Now they are spreading lies that the Communists resorted to goondagiri, abused the National leaders and insulted the tri-colour!!! They have turned the whole story upside down! The workers saw the whole incident and know the truth. So they are putting their "story" for the middle-class through their press. The pro-Congress Urdu Daily Tej is helping them in this.

## Who Are These Communists Attacked?

Any one who knows those who were assaulted will easily see through their game. Their record in the National movement is in itself a clear enough refutation of the anti-Communist lies.

Who are these comrades?

**RAM CHANDER SHARMA** has been in the Congress since 1929. He organised the kisans of his district (Bulandshahr-U.P.) and led them in the struggle against Imperialism. He was jailed in 1930 and 1932.

In 1932 in Khurja (U.P.) right in the midst of a serious Police lathi-charge (and while the town was surrounded by about two thousands troops) Ram Chander Sharma held the tri-colour aloft. He was arrested.

Since then he has been to jail several times for the honour of the tri-colour. For years now he has been in the Trade Union movement, a consistent fighter

for workers' demands. He has suffered imprisonment on this account, too. Now he is the President of the Delhi Trade Union Committee and a member of the Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC).

**YAMIN** has twice been to jail, once only last year for defending the Congress against the Royists! For a year he was interned in his ward. Only recently the ban on him was lifted. He is also a member of the Council of the AITUC and President of the Tramway and Electricity Workers' Union, Delhi. Yamin was an active Congress worker in his ward and through his work brought many Muslims into the Congress.

**RAM CHANDER TYAGI** is the President of the Textile Mazdoor Sabha. An ex-worker in the Birla Textile mills he has now dedicated his whole life to Trade Union work. Since 1935 he has been in every workers' struggle, always taken a leading part.

It was Tyagi along with some other Communist workers who had taken Congress to the Textile workers in Delhi. In 1940 he was made the Satyagraha Organiser of the Ward Congress Committee in Subzimandi (which is a mixed middle class and working class area.)

Tyagi has thrice been to jail; in 1942 he was sentenced to two-and-a-half years for a mere technical breach of an externment order!

**SHAHID** started his political career as a Muslim Congressman. In his ward he worked hard to

popularise the Congress among the Muslims. For some years now he has been working among the Textile workers. He went to jail during the earlier phase of the war.

It is against these leaders of the working class who are old tested Congress workers themselves, that the agents of the Mazdoor Sewak Sangh and the mill-owners dare to make the lying propaganda that they abused the Congress.

## Who is Behind The Rowdyism?

These new "friends" of the Congress are in reality none other than agents of the Millowners who are becoming increasingly panicky of the growing agitation among the workers for bonus led by the Textile Mazdoor Sabha.

The Delhi Cloth Mills have shown a net profit of seven crores and eighty lakhs during the war years as compared with two crores fifty lakhs during the whole period of 1891-1939! And yet the millowners are reluctant to give a bonus to their workers. Instead, they are trying to smash the workers' organisation, the Textile Mazdoor Sabha! Hooliganism is one part of their strategy; dismissal of active workers is another.

It is a shame that the Congress leaders should give them their protection and take them under their wing.

The Communists have appealed to the workers to answer back goondagiri by not losing their heads but coolly defending their Union, their leaders and their flag and by strengthening their organisation.

We have also appealed to the local Congress leaders to come out openly in condemnation of goondagiri. Unfortunately none of them has yet spoken up; and as long as they do not, the rowdies will continue to use the name of the Congress for their activities.

## Falsehoods In The Press

The flag-hoisting ceremony could not be held as scheduled. It was held at 3 o'clock next morning, as soon as the shift was over, when the hooliganism against the workers' leaders and the insults to the Red Flag were condemned. The workers were infuriated and shouted: "Yes, everyone has a right to put forward his policy. We will defend you and the Red Flag."

The disruptors had come again

## IN BENGAL: Police Repression Against Workers

# BANS, EXTERNMENTS, ARREST No Congress-League Leaders Speak Up

**EXTERNMENT** orders on working-class leaders, dispersal of processions, refusal of permission to hold meetings, these are only some of the weapons, with which the bureaucracy in Bengal is today attempting to crush the growing unrest among the workers. With the end of war, both the Swadeshi and White bosses have started their offensive against the workers with mass dismissals. Thousands are already on the streets. Soon Bengal will be faced with an army of unemployed totalling about four lakhs.

And of those who are not thrown out, the bosses are ruthlessly cutting down the wages and Dearness Allowance.

The workers are fighting this back unitedly. Calcutta is at present passing through one of the biggest strike-waves in her history. The Red Flag is leading these struggles.

## Aiding Offensive Of Bosses

The bureaucracy is throwing all its weight on the side of the owners and using all means to suppress the workers' counter-offensive.

\*On November 9 near Lalbazar in Calcutta, the police stopped and dispersed a procession of 5,000 strikers from iron and steel factories (mostly European-owned). They were proceeding to the Laldighi office of the Bengal Government to submit their memorandum embodying the demands of the 10,000 workers from the industry who have been on strike for over a month.

\*On November 8 at Darjeeling, **RATANLAL BRAHMAN**, leader

of the tea-garden workers (and Communist candidate for the constituency) was arrested by the Superintendent of Police on a charge of "seditious". His crime is that he has been organising these men—who have for years been silently suffering under the notorious White Planters' Raj,—under the Red Flag.

\*In the Barmashi tea-garden of Chittagong, Communist leaders of the workers like **KALPATARU SENGUPTA**, **BIBHUTI DAS** and **NAGIN DAS**, have been served with notices "to show cause why they should not be punished." Again their only crime is organising the tea-garden employees. The owner of this estate is Shri Birendra Kishore Roy Choudhary the infamous zamindar of Gouripore.

\*In Khulna, sometime ago, a notice was served on **SUDHIR CHATTERJEE**, leader of the Acharya Profulla Chandra Cotton Mill workers, ordering him not to enter the area. This mill is owned by Shri Jatish Ghosh, Nagon Son and other leading Congress workers of the district.

\*On November 6 at Belur, the factory manager of the National Iron and Steel Company (son of the ex-Congress M.L.A. Shri Amar

Datta) threatened the strikers with a revolver in his hand. He also beat one of them. But when the District authorities and the police were informed about this, they just took no notice.

## Taking Advantage Of Anti-Communists

\*On November 11 under orders of the Alipore Sub-divisional Magistrate, the police placed a ban for the day on meetings of the employees of the Metiaburz Engineering Works, Cotton Mills, etc. organised by the Communists.

The action was taken under Section 144, strangely enough, on the plea that "the Congress had announced twelve days earlier that they would hold a meeting in that area on the same date."

In Metiaburz are situated the biggest cotton and hostery mills owned by the Birlas. Communist workers had been campaigning in every 'basti' from October 30, for their meeting to be held on November 11 at the Kabardanga Maidan. But on November 7 it was announced in the papers that a Congress meeting would be held on November 11 at the same Kabardanga Maidan to honour Dr. Surendr Banerjee, the leader of the Birla-sponsored Hindustan Mazdoor Sewak Sangh. Dr. Banerjee was released from jail on November 6.

## Factional Strife

### Surrenders Civil Liberties

The Police authorities were using this action of the Congress leaders to ban the workers' meeting—and even for that, they made out that the Congress leaders had

announced their meeting six days before Dr. Banerjee was released!

On November 11, Sardar Bejoy Bahadur an agent of the Birlas, assembled a few clerks for the Hindustan Mazdoor Sewak Sangh meeting. Next day 3,000 workers responded to the call of the Communists for a meeting on the same grounds. The meeting vowed to preserve the unity of the workers against the coming owners' offensive.

All these restrictions have come immediately after the recent announcement of the Bengal Government that civil liberties have been restored in the province! The meaning is clear. By this repression against the Red Flag the bureaucracy intends to clear the passage for the owners, both White and Swadeshi, to further intensify the mass dismissals of workers and cuts in the wages, etc.

The Bengal Government has been emboldened to take these steps because neither the Congress nor the League leaders of the Province have so far come forward to speak up against this repression. Worse still, as in the case of Metiaburz, for instance, the police are openly taking advantage of the disruptive action of the anti-Communist Congressmen themselves to carry through their offensive against the workers.

If our own patriotic leaders, blinded by factional strife, do not stand together even to defend the common democratic rights of our people against Police zoom, then where are we leading our country?

— by Our Correspondent

## Corrections

### HONEST BUSINESSMAN

#### —Chittagong League Candidate

In People's War, No. 21 of November 13, (Page 8), while giving news of the Bengal League candidates for the Central Assembly we characterised Shaikh Rafiquddin Ahmed Siddiqui from Chittagong as "one of the notorious war-rich military contractors." Our Chittagong comrades have now written back to say that this is a mistake and Shaikh Siddiqui is neither a contractor nor war-rich, but an honest businessman. We are glad to publish this correction. We regret our mistake and did no malice was intended towards Shaikh Sahab.

### Blackmarketing In Ellore

In the article, "Spotlight On Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya" by A. S. R. Chari which appeared in People's War dated 11th November, it was reported that:

"In Ellore we (Communists) exposed a merchant called V. Venkatanarayana, who was blackmarketing millets in 1944. He was sentenced to a fine of Rs. 3,000." This is an error.

The fact is that V. Venkatanarayana was a managing partner of a company which was blackmarketing millet. This company was fined Rs. 3,000 which was later reduced to Rs. 1,000.

# WORKERS BETRAYED TO GOVERNOR CASEY AND POLICE

## Red Flag Leaders Foil Game Of Sarat Bose's Labour Lieutenants Workers' Own Solidarity Wins Gains

(On November 23, after months of refusal by the Calcutta Corporation to meet the Corporation workers' just demands, the workers came out on strike.)

Despite the fact that fifteen days' notice of the strike had been given, Governor Casey in his broadcast speech that night connected the strike with the episode of police firing on the peaceful student demonstration of Nov. 21. Already Sarat Bose and other Congress leaders had come out dissociating themselves from the student demonstration. Casey then used this to justify police violence against the strikers and calling out military personnel to run the Corporation services.

That very evening at the all-Party meeting, which met at Sarat Bose's place to consider a joint move on the Calcutta disturbances, Sarat Babu was more anxious to speak against the Corporation strike than to discuss the student demonstration and police violence. He wanted the meeting to declare itself against the strikers. In this, he was joined by the League leaders present, Messrs. Ispahani and Siddiqui.

But despite police violence and the shameful attitude of Sarat Bose and the League leaders, the Corporation workers stood firm and carried on their struggle.

Below we give the story of how actually the strike started, what part each party played, and how it ended.—Editor.)

ON November 23, at Calcutta, at the height of the tension produced by police firing, began the general strike of 20,000 Corporation employees, ranging from office clerks to Pumping Station workers and scavengers.

This strike was the biggest in the history of the Calcutta Corporation. It arose out of the incredibly wretched conditions under which the Corporation employees are working to-day.

The minimum wage of scavengers is Rs. 14 per month, and that of the Pumping Station workers is Rs. 17. The Corporation Press workers draw about half the wages received by press workers elsewhere. A random investigation revealed cases of skilled workers drawing twenty or twenty-one rupees for the last twenty-four years without a single increment even once, while at one Pumping Station, workers have been getting Rs. 24 for dangerous jobs which fetch Rs. 90 in the docks.

Such are the conditions of the for immediate grants for increment were all rejected.

### Police Violence Against Workers

On November 23, the day the strike started, Mahasabhaite Mayor D. N. Mukerji, personally assured Casey that the Corporation had tried "to meet all reasonable demands" and acquiesced in Casey calling the military to break the strike, particularly at the Pumping Stations.

Actually serious military excesses took place, revolver threats were made at one Pumping Station, while at Mallich Ghat, workers were turned out from the bustees.

Machines at Pumping Stations were reported to be damaged by wrong handling by the military. In a previous strike such action had cost several lakhs of the taxpayers' money.

At this stage when the military was out and the whole city was indignant at police violence, Sarat Babu's followers and Mahasabhaite got cold-feet and began to get frightened. Through-out the whole of November 25, Sudhir Roy Choudhury and the Mayor held a discussion in camera.

At the end of it, late at night, they announced an "agreement" by which no immediate demands of the workers were met, only vague promises were made. Roy Choudhury, Sarat Babu's lieutenant, sent out his agents to call off the strike without even calling a meeting of workers.

### Workers Repudiate Those Who Betrayed Them

The workers were naturally furious and everywhere Roy Choudhury's agents and also the Royists who followed the same path, were chased out spontaneously by the workers. Meanwhile the Corporation Workers' Union under the Red Flag (mostly composed of actual workers) which had all along warned about the strike preparations and tried its best to keep all the workers united once the strike was on, refused to subscribe to this betrayal of the workers by the Employees' Association.

On November 26, everywhere great tension prevailed, with workers infuriated by this betra-

rage of the strike by Roy Choudhury. But for the intervention of the Communists, there would have been large-scale disorders and bloodshed all over the city.

At a big meeting attended by 10,000 workers at Shradhdhananda Park that evening, the workers repudiated Roy Choudhury's action as "unjust, undemocratic and unconstitutional," and formed a new Strike Committee under the leadership of the Workers' Union. Its Secretary Biren Roy said: "Workers are prepared to resume work provided two vital demands, namely, that of increment of pay and of permanence of service were met."

The same evening, at the Corporation meeting, the Congress and the League Corporators acclaimed each other on their betrayal of the workers. The Congress Councillor, Debraj Mukherjee moving acceptance of the terms of settlement announce-

ed between the Mayor and Roy Choudhury, unashamedly made it clear that the workers had got practically nothing, when he expressed his gratification that the terms "were almost the same as those agreed by the Special Committee." The League leader, Siddiqui, also said that "the terms of settlement were 99 per cent of the suggestions and recommendations of the terms which the Special Committee made."

Only the two Communist Councillors, LAHIRI and ISMAIL, warned them against "patting each other's backs". Lahiri exposed Roy Choudhury as having "got a slap on his cheek from the workers in the sense that they had not resumed work." Interrupting Lahiri the Mayor made a bogus announcement that the Pumping Station workers had just resumed their work.

### Mayor At Last Contacts Communist Leaders

But the very next morning dispelled all illusions of the strike having fizzled out. Workers under the leadership of the Workers' Union continued their strike peacefully and with remarkable discipline, despite military provocation on the one hand and attempts at disruption by the Employees' Association on the other.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, President of All-India Trade Union Congress, on the same day condemned the Corporation:

"The Mayor has secured a certificate from the Governor that the men's demands are unreasonable. I do not see how this can improve the situation if the Mayor and Council-

lers do not propose to hand over the administration to the Government."

The Mayor who had all along tried to ignore the Workers' Union at first contacted notorious anti-Communist "Labour leaders" like Charu Bannerji, Siburth Bannerji and Manireyee Bose. When he found that none of these could deliver the goods, he had to approach the Communist leader Lahiri in the afternoon and was forced to offer fresh terms:

Those getting below Rs. 100 to get increment of three rupees from December, excepting those who had got an increment in 1944-45; leave with pay; pay for the strike-period; Provident Fund, etc.

Other demands were left in the hands of the Special Committee which was enlarged by including other Labour organisations besides the Employees' Association.

### End of Strike: Workers' Gains

Lahiri placed these terms before the Strike Committee, after whose sanction they were placed before more than 10,000 workers in Shradhdhananda Park. The workers' representatives realising the plight of the Calcutta public agreed to call off the strike with these minimum demands secured.

After signing the agreement the Workers' Union leaders brought the Mayor to the workers' meeting. The next day, in the Corporation meeting, the Mayor apologised for the delay in the settlement and openly admitted:

"It transpired later on that it was Messrs. Somnath Lahiri and Mohammed Ismail who had real control of the labour staff of the Corporation."

From the morning of Nov. 28 the entire body of Corporation workers resumed their duty after five days of this remarkable strike.

### Anti-Communism Again: Cover For Bankruptcy

But exactly as Sarat Bose did in the case of the student demonstration his lieutenants in the Corporation tried to cover up their fiasco by unscrupulous anti-Communism. Sudhir Roy Choudhury in the Corporation meeting on (Continued on page 8, col. 5.)

The Corporation has to-day become a by-word for corruption in the city. Not only that, open favouritism is shown by the dominant cliques towards their "own clients" among the workers.

In the last Budget, Sarat Bose's men with the Mahasabhaite, sanctioned Rs. 2,50,000 for increment of wages to 400 employees under the influence of their own clerks while turning down the proposal of Communist Councillors Lahiri and Ismail for Rs. 12,00,000 increment for 14,000 of the lowest-paid workers.

### Real Game Behind Strike Notice

There is a Corporation Employees' Association (which is a sort of a Company Union) mostly composed of the upper-class higher-paid clerks; the vast majority of the 20,000 workers have no place in it. The President of this Association is Sudhir Roy Choudhury, one of Sarat Bose's lieutenants; its Vice-President is Jagannath Koley who is the Secretary of Sarat Babu's group in the Corporation.

Strangely enough, it is this Employees' Association which served fifteen days' notice for strike on November 8—though the bosses of this Association with their majority in the Corporation could have easily passed any grant for the workers without a strike.

Their real game was to use the strike to instal themselves as "labour leaders" and use this standing to fight the Communists and also in their factional Party manoeuvres in the coming elections. So, without any preparations they suddenly issued a strike notice.

At a Corporation meeting on November 19, Congress Councillors only offered lip sympathy for the workers and tried to hoodwink them by appointing a bogus Special Committee with the two Labour Councillors (who happen to be Communists) left out and the Port Trust Chairman, one Mr. Burns, included. Naturally enough the proposals

## A Patriot's Notebook

### NEW CHARGE AGAINST SINGHANIAS

THE Singhanias certainly do not seem to let the grass grow under their feet. The Cawnpore Correspondent of the Bombay Times of India reports (Nov. 25) that the Government of India War Department has ordered the prosecution under the D.I.R. of Mr. Kailaspathi Singhanias (Sir Padampat's brother and senior Director of I. K. Industries, Cawnpore and Director of several Bombay mills) and others.

The charge is that they sold in the blackmarket in Bombay iron and steel allotted to them under the quota, by the War Department, for manufacturing gas plants. The case is shortly to be heard by a tribunal with its headquarters at Lahore.

I shall be much interested to see whether the Congress papers in the U.P. (like the Cawnpore Pratap) give the news to their readers; and what honest Congressmen in U.P. think after this of the Singhanias' new-found love for the Congress and generous donations to the Congress Election Fund.

### How "Hindustan Times" Quotes "People's War"

I see that People's War (now "People's Age") these days is becoming quite a favourite with the columnists of Birla's Hindustan Times. But it is favouritism with a purpose!

Partisan dishonesty in journalism is unfortunately enough becoming only too common in our land. But what the Hindustan Times scribes are doing beats all the rest.

The staff correspondent of the Hindustan Times (H.T.) is running a series of articles against the Muslim League. I have seen the first two. Both of them quote profusely from P.W. And this is how it is done.

Just those parts where we criticise the League leadership are lifted out of our articles and splashed—and all the rest conveniently ignored! You can see it for yourself.

The first article of the H.T. Staff Correspondent (Nov. 26) is entitled, "Campaign of Incitement to Violence." It begins by quoting long extracts from "Week in Review" of P.W. of November 21 where we en-

lised the obscurantist propaganda of League leaders and goondalism against Nationalist Muslims.

But that Review was a whole connected piece. In it we first criticised the election alliances and campaign of the Congress leadership, then commented:

"Every step the Congress takes nearer the Mahasabha and Hindu vested interests, strengthens still further obscurantist and toady elements within the League."

### Criticisms Of League Speeches—Most Ignored!

Next followed our criticism of the League election campaign. We concluded the article with the words:

"The more passion and blind prejudice take the place of democratic persuasion and fraternal understanding, among our main patriotic parties, the more our election campaign is going to degenerate into mutual head-breaking (as the Congress is already doing against the Communists and the League in turn against Nationalist Muslims)—and leave the British as the common boss on top of us all."

What the H.T. writer has done is to extract from our article just the portion where the League is criticised, leaving out all the rest! He quoted up to right above the concluding passage—and stopped there. Obviously it would not serve his purpose if he did not do that!

In the same article of his, he quoted lengthy extracts from Sajjad Zaheer's article on the hoodliganism of Gaya Leaguers (P.W. of October 14). But in this very article, just following the extracts the H.T. columnist has so copiously quoted, Zaheer writes that Leaguers try to justify their goondalism against Nationalist Muslims by citing Congressmen's goondalism against the Communists and then comments: "They (all democrats) must begin first of all by stamping it (fascist anti-democratic outburst) in their own ranks." But this portion has been left out.

How else could Birla's H.T. columnist-teachy preach morals to the League—while Birla's own men, aided by

anti-Communist Congressmen, are breaking the hearts of the Communists in Delhi (as our Delhi correspondent reports on page two of this issue)?

The second article in the H.T. (Nov. 27) is entitled "Religious Fanaticism Run Riot." That also opens up with a lengthy quotation from our article, "Why Communists support the Muslim League." (People's Age, Supplement of Nov. 18)—just those paragraphs are carefully picked out where the League leadership is criticised. The rest of the article is of no use to the writer—even though that happens to deal with the main subject of the article—why we do support the League despite all the failings of its leadership.

The H.T. columnist was writing on "Religious Fanaticism Run Riot." There were plenty of examples of this in that very article—from the Ahir and the Jamiat! But the clever journalist has no use for these, he wants them only from the League!

### Their Own Dishonesty "Run Riot"

To such levels of blatant dishonesty do our Nationalist papers sink when they let political partisanship "run riot" over everything else. They scream with self-righteous indignation against League goondalism on Nationalist Muslims (we too are no one with them in condemning this), but why keep mum on Congressmen's own goondalism against the Communists? They scream with democratic indignation against Leaguers' religious obscurantism, (we too are at one with them in condemning this), but why hide and keep mum on worse stuff coming from the Ahir and the Jamiat?

If it is going to be one moral and democratic code for others against you and quite a different one for you against the others, then you will teach our people neither democracy nor morals, but only destroy the very roots of morals and honesty in all India.

And next time when any of Birla's scribes starts like quoting us, let him quote this very column. He will then be doing real patriotic service to his readers, for a change.

N. K. Krishna

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At the end of it, late at night, they announced an "agreement" by which no immediate demands of the workers were met, only vague promises were made. Roy Choudhury, Sarat Babu's lieutenant, sent out his agents to call off the strike without even calling a meeting of workers.

### Workers Repudiate Those Who Betrayed Them

The workers were naturally furious—and everywhere Roy Choudhury's agents and also the Royists who followed the same path, were chased out spontaneously by the workers. Meanwhile the Corporation Workers' Union under the Red Flag (mostly composed of actual workers) which had all along warned about the strike preparations and tried its best to keep all the workers united once the strike was on, refused to subscribe to this betrayal of the workers by the Employees' Association.

On November 26, everywhere great tension prevailed, with workers infuriated by this sabo-

tage of the strike by Roy Choudhury. But for the intervention of the Communists, there would have been large-scale disorders and bloodshed all over the city.

At a big meeting attended by 10,000 workers at Shradhdhananda Park that evening, the workers repudiated Roy Choudhury's action as "unjust, undemocratic and unconstitutional," and formed a new Strike Committee under the leadership of the Workers' Union. Its Secretary Biren Roy said: "Workers are prepared to resume work provided two vital demands, namely, that of increment of pay and of permanence of service were met."

The same evening, at the Corporation meeting, the Congress and the League Corporators acclaimed each other on their betrayal of the workers. The Congress Councillor, Debrata Mukherjee moving acceptance of the terms of settlement announce-

ed between the Mayor and Roy Choudhury, unashamedly made it clear that the workers had got practically nothing, when he expressed his gratification that the terms "were almost the same as those agreed by the Special Committee." The League leader, Siddiqui, also said that "the terms of settlement were 99 per cent of the suggestions and recommendations of the terms which the Special Committee made."

Only the two Communist Councillors, LAHIRI and ISMAIL, warned them against "patting each other's backs". Lahiri exposed Roy Choudhury as having "got a slap on his cheek from the workers in the sense that they had not resumed work." Interrupting Lahiri the Mayor made a bogus announcement that the Pumping Station workers had just resumed their work.

### Mayor At Last Contacts Communist Leaders

But the very next morning dispelled all illusions of the strike having fizzled out. Workers under the leadership of the Workers' Union continued their strike peacefully and with remarkable discipline, despite military provocation on the one hand and attempts at disruption by the Employees' Association on the other.

Mr. Mrinal Kanti Bose, President of All-India Trade Union Congress, on the same day condemned the Corporation:

"The Mayor has secured a certificate from the Governor that the men's demands are unreasonable. I do not see how this can improve the situation if the Mayor and Council-

lors do not propose to hand over the administration to the Government."

The Mayor who had all along tried to ignore the Workers' Union at first contacted notorious anti-Communist "Labour" leaders like Charu Bannarji, Subash Banerji and Maitreyee Bose. When he found that none of these could deliver the goods, he had to approach the Communist leader Lahiri in the afternoon and was forced to offer fresh terms:

Those getting below Rs. 100 to get increment of three rupees from December, excepting those who had got an increment in 1944-45; leave with pay; pay for the strike-period; Provident Fund etc.

Other demands were left in the hands of the Special Committee which was enlarged by including other Labour organisations besides the Employees' Association.

### End of Strike: Workers' Gains

Lahiri placed these terms before the Strike Committee, after whose sanction they were placed before more than 10,000 workers in Shradhdhananda Park. The workers' representatives realising the plight of the Calcutta public agreed to call off the strike with these minimum demands secured.

After signing the agreement the Workers' Union leaders brought the Mayor to the workers' meeting. The next day, in the Corporation meeting, the Mayor apologised for the delay in the settlement and openly admitted:

"It transpired later on that it was Messrs. Somnath Lahiri and Mohammed Ismail who had real control of the labour staff of the Corporation."

From the morning of Nov. 28 the entire body of Corporation workers resumed their duty after five days of this remarkable strike.

### Anti-Communism Again: Gover For Bankruptcy

But exactly as Sarat Bose did in the case of the student demonstration his lieutenants in the Corporation tried to cover up their fiasco by unscrupulous anti-Communism. Sudhir Roy Choudhury in the Corporation meeting on

(Continued on page 8, col. 5.)

## A Patriot's Notebook

### NEW CHARGE AGAINST SINGHANIAS

THE Singhanias certainly do not seem to let the grass grow under their feet. The Cawnpore correspondent of the Bombay Times of India reports (Nov. 26) that the Government of India War Department has ordered the prosecution under the D.I.R. of Mr. Kallaspethi Singhania (Sir Padampat's brother and senior Director of J. K. Industries, Cawnpore and Director of several Bombay mills) and others.

The charge is that they sold in the blackmarket in Bombay iron and steel allotted to them under the quota, by the War Department, for manufacturing gas plants. The case is shortly to be heard by a tribunal with its headquarters at Lahore.

I shall be much interested to see whether the Congress papers in the U.P. (like the Cawnpore Pratap) give this news to their readers; and what honest Congressmen in U.P. think after this of the Singhanias' new-found love for the Congress and generous donations to the Congress Election Fund.

### How 'Hindustan Times' Quotes 'People's War'

I see that People's War (now "People's Age") these days is becoming quite a favourite with the columnists of Birla's Hindustan Times. But it is favouritism with a purpose! Partisan dishonesty in journalism is unfortunately enough becoming only too common in our land. But what the Hindustan Times scribes are doing beats all the rest.

The staff correspondent of the Hindustan Times (H.T.) is running a series of articles against the Muslim League. I have seen the first two. Both of them quote profusely from P.W. And this is how it is done.

Just those parts where we criticise the League leadership are lifted out of our articles and splashed—and all the rest conveniently ignored! You can see it for yourself.

The first article of the H.T. Staff Correspondent (Nov. 26) is entitled, "Campaign of Incitement to Violence." It begins by quoting long extracts from "Week In Review" of P.W. of November 11 where we cri-

ticised the obscurantist propaganda of League leaders and goondaism against Nationalist Muslims.

But that Review was a whole connected piece. In it we first criticised the election alliances and campaign of the Congress leadership, then commented:

"Every step the Congress takes nearer the Mahasabha and Hindu vested interests, strengthens still further obscurantist and toady elements within the League."

### Criticism Of League Splashed—Rest Ignored!

Next followed our criticism of the League election campaign. We concluded the article with the words:

"The more passion and blind prejudice take the place of democratic persuasion and fraternal understanding, among our main patriotic parties, the more our election campaign is going to degenerate into mutual head-breaking (as the Congress is already doing against the Communists and the League in turn against Nationalist Muslims);—and leave the British as the common boss on top of us all."

What the H.T. writer has done is to extract from our article just the portion where the League is criticised, leaving out all the rest! He quoted up to right above the concluding passage—and stopped there. Obviously it would not serve his purpose if he did not do that!

In the same article of his, he quoted lengthy extracts from Sajjad Zaheer's article on the hoodlums of Gaya Leaguers (P.W. of October 14). But in this very article, just following the extracts the H.T. columnist has so copiously quoted, Zaheer writes that Leaguers try to justify their goondaism against Nationalist Muslims by citing Congressmen's goondaism against the Communists and then comments: "They (all democrats) must begin first of all by stamping it (fascist anti-democratic outbreaks) in their own ranks." But this portion has been left out.

How else could Birla's H.T. self-righteously preach morals to the Leaguers—while Birla's own men, aided by

anti-Communist Congressmen, are breaking the heads of the Communists in Delhi (as our Delhi correspondent reports on page two of this issue)?

The second article in the H.T. (Nov. 27) is entitled "Religious Fanaticism Run Riot." That also opens up with a lengthy quotation from our article, "Why Communists support the Muslim League." (People's Age, Supplement of Nov. 18)—just those paragraphs are carefully picked out where the League leadership is criticised. The rest of the article is of no use to the writer—even though that happens to deal with the main subject of the article—why we do support the League despite all the failings of its leadership.

The H.T. columnist was writing on "Religious Fanaticism Run Riot". There were plenty of examples of this in that very article—from the Ahrars and the Jamiat! But the clever journalist has no use for these, he wants them only from the League!

### Their Own Dishonesty "Run Riot"

To such levels of blatant dishonesty do our Nationalist papers sink when they let political partisanship "run riot" over everything else. They scream with self-righteous indignation against League goondaism on Nationalist Muslims (we too are at one with them in condemning this), but why keep mum on Congressmen's own goondaism against the Communists? They scream with democratic indignation against Leaguers' religious obscurantism, (we too are at one with them in condemning this), but why hide and keep mum on worse stuff coming from the Ahrars and the Jamiat?

If it is going to be one moral and democratic code for others against you and quite a different one for you against the others, then you will teach our people neither democracy nor morals, but only destroy the very roots of morals and honesty in all alike.

And next time when any of Birla's scribes feels like quoting us, let him quote this very column. He will then be doing real patriotic service to his readers, for a change.

M. K. Krishna

Sarat Bose's Open Charge
Entire Press And Eye-Witnesses Speak
Don't Foul Your Own Nest

WHAT we forecast last week would be the sequel to the Calcutta demonstration has come true. The country is today seething with patriotic anti-imperialist activity...

The sound instincts of the people themselves tell them to stand all together against police terror. But Congress leaders refuse to intervene, to control and guide the patriotic fire against this terror with the united strength of all political parties...

In our last issue, our Calcutta Correspondent gave the full story of the heroic Calcutta demonstration, the workers' protest strike and the shameful role Sarat Bose played.

What Did He Say?

On November 29, Sarat Bose in a meeting at Chintura accused the Communists of a conspiracy to involve him in the recent shootings in Calcutta.

When he met the Governor last Friday Sarat Bose told His Excellency that the conspiracy that was hatched was this, that somehow Sarat Bose must be brought to the scene and immediately there would be rain of brickbats and military and police would open fire and before his very eyes hundreds of students would die in ten minutes time.

Who are the instigators there? The instigators are the 'People's War' people whom the Central and Provincial Governments had pampered during all these years when Congress was in jail.

Sarat Babu then regaled a cock-and-bull story that it was the Communists who had made him telephone calls every minute on Wednesday evening asking him to be present on the scene!

Casey could have got no better certificate to exonerate him for the wanton and brutal conduct of his police during these three days in Calcutta than the 'information' Sarat Bose went and gave him, according to his own damaging confession.

In a press statement issued on November 30 (AFI), the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party nailed down Sarat Babu's charges against the Communists as a lie and pointed out they were nothing but a direct help to the police to escape their own guilt and find a scape-goat.

But it does not need our statement to show the worth of Sarat Bose's allegations. They stand self-condemned from the mouth of the Calcutta Nationalist Press itself and of other Congress leaders who have reported on these events from the spot.

Calcutta Papers Refute It

Amrita Bazar Patrika of November 22 reported on the incidents thus:

From 3-30 the crowd remained squatted on the way indulging only in slogans now and then and blockaded on the east by armed Police sergeants and Indian constables. There was no provocation from either side.

It was loudly expected that there would be trial of patience. But it was not so on the Police side. When it was 6 p.m. the crowd which swelled by this time considerably was bifurcated into two completely separate zones. That move on the part of the Police ultimately brought in the clash.

Referring to Sarat Bose's message, the Patrika reports says:

The processionists in one voice said: 'We do not want to hear any message from Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. We want to see him personally. If after coming here he makes this request to disperse, we are prepared to do so.' At 11-45 p.m. Miss Jyotirmoyee Ganguly who went to Mr. Sarat Bose's house came back and informed the students that Mr. Bose had expressed his unwillingness to come to the spot.

The Patrika of Nov. 24 wrote: Thousands of students and other citizens covered the whole area squatting on the bare earth. For hours on end throughout the night and till the next day in the afternoon they held to their posts without food and shelter with a grim determination in their eyes. They behaved with exemplary discipline, and never surrendered the ground to the enemy. They opened a new chapter in the history of the freedom movement of India.

Evidence of Congressmen

KIRON SHANKAR ROY is no friend of the Communists; this is how he

non-Mahasabhaite) also wrote:

'Our appeal to Sarat Babu and other leaders is; instead of intriguing for spreading factional hatred and for establishing personal dictatorship, let them pacify the infuriated people and offer sympathy and guidance to the students hurt, hit and in revolt.'

Amrita Bazar Patrika made a pointed answer editorially on November 25 to Sarat Babu's clumsy invocation of 'spies and agent provocateurs.'

'It is not correct to suggest, as has been suggested in certain quarters that spies and agent provocateurs were abroad to do mischief or that certain unnamed organisations were out for incitement to violence to provoke police or armed forces into coming into violent collision with the processionists.'

There have been charges of indiscipline and sinister attempts at sabotage. We reject these charges as baseless.'

Nor was it Calcutta Congress papers alone which categorically condemned Sarat Bose's conduct during the Calcutta events. The Free Press Journal of Bombay (Congress daily) in its editorial of December 1 specifically attacked Sarat Bose's concoction of a 'Communist plot' and wrote on it:

'The whole account sounds far-fetched and fantastic. Freedom's battles do not come heralded by a flourish of trumpets. They are often waged on small occasions. Scenes like the Dharamtalla one, at any rate, serve to test men and leaders.'

The weekly Aj (Hindi Congress paper of U.P.) categorically condemns Sarat Bose's attitude. Referring to Casey's meeting with Congress, League and Mahasabha leaders, it writes:

'Not only this, but the Governor asks the leaders—Are you responsible for this disturbance, and they have no reply. Nobody had the courage to silence him by answering that it was he who was responsible and nobody else.'

Aj concludes: 'This struggle is the prelude to that greater one which will be fought even without such people who are hankering after leadership and elections.' (November 28). Both Free Press Journal and Aj are themselves bitter political opponents of the Communists.

After Thoughts

All Sarat Bose's anti-Communist stories are in fact after-thoughts—carefully planned and worked up to hide his own widely-condemned shocking conduct on November 21 and 22.

He openly mentioned the name of the Communists only on November 29 when the first excitement of the united demonstration was over and he thought he could now safely exploit anti-Communist prejudices.

Sarat Bose's lieutenants have gone so far in their anti-Communist campaign that they are now spreading the tale that the All-Parties Conference itself (which had been convened on Nov. 23 by Dr. B. C. Roy and was sabotaged by Sarat Bose himself) was a Communist manoeuvre, engineered and dominated by the Communists! They say that a Communist went to that meeting as the representative of the Mirzapore Street Students' Federation, while the actual fact was that this boy is a prominent RSP (Revolutionary Socialist Party) student leader and the Mirzapore Students' Federation is affiliated to the All-India Students' Congress, by no means a Communist body!

So, the Communists, according to Sarat Bose, first engineered anarchy by provoking the students against the police and then manoeuvred for peace by exploiting Dr. B. C. Roy to get all parties together against police firing!

Poisoning Patriotism In this contemptible way one of the greatest and most heroic united anti-Imperialist people's demonstrations Calcutta has ever seen is sought to be used for purposes of anti-Communism. It helps none better than the White bureaucrats and their police.

The Nationalist Press all over India has given Sarat's anti-Communist statement of Nov. 29 full publicity.

Some of them like the Bombay Lokmanya (Marathi daily) even suppressed the answer of the Bengal Committee of the Communist Party. Even the Congress Working Committee leaders like Maulana Azad are echoing Sarat's story.

But it is very significant that what the Editorials of Nationalist papers all over India commented upon immediately after the Calcutta demonstration was the fact that it was one of

COMMUNIST REPLY TO CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

THE Communist members of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) have sent in their reply to the charge-sheet given to them by the Congress Working Committee at the time of the last AICC Session in Bombay.

It will be remembered that the Congress Working Committee had appointed a Sub-Committee to enquire into the various complaints against the Communists. This Sub-Committee submitted a report and framed charges. The charges were:

(1) That the Communists suddenly changed their attitude towards the war after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union and began to call it People's War. They carried on incessant propaganda in favour of the war effort when the Congress had advised the people not to co-operate in war activities till the freedom of India had been recognised and a National Government established.

(2) That the Communists made grave charges against individual Congressmen and groups of Congressmen.

The reply which is an exhaustive document of 168 closely typed pages is drafted by P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India. It will soon be available to the public in book form. The book will also include the full text of the Sub-Committee's report and the charge-sheet.

At a time when from every Congress platform and from every Congress journal the word 'traitor' is being flung at the Communists, when the goonda-elements taking their cue from this are attacking the Communists and their Party offices with lathis and knives, when blind prejudice and ignorance obscure the issues involved in the Congress-Communist controversy—at such a time, P. C. Joshi's reply would come as an eye opener to the earnest Congressman. It would be a weapon in the hands of every Party member and sympathiser—in their fight against blind prejudice and for a Congress-Communist understanding.

A HISTORIC DOCUMENT

Joshi's reply is not a lawyer's defence made in terms of the Congress resolutions. It is a vigorous and challenging defence of the policies and practice of the Communist Party during the six years of war—based on the common principles of the freedom struggle itself. At the very outset he makes it clear that the Working Committee members are prejudiced and have condemned the Communists without going into facts.

When the leaders of the premier patriotic organisation of our country charge an organisation like ours—which is admittedly the leader of whatever organised movement of workers and peasants exists in our country—of being traitor to the freedom struggle and that too without evidence, then they must bear the moral responsibility for the goonda attacks which are taking place against our Party at present—for the cleavage in the freedom front that it causes.

Joshi asks the members of the Working Committee to put the policy and practice of our Party during the various phases of the war period, to the test of simple principles of our National movement: Did they lead towards the freedom of our country or away from it? Did we seek to achieve freedom through the strength of our own people or by relying upon undemocratic forces? Joshi challenges: It will then be found that they will have to look elsewhere for the betrayers of the freedom struggle, NOT in the Communist Party.

PENETRATING ANALYSIS

His well-documented account of the evolution of Congress and Communist policies during the two phases of the war before and after the attack upon the Soviet proves his contention to the hilt.

In both phases of the war, the Communist attitude towards it was similar to the one adopted by the Congress. In the second phase the Congress recognised the change that the war had now become a war between two camps: on one side were progressive forces, while on the other were reactionary ones and the Congress wanted to enter the war on the side of the former if freedom was recognised and a National Government established.

The Communist stand that it was a People's War was only a consistent working out of the Congress position. But the Working Committee suppresses the fact that the Communists' objective throughout was to achieve a National Government for the country's defence and for an effective war effort. It suppresses the fact that the Communist stand on the war effort in the absence of a National Government was that it must be opposed where it was coercive and supported where it was in the people's interests. It slanders us when it accuses us of unconditional co-operation, says Joshi.

Joshi then traces the various positions taken by the Congress leaders since their release in December 1941 till they landed themselves in the self-contradictory position of the August resolution.

They rejected the neutrality stand of Gandhiji. They knew that the launching of a struggle when the Jap invaders were at the door would be disastrous. They had no faith in the unity with a brother organisation—in the strength of the people. They had illusions that Imperialism would yield if threatened with a struggle. Hence they had no plan, had made no preparations for the struggle. Theirs was a desperate gamble against which the Communists had warned on the eve of the fateful August 9 of 1942.

Joshi gives a detailed documented picture of what happened after the August arrests—the spontaneous disturbances, the effort to organise a sabotage movement by the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc, the pro-Jap propaganda by these groups. He describes the work, struggles and sufferings of the Communists during this period, their fight against repression and against sabotage, their work for relief of the famine-stricken and for unity.

A FLAMING INDICTMENT

From here onwards, Joshi's reply becomes a flaming indictment of the double-faced policy of the Congress leadership itself. They accuse the Communists of having opposed the people's movement which arose spontaneously out of the post-August outburst, but they themselves repudiated all responsibility for it from inside the jail and called it off as soon as they were released. They glorify the 'August struggle' but completely blackout the peril of Jap aggression and ignore the pro-Jap propaganda of certain Congress groups and their sabotage activity which was planned with an eye on Jap invasion.

Joshi then goes on to show how this double-faced policy—this refusal to learn from the mistakes and bitter experience of the past three years is leading to new illusions, new turns in a disastrous policy.

The anti-fascist Congress of 1942 is becoming the anti-Communist Congress of 1945, with authoritarian tendencies growing within it. Anti-Communism would put an end to the process of the democratisation of the Congress, would strengthen the grip of vested interests over its policies and lead to a disastrous clash between the Congress and the forces of the organised workers and peasants.

Refusal to learn from the bitter experience of the post-August days would create new illusions about a unilateral settlement with Imperialism. The Simla tragedy would be repeated on a bigger scale. Refusal to accept the right of self-determination, and the anti-League tirades of to-day would lead to a full-scale civil war after the elections.

At a time when the widest ever anti-Imperialist freedom upsurge is sweeping the land, when the national leaders are required to show the political wisdom to forge a united front of all popular forces—and a freedom programme based on justice, equality and the right of self-determination for the final struggle—at such a time the Congress leadership is drifting into policies, which can only lead to a fratricidal conflict and to the imposition of a British-made Constitution.

APPEAL IN THE NAME OF DEMOCRACY

In the name of freedom, democracy and culture, Joshi appeals to the Congress leadership to desist from this path.

He concludes: 'You're in the way of war among brothers, ours a battle for best mutual understanding, brotherly unity among Indian parties for the surest and fastest path to Indian freedom—a real NOT a wordy battle. You think that it is necessary to bring the League and the Communist Party down on their knees and make them accept what you think best for our common country and the cause of immediate Indian freedom against British rule.'

'Our best endeavour is and will be that you do not fight but realise that your first duty, because you are the leadership of India's freedom organisation No. 1, is to understand and unite with India's freedom organisation No. 2 and No. 3 for a common war against the British rule for the quickest possible common victory.'

the biggest and most glorious united all-Party anti-Imperialist demonstrations against which the police launched brutal repression.

All of them proudly wrote that the flags of all political parties could be seen flying in the demonstration. Searchlight and Rashtreevani (Congress papers of Bihar); AJ (premier Congress Hindi daily of U.P.); Lok-shakti (Congress Marathi daily of Maharashtra); Hindu and Indian Express (pro-Congress English dailies

of Madras)—one and all commented editorially in this strain. Almost all of them demanded an independent non-official enquiry to find out responsibility for the police firing—the same demand the Communists had made from the very beginning.

This is the voice of true spontaneous patriotism asserting itself—before the leaders came forward to poison and "tutor" it into channels of the factional fratricidal fight which dominates our national life to-day.

# Communist-Kisan Workers Help Congress Candidates

## Against Akalis - Rally Voters On Their Own, Work Jointly With Local Congressmen Wherever Possible

### Pro-Akali Congress Leaders Sabotage Campaign

POLLING is over for the two Sikh seats in the Central Assembly from the Punjab and by the time these lines appear in print the results will have been announced. Nevertheless the manner in which the campaign was conducted has important lessons for Congressmen as well as Communists, lessons that must be fully learnt if the anti-national forces are to be routed in the bigger electoral battle ahead.

For the two seats both the Congress and the Akalis put up their own candidates. The Communist Party, which is a major force among the Sikh people, did not put up any candidate of its own but it did give its full support to the Congress candidates. Sardar SANGH SINGH and SARDAR BHUPAL Singh, although their names were not on the list, were not allowed to do so.

As for the two seats, the Akalis had another advantage. The Congress has extensive general influence, but it has only a few local political workers among the Sikhs in rural areas while the Akalis with their hold on the Gujranwala have a chain of paid propagandists and Quakerian Committee members to help them.

Just to the east of the elections, PANDIT JAWAHARLAL made a three-day flying election tour in the Punjab. This visit attracted the attention of Congress circles regarding the outcome of the election in the Sikh constituencies.

### What Pandit Nehru Was Told

This society had a very strong bias. Worse than even the forces given above, was the general antagonism of the election campaign by certain Congressmen themselves.

Some of the Congress-anti-Communist alliance of their Communist Party, which is a major force among the Sikh people, did not put up any candidate of its own but it did give its full support to the Congress candidates.

I understood that Imperial Congress leaders including DR. WAH CHAMARWAL, recently elected to the Punjab Legislative Council, had been in the Punjab. This visit attracted the attention of Congress circles regarding the outcome of the election in the Sikh constituencies.

Sardar Singh Singh himself is extremely bitter at the indifference shown by certain prominent Congressmen towards his election campaign.

### More Important Than Congress Victory!

There was no talk of unity about the general anti-Akali sentiment among the ranks of voters who hated the Akalis, big landlords and feudal lords with whom the Akalis have all their sympathies.

### Street-Corner Meetings

Despite the fact that Congressmen on their own did whatever they could, they had a great support in the Congress constituencies and especially the party of the Akalis.

Men who had taken the Congress to their hearts and had won Congress Committees and Ward Committees among them are scattered throughout the Punjab.

motor losses, Sardar Singh Singh and Congress workers held a meeting on November 2 to discuss the situation and to co-operate with the Communists. The Communist work, however, already having the cooperation of the Akalis only in order to help them out of their own pockets.

Village Congressmen noted their experiences, in many villages they had been told point-blank by the Akalis, "We are with Congress-Kisan workers and will vote as they ask."

### Communists Expose Akalis

There was another important factor too. Congressmen had seen that the Communists were able to arouse satisfaction among the voters about the anti-Akali position of the Akalis.

This happened, for instance, in a village in the Punjab where the Communist Party had a strong influence.

On November 9 a propaganda party was held at the house of a Communist worker for work in the Punjab.

### United Front in Action

On November 9 a propaganda party was held at the house of a Communist worker for work in the Punjab.

### Rawalpindi COMMUNISTS AID CONGRESS ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Gover 10,000 People

I was not in Rawalpindi when the Communist Party worked for the Congress candidates for the Punjab Assembly.

### For Joint Work

At Rawalpindi a committee of the Communist Party was set up to help the Congress candidates.

### Ugly Clashes

In many localities, there were ugly clashes between Akali and Communist workers.

### Police On Top

The clash had not been severe but it gave the police the opportunity and pretext they wanted.

Pandit Nehru's tour in the Punjab meant that he had to be seen in the Punjab.

The Akali daily Ajit and Congress leaders to see whether it was worth the trouble of going to the Punjab.

Again during the election tour, Pandit did not show the Communist Party as he usually does.

the United and Indian Akalis themselves were seriously opposed to the possible representation of Pandit in the Punjab.

But Pandit's acceptance could not be a failure of the Congress as a whole and for the efforts which the Congressmen had made.

### Affirmation Of Nehru's Anti-Communism

Pandit's stay in the Punjab during the election tour was more than welcome.

Again during the election tour, Pandit did not show the Communist Party as he usually does.

### Congress Nominations For Punjab Assembly

## GOPICHAND-SATYAPAL FACTIONS' SCRAMBLE FOR SEATS

### Toady-Mahasabha-Blackmarketeer Claimants For Congress Tickets!

With the approach of the elections in the Provincial Assembly, factionalism in the Punjab Congress has become acute.

The Congress in the Punjab has been split for a long time into two rival groups.

The worst factions squabble will be over the night when the Akalis will be elected.

For the University seat, there are several candidates who are vying for the Congress ticket.

### Some Claimants

For the University seat, there are several candidates who are vying for the Congress ticket.

### Two Rival Lists

Dr. Satyapal who accepted a Commission in the Akali during the war, has now been returned and is generally leading his group and consolidating his ranks.

### Opportunists Sneak In

So deep is the factional war that both the groups are trying to get the Akali support.

I am sure that the Board instead of making a final decision will keep both the lists of names in the Provincial Assembly.

For the University seat, there are several candidates who are vying for the Congress ticket.

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### A Shameful Circular

I really learn that a circular has been sent to the Punjab Congress Parliamentary Board in all prospective constituencies.

For the University seat, there are several candidates who are vying for the Congress ticket.

### Government Hits Out

The workers' struggle was peaceful all through but was frustrated by the Akalis.

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## FIRST PEOPLE'S VICTORY IN RATLAM STATE

### Workers' Heroic Struggle

Ratlam State (Central India) is one of the most backward and feudal states in the whole country. Every past struggle, whether of the workers, led by the Minor Sais, or of the people, led by the Praja Mandal (State Congress), has ended in defeat.

THE struggle began on the Red Flag (State Congress) in the whole country. Every past struggle, whether of the workers, led by the Minor Sais, or of the people, led by the Praja Mandal (State Congress), has ended in defeat.

### Win Demands

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### Attack By Armed Police

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—By Our Correspondent

# Polling Day Scenes

## Tenor Of Congress Speeches During Campaign

By wire Lucknow, Dec. 2.

Polling is over for the Central Assembly elections in the U.P. November 26 was the date for polling for the General seats; November 27 for the Muslim seats.

IN the General seats, the Congress captured unopposed all except three seats; only for these three seats was there opposition from the Hindu Mahasabha. Reports so far, however, indicate that the Congress candidates had a virtual walk-over against the Mahasabhaitees.

### Both Champion Akhand Hindustan!

But the most significant feature of the Congress campaign for the General seats was the entire absence of any political criticism of the Mahasabha opponents; everywhere the Congress leaders speaking in support of Congress candidates were on the defensive: "We see no reason for the continued separate existence of the Mahasabha as there are no longer any differences between the Congress and the Mahasabha."

They were at pains to prove that the Congress no longer believes that Hindu-Muslim unity is a pre-condition for securing freedom and that Congressmen are better and more practical supporters of Akhand Hindustan than the Mahasabhaitees themselves. They quoted Nehru's and Patel's statements against Pakistan and their declarations that there would be no further negotiations with the League as a proof of their genuine advocacy of Akhand Hindustan.

The Mahasabha candidates and workers on the other hand took the stand that the anti-League and Akhand-Hindustan slogans of the Congress are merely an election stunt and that the only guarantee of making Congressmen stick to these slogans would be the presence of Mahasabha representatives in the Assembly.

Thus for the General seats, the Congress candidates are sure to beat the Mahasabha—but by themselves taking over the Mahasabha policy!

The real fight, however, was for the six Muslim seats where Nationalist Muslims were opposing the League. Here Congressmen had thrown their entire weight for defeating the Muslim League. Polling took place on November 27. And although the results have not yet been offi-

cially announced, it is now conceded by all Nationalist papers that the League would capture all the six Muslim seats.

The Congress leaders had decided to concentrate all their efforts in the Muslim constituencies. Pandit Nehru had declared that the Congress was going to challenge the League and defeat it in all Muslim seats.

For weeks, Nehru, Pant, Kidwai and other Congress leaders toured the various districts of the Province addressing mass meetings and exhorting the Muslims to vote for Nationalist Muslim candidates. They denounced the League as a caucus of feudal agents of Imperialism and denounced Pakistan as anti-Nationalist and even anti-Muslim. Pantji in his speeches even went so far as to question the right of

the Communist Party. Maulana Madani even went to the length of declaring that the Communists support the Pakistan demand in order to work as fifth columnists for the Soviet which wanted the Port of Karachi—an echo of the mischievous whisper which originated from the most reactionary White Bureaucrats of New Delhi like Sir Olaf Caroe.

The League campaign was, on the whole, cleaner and less vulgar and bitter. Man to man, their candidates were in no way worse than the Nationalist Muslim nominees. Except for Kazmi who opposed Liaqat Ali, whose merits even Leaguers conceded, the rest of the Nationalist Muslim nominees were of the same category as the League candidates. Ehteram Ali, a big zamindar was put up against the Raja of Mahmudabad; Yaqub Ali, a Military contractor, against Ghazanferullah; the Firozabad Bangle-magistrate, Faqiruddin, against Sir Yamin Khan; Shalir Ali, Barrister, against Sir Ziauddin; and Hameed

Muslim Ek Ho" and holding street-corner meetings, appealing to Muslims to vote for their National Organisation for winning Pakistan. Hindu boys went about waving black and white striped flags of the Nationalist Muslims, shouting amazingly enough "Allaho Akbar" and asking the Muslims to vote for the Nationalist Muslims!

In one polling booth in Lucknow, a Hindu student named Awasthi wearing a Turkish cap actually led a squad of Hindu students shouting "Nari Takbir—Allaho Akbar" and calling on the Muslims to vote for the Nationalist Muslim candidate, Dr. Hameed Farooqi.

In Cawnpore, a number of Hindus were arrested on the charge of attempting to impersonate Muslim voters in support of Dr. Farooqi, the Nationalist Muslim candidate.

One felt ashamed at such sights, particularly when the Leaguers jeeringly pointed at them. When I talked to the Congress leaders in Ganesh Ganj polling booth, they complained "What are we to do? There are no Muslim workers available. We have perforce to use some Hindu

uzzaman set the pace for them. He said:

"The Muslims have answered Nehru's challenge. The League is triumphant. Let us work among those Muslims who did not vote for the League. They are our fellow-Muslims. To-day they are on the wrong path. If we persevere and calmly and patiently explain our policy, we shall win them over. It is Hindus who are setting up Muslims against Muslims. We tell our Hindu friends to stop this and see that the Muslims are with the League and come to terms with us. We (Hindus and Muslims) shall then together drive out the British. Concede us our Pakistan demand and we shall jointly free India. If Congress has still any doubts, the coming Provincial elections will finally remove them."

In the Congress camp, which had been prophesying sweeping victory for the Nationalist Muslim candidates, there was complete silence. All the Congress and Nationalist Muslim leaders were silent about the results. No nationalist paper has yet commented on it. Congress leader Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, the only one to comment, in a statement said: "As was anticipated, the League has won all the six Muslim seats." This was the strangest admission since Rafi Saheb himself had till then been going about saying that the League would be swept away by the Nationalist Muslims.

Explaining away the defeat, Rafi Saheb said: "The Nationalist Muslims entered the contest at a very late stage. They had no organisation of their own to fight the elections. At the time of nomination, it was generally said that everyone of them would forfeit his security. The results, will, therefore, surprise many and re-assure Nationalist Muslims and their sympathisers." He went on to complain about defective lists, the very limited franchise, etc.

And yet, in private, bitter attacks on the Muslims and even on the Nationalist Muslims are being made. The Congress leaders are openly saying, "These Maulanas fooled us. They gave us a rosy picture about their hold on the Muslims. They did not let us fight the elections directly on our slogans in the name of the Congress. We gave them money and men, and yet they lost so heavily and now all say it is the defeat of the Congress. Next time, we should contest elections in the name of the Congress."

A prominent Congress leader of Gorakhpur with whom I travelled to Mirzapore, told me that he and dozens of other Congress workers, who were going to

(Continued on page 4, col. 2.)

(Continued from page 3.)

November 28 maintained that the strike was "really called off" on the 26th but on account of activities of the Communists it had to be continued and on account of hooliganism on peaceful people, workers could not join their duties."

Kumudlal Bhattacharyya, Secretary of the Employees' Association, in a statement on November 28 said:

"The public are aware of all heinous activities that these Communist leaders and their agents have indulged in since 1942. They have now entered the field to destroy their national organisation built up by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das and Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose. They have been conspiring to hand over the Corporation to the Government."

Ananda Bazar Patrika, Sarat Bose's mouthpiece, on November 29, held that the strike was responsible for the death of those drowned in a tank because of lack of water in the taps. Referring to the stoppage of water, it wrote: "from the moral point of view it can be called a crime against the people." "All must think how in future hold-up of water supply may be made impossible."

This was nothing but a shameless invitation to the Government to make such strikes illegal and to smash them up in future.

Siddiqui's Morning News on November 28 announced that the "continuation of the strike is believed to be the work of professional agitators with axes to grind."

Thus did Sarat Bose's lieutenants and the League leaders both join up—in common hatred of the workers and common anti-Communism.

## REACTIONS TO DEFEAT OF NATIONALIST MUSLIMS BY LEAGUE

Mr. Jinnah to call himself a Muslim because he does not grow a beard!

Leading Nationalist Ulema like Maulana Madani and Hifzur Rahman, respected leaders of the Jamiat, took to rabid obscurantist-Islamic propaganda and conducted a slander campaign against the League everywhere. Most regrettable of all, there was nowhere a clean patriotic appeal in their speeches. They denounced the League as un-Islamic and declared that Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan would be an un-Islamic state as both Mr. Jinnah and Durrani, the organ of the Muslim League, had declared that it would be jointly ruled by all residents, Hindus and Muslims! They tried to impress that Pakistan would really be of benefit only to the Muslim majority areas, whereas the Muslims in the Hindu majority areas would still be left at the mercy of the Hindus with no protection!

In their speeches greater appeal was made to the anti-Hindu and backward prejudices of the Muslims than to their freedom and democratic sentiments.

They also denounced the Com-

Farooqi, another Barrister, against Nawab Ismail Khan.

The League election campaign was not uniform. Prominent League leaders like Nawab Ismail Khan, Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman, Z. H. Lari and Hasrat Mohani—who in the past were Khilafatists and Congressmen) did political propaganda and rarely made personal attacks on Nationalist Muslims or questioned their motives. Moulvis on the other hand indulged in usual vulgar personal attacks on the Nationalist Muslims, and declared Congress to be the main enemy.

### Nationalist Muslims' Two Stunts

On the eve of the elections, Nationalist Muslims tried two stunts which recoiled on themselves. On the one hand the Nationalist Press had been declaring that the Shias are anti-League and publicised extensively the statement of Ali Zaheer (President, Shia Political Conference) calling on the Shias to vote for candidates opposing the League, as the League had refused to concede the Shia demands. This had two effects. First, it made the Sunnis very suspicious about the Congress intentions, and of the Nationalist Muslims' bona-fides and brought about a big Sunni swing towards the League. Secondly, owing to the present unpopularity of Ali Zaheer himself among the Shias in general, they also decided to vote for the League!

Their second stunt proved still more suicidal. They sent for batches of Muslims, including Shias, from Lahore and got them to publicly recite Madhesahaba (an issue of religious controversy between the Shias and Sunnis) in Lucknow. They thought it would put the League in an awkward position, would create a split in the League and bring about a big Sunni swing for the Nationalist Muslims (since Madhesahaba is recited by the Sunnis only). But actually, this had the only result of further antagonising the Shias!

### Sharp Contrast At Booths

The Polling Day presented sharp contrasts. While the League camp had hundreds of keen, young and enthusiastic volunteers and a stream of workers kept pouring in right from the morning, the Nationalist Muslim camps presented a deserted and dreary appearance with only a few Hindu student volunteers in shervani and caps, working as election agents and persuading voters to vote against the League!

On the streets one could see young Muslim students with League flags shouting "Muslim

students who worked for Sharmaji yesterday."

When I observed a Hindu student, Awasthi, in a Turkish cap, I asked a Congress leader how he explained it. He said, "Please do not ask me such questions. We are doing all we can to attract Muslim voters." I could see he was feeling quite ashamed about all this subterfuge which the Congress had always denounced as being unworthy of any patriotic people's organisation, and which are the hall-marks of anti-national and other reactionary parties in this country.

While the League leaders were seen moving from booth to booth, no Nationalist Muslim leaders were seen anywhere and the entire arrangements were in the hands of the Congress leaders. Batches of League students went about explaining why League candidates should be supported while Hindu boys masquerading as Muslims were slandering the League and Mr. Jinnah. No one even cared to explain who these Nationalist Muslim leaders are and for what they stand politically.

### Khaliquzzaman's Speech

From noon it became evident that the Leaguers were going to sweep the polls. Then started a spate of wild rumour-mongering. Nationalist Muslim canvassers started shouting, "The Aga Khan calls on the Leaguers to join with the Congress; Kazmi (Nationalist Muslim) has beaten Nawabzada (Liaqat Ali Khan); Jinnah has been defeated by Lalji (in Bombay) by 217 votes." The Leaguers in return began shouting, "Nationalist Muslims have pulled off their camps and run away!"

As wave after wave of Muslim voters came to the polling booths and voted for the League, the Hindu student-volunteers in the Nationalist Muslim camp got so thoroughly demoralised that they either just went home deserting the camp or began to look about the Polling Booth disgusted and bewildered at their experience, for which they had certainly not been prepared.

As the day wore on, in such an atmosphere tempers began to get frayed; even in the morning a few fracas had occurred in a number of towns. But towards the evening, even uglier incidents took place. Luckily however, saner counsels prevailed and serious developments were prevented.

When the polling hour ended, the League leaders almost everywhere addressed hundreds of League workers and supporters who had collected at each polling booth. Almost similar speeches were made everywhere. Khaliqu-

## PUNJAB ELECTIONS

(Continued from pages 5-7)

his speech: "I ask you to vote for the Congress candidate. After that I leave it to you—you may even choose Akalis if you want. I have to fulfill my duty by expressing my views in favour of the Congress candidate, otherwise people will charge me for not working for the Congress candidate."

And the most scandalous instance was that a District Congress Committee member, Sardar Bassant Singh Kukar Pind, actually worked as a polling agent for the Akali candidate!

On the contrary, the Communists worked untiringly for the Congress candidates. From Tehsil Jullundur out of a total 357 voters for the Central Assembly, the Communists brought 100 voters to the polling booth. In villages like Nikodar and Phalor the majority of votes for the Congress candidate were mobilised by us. From village Jandiala Communists JAGJIT SINGH and SHER SINGH brought a batch of 17 voters out of a total of 23.

In Okara, local Congress leaders sent no lorries for voters in outlying villages. In the end the Communists hired a lorry themselves and brought voters on their own to vote for Sant Singh—but it was too late and many votes were thus shamelessly lost.

Local Congressmen were impressed by our work. Typical

was the remark of a Congress worker who said:

"In spite of the fact that the Communists are to-day out of the Congress they are working to strengthen it."

What has happened in this election is merely a dress-rehearsal of what is to come in the Provincial elections. What began inside Congress as anti-Communism has to-day become a free fight of each group against the rest.

The Pro-Unionist group (which is also the most virulently anti-Communist) is openly carrying on its efforts to tie up the Congress with the Unionists and the Akalis—any honest Congress worker can see for himself how they have been sabotaging the present Congress election fight against the Akalis to strengthen their own hands.

If Pandit Nehru states even now categorically that there cannot be any question of the Congress allying with the Unionists or their Akali henchmen, he will be able to prevent further weakening of the Congress. Unless he does this, those Congressmen who dream of a Congress-Akali-Unionist coalition in their mad hatred of the League will again do what they have done during this election: sabotage the success of Congress candidates and indirectly help its enemies.

(November 25).

- CRISIS IN U.S. 'CHINA' POLICY
- SCARE ABOUT IRAN - WHAT NEXT?
- STEP FORWARD IN GREECE

LAST week Major-General Patrick Hurley, U.S. Ambassador in China, resigned in protest against the present policy of the U.S. Government.

In his statement announcing his resignation, Hurley has bitterly attacked U.S. policy, "for using all our (U.S.) reputation to undermine Democracy and bolster Imperialism and Communism," and warned of a danger of a third World War.

Hurley's statement has been welcomed by many nationalist newspapers in our country because it combines its attack on Communism with an attack on "Colonial Imperialism," and expresses adherence to the ideals of "Democracy and Free Enterprise."

Yet his "criticism of America's foreign policy" has been welcomed in the U.S. only "by inveterate isolationists" while democratic circles have criticised him. (Reuter, November 28).

The fact is that Hurley's democratic mask only conceals advocacy of the most reactionary policy of all—full-scale armed intervention by the U.S. to back the reactionary Kuomintang (KMT) and smash the Communists and the democratic movement. He himself belongs to the right-wing of the Republican Party, the authentic spokesman of American Imperialism whose leader is the arch Soviet-baiter, Herbert Hoover. Hurley was War Secretary during Hoover's term as President in 1928-1932.

### Unprepared For Total War

Hurley's resignation marks a crisis in U.S. policy in China. Ever since the Japanese surrender, the Truman administration has been giving arms to the Kuomintang armies and transporting troops to northern China, expecting this would enable Chiang to wipe out the Communists.

But this has not happened. While superior weight of arms has enabled Chiang's troops to occupy some of the large cities, in the countryside the Communist-led armies remain impregnable; the change, in fact, since the Japanese surrender, has been that Jap occupation of the main cities has been exchanged for KMT occupation.

But what was good enough for the Japs when waging a large-scale and long-term global war can clearly not be good enough for the KMT and their sponsors, the U.S., who are not prepared for a long war but want a quick clean up of the Communists.

The KMT has failed to do this; and the U.S. is now faced with the choice either of full-scale intervention or of making an attempt to bring about peace. This is why last week, according to the Washington Correspondent of the London Times,

"General Wedemeyer (U.S. Army Chief in China) has insisted that unless that country (the U.S.) is prepared to announce a firm policy in support of Chiang Kai-shek and to maintain forces adequate to carry it out, it should promptly withdraw with the likelihood that the Nationalist Government would be driven from Manchuria and perhaps from most of North China." (Dec. 3).

This itself is a clear admission that Chiang's control of certain towns in the north exists today only because of U.S. armed support and also that unless this armed support is transformed into full-scale intervention, the present stalemate in North China will continue.

### Issue Not Decided

The resignation of Hurley is of one "who believes in vigorous action in support of General Chiang" (London Times, Dec. 3), i.e. who wanted full-scale U.S. intervention against the Chinese Communists and democratic arenas.

This is why the Soviet paper, Pravda, denounced Hurley as "the

mouthpiece of imperialistic elements in the United States who are seeking to establish undivided U.S. domination in Asia and other parts of the world" and characterised his resignation as "an original manoeuvre of the most impetuous and imperialistic circles who under the cover of criticism of professional diplomats not only defend imperialist policy but also try to press it upon the leadership of the United States."

Hurley's resignation marks the rejection of the policy of all-out intervention on the side of the Kuomintang; democratic protests in the U.S. plus the amazing strength of the Communist-led armies and areas has led to this rejection and General Marshall, newly-appointed U.S. Ambassador in China, is likely to make a fresh attempt to stop the Civil War.

But today the war in China continues, U.S. troops fight side by side with KMT troops and though Hurley's resignation is a set-back for U.S. reaction, it still remains strong and the issue of war and peace, U.S. domination or a free democratic and united China, is yet to be finally decided.

### Iran Government Retreats

THE Iran Government is finding that it has gone too far in its anti-Sovietism. The scare began with reports of insurgents marching on Teheran.

Then came appeals to the British and the U.S. Governments—with the expectation that at least full diplomatic support would be given.

But the U.S. merely inquired of Moscow what was happening in North Iran, while the British feebly wrote that the Soviet action in refusing passage to Iran troops to crush the people "must be due to some misunderstanding."

Further, according to a Reuter message of November 26, "the American authorities have discounted the implications in the statements of the Persian Ambassador that the U.S. would take vigorous diplomatic action if the Russians were interfering with Persian contingents sent north from Teheran." (November 26).

Clearly enough neither Britain nor the U.S. felt themselves on strong enough ground to undertake open intervention on the side of Iranian reaction.

At the same time the Soviet rejected the protest of the Iranian Government, explaining that further entry of Iranian troops would only lead to "fighting and bloodshed" which the Soviet as occupying authority, did not want.

The same day came the news that "there is no large-scale march on Teheran" (Reuter, Dec. 2)—i.e. showing that the stories of "insurgents" marching which Reuter itself originally put out, were mere

## British Communists Demand

# INDIA'S FULL FREEDOM

## Constituent Assembly With Adult Franchise Cripps-Attlee-Wavell Offers No Good

(We give here the full text of the resolution on India that was carried unanimously by the Eighteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, held in London from November 25 to 27, 1945. Full account of the proceedings of the Congress will appear in our next week's issue.—Editor.)

The resolution reads as follows:

THE new world situation brought about by the military defeat of German and Japanese fascist-imperialism, in the attainment of which the Indian peoples played a vital part, opens up new perspectives and new possibilities for the Indian peoples.

The newly-elected Labour Government in this country is now faced with fresh opportunities and responsibilities to fulfil its pledges to negotiate the settlement of India's future on the basis of the recognition of India's right to freedom.

This Congress expresses dissatisfaction with the proposals made by Mr. Attlee on behalf of the Labour Government on September 19, 1945, because they do not constitute a decisive step towards such a settlement. Congress declares that it is necessary to break entirely with the policies for India inherited from previous Governments, and in particular to abandon as a basis for negotiations the "Cripps" offer of 1942.

### For Sovereign Constituent Assembly

An essential condition for giving practical effect to Labour's desire to give Indians the right to frame their own democratic constitution lies in the calling of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise.

Unlike the "constitution-making body" proposed by the British Government, the Constituent Assembly must be created by direct election and not through the existing Provincial Assemblies, and it must include democratically elected representatives from the Indian States and not nominees of the Princes.

Such a Constituent Assembly, being truly representative of the Indian peoples would not only make a prac-

tical reality of Indian independence but would ensure that the full fruits of that independence would be enjoyed by the working masses of India and not solely by the privileged vested interests.

The Constituent Assembly must, of course, be a sovereign body whose decisions would be unchallengeable by any other authority.

To make possible the calling together of such Constituent Assembly Congress urges the Labour Government to arrange immediately for the preparation of electoral lists based on adult franchise for the whole of India, to release without delay all political prisoners, and to withdraw all bans and orders restricting freedom of movement, speech and association.

### For Interim National Government

To deal with the immediate and urgent social and economic problems which are now causing tremendous distress in India, Congress urges that interim representative governments be established in the Provinces to function until the results of the Provincial elections are known; and that immediately after the Central Assembly elections, a responsible Government at the Centre, composed of representatives of the leading political parties and minorities, be set up.

Independence for India will mean India taking her place alongside all those other countries throughout the world which are advancing along the road to freedom and democracy. A subject India will make impossible the achievement of lasting peace, prosperity and happiness in the world. It is in the interests of all people, and of the British people in particular, that India should become a free and sovereign country.

The Communist Party pledges itself to do all in its power to ensure the carrying out of this policy.

# NEW FRANCE SUPPORTS INDIA

Says French Communist Leader



Marcel Cachin

fabrications.

The Iranian Government has now addressed a 'conciliatory' note—and till now, is standing up to the demands of the worst reactionaries supported by the Shah and led by Syed Ziaed-din, leader of the Party of the National Will and former British agent, for more vigorous anti-Soviet action. It has also removed from office the bitterly anti-Soviet Mayor of Teheran who was principally responsible for the repression against the trade union movement and democratic elements.

The situation in Iran is therefore improving—but the issues will only be settled if the present government makes a clean break with the past pro-imperialist policies and takes the road of democracy in internal affairs and friendship with the Soviet in its foreign policy.

### Changes in Greece

THE visit to Greece of Hector McNeil, Bevin's Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has resulted in the resignation of the old pro-royalist government of the reactionary right and the formation of a government of the moderate centre.

The new Government includes honest democratic elements like John Sofianopoulos (Foreign Minister) who three months ago sharply attacked the British Government's policy of armed support for Greek Royalist reaction and who is known to be on friendly terms with the EAM, Greece's National Liberation Front. According to the London Correspondent of *The Statesman*, "the EAM has pledged its support" to the Government. (Nov. 29).

The Government has already included two important points in its programme; first early elections in March 1946 and secondly, postponement of the plebiscite on the monarchy to March 1948. This will mean a big blow to the Royalists who were hoping to win power by engineering a vote for the return of the King through propaganda that British economic help would be available only if the King was in power!

The direct intervention of the British Government has led to this change. Under the former pro-Royalist Government, Greece was heading rapidly towards economic chaos where the big monopolist-hoarder was the boss; and simultaneously the EAM through two mighty demonstrations at Athens during the last two months showed that it had retained and even increased its influence over the people.

Bevin was faced with the prospect of a large-scale democratic revolt (EAM and Communist leaders in mid-November warned him of this) and thus was compelled to reverse British policy of using armed force to keep the Monarchists in power.

### Bevin's Hopes

He now hopes that full economic assistance to this Centrist Government will consolidate this element and prevent Greece going left and into the hands of the EAM.

The Royalists are naturally angry—King George has protested bitterly, Churchill has backed his protest. But this means little and the new Greek Government has shown its progressive stand by welcoming the appointment by the Soviet of Admiral Rodionov as its Ambassador.

The change in Greece is therefore a change for the better. Restoration of Greece's economy, purge of reactionary pro-fascist elements, free elections—to all of which the new Government is pledged—can only lead to a revival of democratic life; it must also lead to the strengthening of the EAM and the Communists, whom the most bitter armed Royalist terror failed to destroy and who in these favourable conditions are bound to grow.

December 4.

We give below the message sent to us from Marcel Cachin, veteran French Communist leader, only Communist Senator in pre-war France, one of the founders of the French Communist Party. He remained among his people throughout the German occupation, helping the resistance movement to overthrow the Nazi yoke. He was closely associated with the editing and managing of *L'Humanite*, the central organ of the Communist Party since it was launched, and is its director today, when it has become France's biggest national daily.—Editor.

### MESSAGE TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

DEAR COMRADES, Every honest man in the world follows with increasing interest your courageous struggle for the independence of your Fatherland. We Communists of France consider it our bounden duty to proclaim our complete solidarity with our brothers in India and with all the other nations oppressed by Imperialism.

During the last four years, the Communists of France have fought to overcome Fascism and Nazism. They fought to repulse the invaders who were determined to enslave them. Many gave their lives to ensure the triumph of democracy and the independence of the peoples.

Today, we have regained our liberty. But we do not forget that in the great Continent of Asia, big nations still remain enslaved. And the wonder of it is that the oppressors dare to pose as upholders of democracy!

We Communists hold that democracy is not an empty word. Democracy must be for all men a living reality.

We cannot tolerate that democracy should be a privilege for a few nations who deny it to others. We Communists demand complete freedom for all the peoples of the earth.

We stand by your side and claim for every nation the right to self-government. The people of France desire a life of freedom, but they also desire that their Government shall recognise the right of all peoples to be free.

They wish to live in peace and friendship with the peoples of Asia and of Africa. We pledge to you our help in your heroic struggle.

We shall aid our brothers of India, of Indo-China and of China to fight against Imperialism and for the introduction of democracy in the institutions of modern civilisation.

—MARCEL CACHIN.

### PEOPLES AGE

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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# Strength Of Communist Parties

During the last two months, elections have taken place all over Europe. And the results are instructive for in almost every country the Communists—formerly small revolutionary sects, waging bitter underground battles—have emerged as major parties of their peoples.

**G**REATEST achievement of all is that of the **FRENCH Communist Party**; in 1939 it was declared illegal by the Daladier Government—they said that the Communists were agents of Moscow, just as many Congressmen abuse Indian Communists to-day! Its property and press were confiscated, its leading cadres were forced to go underground.

## Norway, Denmark

In **NORWAY** and **DENMARK** too, the Communists have made great headway. Here too the Socialists did their best by slander to eliminate the Communists completely and here again they failed.

In the previous parliaments, the Communists had no seats at all in either country. Here is the position after last month's elections.

	1943	1945
Denmark		
Socialists	66	46
Communists	—	18
Land Tax	2	3
Agrarians	28	38
Conservatives	31	28
Liberals	13	11

There was a very heavy poll, 85 per cent voted, and the Danish Communists for the first time in their history emerge as a major party in their parliament. So also in Norway.

	Votes	P.C. of Total votes	Seats
Norway			
Socialists	594,000	41	75 (70)
Communists	171,866	12	10 (0)
Conservatives	248,000	17	24 (36)
Liberals	301,000	14	20 (23)
Agrarians	119,990	8	10 (18)
Christian Democrats	106,000	7	8 (2)

(The numbers in brackets represent the seats won in the 1936 elections).

And in Norway the age-limit for voting was 23—the Communists were considerably handicapped as like everywhere else they were the party of the youth, but in spite of that they did well—and would have done better if the distribution of seats had not been unfair; the Liberals, for instance, with only 20 per cent more votes than the Communists, got 100 per cent more seats!

## Hungary, Czechoslovakia

In **HUNGARY** too—the Communists had fought on from underground for the last twenty years—the bitterest 'white' terror was directed at them by Admiral Horthy; the Manchester Guardian wrote of Rakosi, the Communist leader, as one who "under Horthy's rule was a permanent in-mate of various prisons" (Aug. 1).

But here also the Communists have emerged as a major party; the Smallholders, the biggest single party which has a mixed following mainly of rich and middle peasants (the comment in P.W. of November 18 that the Smallholders was the party of the middle and small peasants was wrong) and a leadership that includes some very reactionary figures won 242 seats, the Communists 70 seats and the Socialists 69 seats.

In **CZECHOSLOVAKIA**, national elections have not been held. But in elected towards the Communists while the leadership flirts with de Gaulle and the MRP.

**1945**  
 Communists ... 474  
 President Benes' Socialist Party ... 472  
 Social-democrats ... 186  
 Catholics ... 182  
 The Agrarians, the party of reaction, that paved the way for Munich by threatening to launch a civil war if Benes resisted Hitler with Soviet help alone, have been wiped out. The Communists, from a minor though sizeable party, have become the first party and that this influence is being translated into practice is already seen in the speed with which the main industries have been nationalised. (See story on page 11).

## Yugoslavia

In **YUGOSLAVIA** and **BULGARIA**, of course, the swing away from reaction has been most decisive. No figures have come through of the actual results of the Yugoslav elections, but The Statesman (no pro-Communist paper!) headlined its London Correspondent's dispatch thus:

**"BIGGEST ELECTORATE EVER GIVES TITO CLEAR HONEST VICTORY."**

The American Associated Press reports that over 98 per cent of the total electorate voted (and this was three times as big an electorate as had ever voted before in Yugoslavia, there being no property qualifications and women being given the vote), and The Statesman correspondent summed it up:

"There was never any doubt about which side would win the Yugoslav elections last week-end."

There was not any doubt to day. But the fruits of victory came to Tito only after fifteen years hard dogged underground work, during which he was hunted by the biggest and

cleverest police bosses of the semi-fascist Yugoslav State.

"The Communists themselves" wrote even the Tory London Times in October, "enjoy a prestige which no Yugoslav Party have ever known before"—this is the Yugoslav Communist Party today while its enemies who wanted to destroy it, languish in exile, trying to work up the sympathy of foreign nobility and reaction.

## Bulgaria

So also in **BULGARIA** where the Communists bore the main fire of fascist repression for twenty long years. Here too the electorate was larger than ever before—4,504,735; 3,863,482 voted out of whom 3,407,385 cast their votes for the Fatherland Front, the joint patriotic coalition of all the democratic parties. Thus, 86.2 per cent of the total electorate came to the polls; 75.8 per cent of the total electorate voted for the Fatherland Front.

The Communists have 98 seats—the same number as the Agrarians; the Zveno Party (which developed from a League of democratically-minded military officers) has 48 seats, the Social-democrats 31 seats and the small Radical-democratic Party won 11 seats.

Of course, as in Yugoslavia, opposition parties composed of the right wings of the Agrarian and Social Democrats as well as the Democratic League, the Party of the ex-fascists, are contesting the validity of these results, "but as even Reuter drily comments:

"In view of the fact that the opposition refused to be represented in Electorate Commissions supervising the polls, these objections will be difficult to substantiate and it is not expected that Government will admit the need for further investigation." (Nov. 29).

In **AUSTRIA**, the full results have not appeared yet; but the Communists, according to the Reuter report in The Times of India, have fared much

worse than in the other countries, winning only three seats to the Socialists 72 and the Catholic People's Party's 80. Austria has traditionally been the stronghold of the Socialists—and it appears that the strongly Catholic population of the Tyrol has remained untouched by the rising working-class movement.

Of course, it is also worth noting that another of Reuter's bogies has been laid low; how often have we been told of the Soviet having "swallowed" Eastern Europe and imposing its rule through the local Communists? Yet the Communists have done best in France—which has not seen a Soviet battalion while they have done worst in Austria where one zone was occupied by the Red Army.

It is clear that what even The Statesman (November 12) wrote about the Hungarian elections, is true for elections in all Soviet-occupied Europe.

"In general the elections" it wrote, "seem to have been genuine and reassuringly free."

Yes, they were—just because the Communists who lead the Soviet Government know that Communism cannot be exported to any country, can only grow inside that country, among its people.

## Lesson For All

All in all, Europe's elections are a good lesson to anti-Communists and Communists the world over—including our own country.

Our brother-parties that have done so well, fought under legal and illegal conditions, the foulest slanders and the bitterest terror, have now emerged unscathed, stronger, tested and steeled, with closer links with their own people than ever before.

Their enemies of reaction who did the slandering and the murdering have been rejected by the people, have sunk into the background.

Yes—a good lesson for our anti-Communists; slander and terror can't break Communist Parties; for the more we are abused, the harder we cling to and work for our mother, the people, and "the people are immortal" (Stalin).

## In France

But they failed—after all it was not so easy to wipe out the memory of the 75,000 lives laid down in France's cause. Here is the voting and seats won, party, by party (figures taken from the London Times of October 25):

	Votes	Seats	Last Ections. (1936) (Seats)
Communists and allies	5,604,121	152	72
Socialists and allies	4,686,940	142	146
Popular Republicans (MRP, de Gaulle's Party)	4,544,222	142	—
Radicals (the party that banned the Communists in 1929)	1,115,302	25	116
Reactionary groups (Including MRP)	3,619,960	58	237

Three significant conclusions can be drawn.

(1) The French Communists are the largest single party, cannot be wiped out by any slanders, from however highly-placed a person.

(2) The MRP became the rallying centre for all clerical and reactionary forces, those who favour intervention in Indo-China, fringes in Syria and the rest.

(3) The battle between progress and reaction will be fought out mainly between these two parties—with the Socialists playing a vacillating role; the rank-and-file are inclined towards the Communists while the leadership flirts with de Gaulle and the MRP.



Around the World



# IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY FOR INDONESIAN OIL

## "Bombay Chronicle" On Iran

UR imperialist rulers nowadays are full of explanations about why they are intervening in Indonesia and Indo-China. It is because of "their responsibilities to their allies"—or because they have to "disarm the Japanese armies" and so on.

Just lately, however, some facts have come my way which show how unscrupulous and blatantly dishonest they are.

The truth is that the British planned intervention against the Indonesian people, consciously and with 'fore-sight'.

Ten thousand Dutch prisoners-of-war were in Siam at the time of surrender; by October beginning, 2,500 of these had already been trained for jungle warfare by British instructors and armed with the most modern weapons—and other batches were to follow!

In fact, behind the scenes, our alien rulers have played a pretty dirty game—and this is not very surprising considering their very direct interest in Indonesia.

## British-Dutch Shell

The big British oil monopoly, Shell, is closely linked with Royal Dutch Shell—in fact, it is very difficult to disentangle them and a large part of Royal Dutch Shell's oil resources are in Indonesia—which is fifth in the list of oil-producing countries, in 1940 produced 70 lakh tons of oil.

In 1942 these oil-fields passed into Jap hands. But the British did not forget their Dutch friends. They planned their reconquest—steadily—and last July, Viscount Beatty, Chairman of the British 'Shell' Transport and Trading Co. revealed this in a report circulated to shareholders of the company before the annual general meeting of July 10.

Referring to the oil fields of Indonesia, he said:

"These great fields are still in Japanese hands, with the exception of the Island of Tarakan where a successful Allied landing was recently made and where we believe, at any rate, some of the group's properties have been liberated (1). We are all ready with our plans for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the group's properties as soon as the necessary equipment and materials become available."

Clear enough—obviously British (and to our shame, Indian) troops are doing some 'liberation' work of the kind Viscount Beatty likes, and 'reconstruction' and 'rehabilitation' are surely going ahead!

## Tory Mouthpiece

LAST week we gave the story behind the big rumpus being created by Reuter and the BBC (and this week, of course, by the U.S. and British Governments also) about Iran. It was suspicious enough that the murderers of Indonesia and the enslavers of India should become so worried about the 'independence' of the Iranian people.

Even the left-liberal New Statesman and Nation saw through Reuter's lies and wrote:

"Reports of alleged revolts in Azerbaijan and of assistance which the rebels are supposed to be receiving from the Russians should be regarded with extreme caution."

"Dissatisfaction with the corrupt right-wing oligarchy which rules from Teheran is undoubtedly widespread, especially among national minorities, who are demanding local autonomy, not a fusion with the U.S.S.R."

"There are good grounds for believing that many recent incidents have been deliberately provoked by right parties and Government

agents, who have not hesitated to carry their attacks on the progressive Tudeh Party into the Russian Zone."

But not so our very nationalist Bombay Chronicle, which on the 20th November itself (the day the news came) launched a terrific anti-Soviet broadside.

"News is most alarming," "alarming feature of the present revolt is not merely that it is separatist so far as the northern part of Iran is concerned but the object of the insurgents is to get control of the entire country"; (actually so fevered had the Chronicle's anti-Sovietism become that this last fact is a product of its own imagination!)

And most ridiculous of all is the rabid blindness of the editorial writer (whoever he is)—for he also refers scathingly to a "Committee of Exiles" in Teheran as having a "Hitlerian touch" because in its manifesto it has complained of "oppression by foreigners and lack of security." This "Committee of Exiles," the writer suggests, is a mere stooge, a sort of fifth column of the Soviet.

The fact is that this "Committee" is in Teheran, NOT in Tebriz; its reference to "oppression by foreigners" is a directly anti-Soviet insinuation; its complaint about "lack of security in Northern Persia" is also anti-Soviet—butresses the Persian Government's case against the Soviet that lawlessness reigns in Northern Iran which the Soviet will not allow the Persian Government to quell!

## Blind Anti-Sovietism

The whole manifesto, in fact, is designed to back the actions of the Iranian Government and to work up anti-Soviet feeling; it has probably been framed by a group of reactionaries who fled from Northern Iran at the time of the Soviet entry in 1941!

But so blindly and fanatically anti-Soviet was the Chronicle's writer, that he did not care even to read carefully his guru, Reuter's dispatch—but instead read into it just what suited his own viciously anti-Soviet theories!

—Mohan Kumaramangalam

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## In Czecho-Slovakia

# SWEEPING NATIONALISATION OF INDUSTRIES

## People's Democracy At Work

By Air (delayed).

PRAGUE, Nov. 5.

DECREES of far-reaching and historic importance were signed here last week by the President of the Republic, Dr. Benes. What other countries try to achieve, step by step, Czechoslovakia accomplished in one sweep.

The five decrees provide for the nationalisation of

- (1) the mines and industrial works;
- (2) the insurance companies;
- (3) all banks;
- (4) the food industry; and
- (5) for the formation of factory and works committees.

Nationalisation affects industrial institutions as follows:

1. All coal mines and branches of the mining industry.
2. All power stations, electricity, gas and steam plants.
3. Iron, steel and other metal works employing over 400 workers.
4. Electro-technical factories and works, fine mechanical instruments.
5. All armament factories.
6. Most of the chemical institutions.

Light industries are also to be nationalised if they employ more than a certain number of workers. Thus, for example, in the textile industry cotton mills with over 400 workers, weaving mills with over 500 workers; and clothing factories with over 500 workers are all to be nationalised. So are brick works, paper mills, saw mills, glass works and a number of others which have more than a certain figure of workers or output.

### Criteria

In order to decide whether a factory is to be nationalised, the average number of workers employed over a certain period is estimated. For instance, in the case of the pottery industry, those factories which employed an average of over 150 workers from January 1, 1938, to January 1, 1940, are now under the nationalisation scheme.

In the food industries output is sometimes to be taken as a criterion of nationalisation instead of number of workers. Sugar refining, brewing, and artificial fats are among the industries covered.

Compensation will be paid to the pre-occupation owners, not to the holder at the end of the German occupation. Germans and

Hungarians, as well as the German and Hungarian States and German and Hungarian societies, will get no compensation, neither will Czechs and Slovaks who were traitors or collaborators.

This means that other Czechs and Slovaks and foreigners of allied nationality will be paid compensation. Compensation will be given either in cash, in state bonds, or in other bonds. A special fund has been created for the purpose of compensation.

These decrees effectively put an end to private ownership of big industry, and also German and Hungarian control over Czech economic life. Big industry from now on will belong to the people. Initiative and enterprise will however be encouraged.

The various institutions will be to a large extent independent. They will be run by elected committees of workers and experts under State supervision, but the State will not guarantee their obligations apart from obligations to the Soviet Union.

### Public Acclamation

Czechoslovakia is the only country to have tackled nationalisation on such a large scale.

On the day the decrees were made public all work stopped in offices and shops, factories and works, where special meetings were held to discuss the event.

In 120 places there were public gatherings. The biggest was in Prague where the people assembled in the centre of the town. The historic St. Wenceslas Square was crowded with several thousands of people. They filled the windows, they looked down from the roofs and even from the trees that line the pavement.

All traffic, of course, was held up. Hundreds of placards and banners were enthusiastically displayed bearing inscriptions such as

"No people's democracy without nationalisation of the banks."

"We will work for ourselves and not for the shareholders."

"The people work, the people decide."

"We overthrew the old production order and so increase the output."

The enthusiasm of the people knew no bounds.

When the President of the Republic Dr. Benes, made his appearance, hats were thrown in the air and the cheering was loud and prolonged.

Speakers at the demonstration included the Prime Minister, Fierlinger; the chairman of the Communist Party, Gottwald; the President of the Republic, Dr. Benes; several Ministers and the Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions. It was a demonstration of triumph and rejoicing.

### For More Output

At the same time, the people of Czechoslovakia realise that they have to overcome technical problems and difficulties imposed on them by the Czechoslovaks deprived of their economic position and also of some big capitalists abroad, who hope that the new system in Czechoslovakia will not meet with success and so will not prove an attractive example to others.

In the mines competition has already started as to who should have the most coal. The names of miners who reach a certain standard are printed in the daily papers and they are to be called heroes of work.

The trade unions also suggested that the Sunday following the demonstrations should be declared a working day in order to make good the hours lost. This suggestion has been generally accepted.

## Introduction To Marxism

[The first five of a new series at cheap prices explaining in very simple language the principles and practice of Marxism in present world conditions. They supplement the classics of our Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin series which deal with the fundamentals of Marxism by their four founders and builders of the World Communist movement. Full list made available on request.]

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Pandit Nehru and many others here and abroad criticize the Communists as people getting their inspiration from Moscow, as people who subordinate Nationalism to internationalism. Baltitsky brilliantly shows how untrue this is, how Communists are the best patriots, how true nationalism and internationalism can never come into conflict.

Is there freedom of press in the Soviet Union? Baltitsky explains with the help of telling facts how the freedom enjoyed by the press in the Soviet is more real than that enjoyed by the United States, press, for instance.

( See Cols. 1 & 2 Below )

## British Communist Leader Calls For Campaign

# IMMEDIATE FREEDOM TO COLONIES

## Press Labour Govt. For New Big 3 Talks

By wire from Michael Carrith.

London, Nov. 30, '45.

Calling for an immediate halt and reversal of the Labour Government's policies of lining up with American reaction against the Soviet Union and of continuing the enslavement of subject peoples inside the Empire, Harry Pollitt, British Communist leader, in a speech in London on November 30, declared:

ALL peace-loving peoples and nations have heard regretfully the statement of President Truman that in his opinion there is no further need for any meeting between Britain, America and the Soviet Union to consider urgent problems that are beginning to arise on fundamental issues concerning the possibility of a lasting peace. Nobody dare deny that if there had not been the closest unity and consultation of common policy carried out by Britain, America and the Soviet Union during the military struggle against Fascism, victory could not have been won. Neither is it possible to deny that unless unity now is strengthened and not weakened, there is no possibility of winning peace and ensuring that never again does war break out.

### Stick To Potsdam

The people need to grasp what is implied in any attempt to revise the decisions of the Potsdam Conference. We wonder what Truman would have said if such a proposal violating solemn international agreement came from the Soviet Union. It is time also for America to understand that when we sign agreements, we do not intend violating them. The policy enunciated by Truman could only result in the restoration

of German economic power and monopoly capitalism with all potentialities of future wars—as the Kilgore Report (report of Senate Committee of the U.S. on cartels) made it plain—and preservation of the main structure of Japanese Imperialism as a lever against the rising movements of the colonial peoples of the Far East.

### Three Factors

Truman's viewpoint is connected with three factors of the international situation. FIRST, the pressure of reactionary sections directed towards securing repudiation of American policy after the last war, when it destroyed the possibility of the League of Nations becoming a real world-security organisation.

SECONDLY, the foreign policy of the British Government representing a continuation of the foreign policy of the Tory Party, as witnessed by the absence of a single word of criticism of this policy in the recent speech of Winston Churchill, prompts reaction in America to hope that they can secure allies in their efforts to revise the Potsdam Decisions.

THIRDLY, the persistent propaganda for a Western Bloc, ultimately directed against America as well as for destroying the whole basis for maintaining collective security and peace.

The initiative for securing the restoration of unity between Britain, America and the Soviet Union must now come from the British. They have to exert such pressure on the Labour Government that it must be compelled to reverse the present reactionary foreign policy, and turned towards the New Europe and the Soviet Union for development of closest possible relations.

At the same time the British Government should give immediate freedom to the colonial peoples whom British imperialism holds subjected.

The world has paid a heavy price for six years of war for the past imperialist policies of isolating the Soviet Union. There is a danger of paying a heavier price if a belt is not called to the diplomacy of Britain and America having this same object as the chief line of foreign policy.

The world paid a heavy price for the policy after the last war of helping to restore German economy and militarism, hoping that it would be an instrument through which the Soviet Union would be destroyed. The peace of the world depends on the continuation of unity between Britain, America and the Soviet Union.

### For Attlee-Stalin Talks

The Labour Government should be bombarded inside and outside Parliament with demands that it should take the initiative in calling for an immediate meeting of the Big Three, and if refused by Truman, for an immediate meeting between Attlee and Stalin.

## Introduction To Marxism

( See Above, Cols. 4, 5 )

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In the struggle against Fascism, grew up a new unity and understanding between peoples and the Marxist approach to the problem—recognition of the equality of nationalities and their right of self-determination—is now leading to the solution of this vexed question in the new progressive democracies.

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# In The Stronghold of German Militarism

## JUNKER LANDLORDISM ENDED

### Big Estates Divided Among Millions Of Peasants

WITH the banner slogan, "All Junkers' Land to Peasant hands"—the breaking up of the huge landed estates east of the River Elbe has begun.

OSTELBIEN (East Elbia) is the traditional home of the big (Prussian) Junker landlords, the militarist caste that officered the German Imperial Army since the days of Frederick the Great in the eighteenth century.

In 1919, when the Versailles Treaty reduced the number of officers in the German Army to 4,000, sixty per cent of these (i.e. 2,400) came from these major and mighty Junker families—from a population group of no more than 13,000 men, women and children.

#### Landlords And Serfs Before

So great was the disparity in ownership that 3,000 Junker families owned as much land as twenty lakh poor peasants; one-third of the total agricultural land in Eastern Germany was in the hands of the landlords possessing over 250 acres.

Most wretched of all was the condition of the agricultural labourers, tied down to work on the huge landed estates; from birth to death, they remained on their masters' land, steeped in ignorance, brutal, oppressed. The only occasion on which they saw the outside world was when they served their term in the army and the rabidly militarist spirit of the army only further brutalised them.

Thus Ostelbien was the stronghold of reaction. In the elections, parties other than the Conservative till 1927 and the Nazis after that, i.e. the party of the Junkers, were not allowed to hold meetings, the agricultural worker came to the polling booth, voted as his lord and master had told him and went back to slave on the estate. The agricultural areas east of the Elbe always showed a big majority for the reactionary parties.

Under the Weimar Republic and under Hitler's aegis these men grew stronger; between the two wars, "land reform" took place in reverse, over thirty lakh acres belonging to small peasants were expropriated by the Junkers and the hundreds of thousands of families involved turned into agricultural labourers.

The speed of this expropriation of the small peasant was greatest under Hitler—the peasants who had been demagogically told that they were "the eternal saviours of the nation's blood" lost their lands at nearly twice the speed as under the Weimar Republic.

#### Way Opens To Prosperous Peasantry

But now this era has ended; the Junkers are gone, the way has been opened to the destruction of their political and economic power, to the emergence of a democracy in eastern Germany. Early in September, decrees were signed by the Provincial Administrations of Brandenburg, West Pomerania, Mecklenburg and Thuringia (all in the Soviet zone of occupation), confiscating

(Continued from col. 5.)

for the purpose of joint cultivation of land and will do all it can to expand agricultural co-operatives of every kind. The law provides that co-operators may ask the State to allot their land not as to individuals, but as to co-operatives according to the number of members. Further, for war invalids and orphans, special settlements will be organised where land will be tilled in common.

So the last stage in the century-long struggle of the Balkan peasantry for land has been reached. The land is theirs. Beyond are new perspectives, new steps to a better life and prosperity. There is little doubt that the peasantry will find that this path to a better future lies through co-operation.

be endorsed by the appropriate County Committee. The composition of the Committees, including only the representatives of those who need land badly, ensures that richer peasants cannot use their superior knowledge and education to hoodwink the poor peasant or labourer and grab the land for themselves.

#### Basis Laid for Democracy

The basis of re-distribution is that new farms should be twelve and a half acres in case of good fertile arable land and up to twenty-five acres where the land is less fertile. The price of the land is the value of an average harvest of rye at the official price, and may be paid in money or kind over a period of ten or twenty years. The first payment, amounting to ten per cent of the price, must, however, be paid before the end of the year. The Committees were asked to complete the re-distribution by the end of October, so that it would not interfere with the root-crop harvest and the winter sowing.

As many farms have been depleted of live-stock and machinery, the peasants have been asked to form Mutual Aid Commit-

From Our Correspondent

the whole landed property, including live-stock, of war criminals, leading Nazis and estate-owners with more than 250 acres.

The property of churches, schools, hospitals, co-operatives, municipalities and scientific institutions has been exempted. The confiscated land is to be surrendered to a land property fund which will re-distribute it to landless peasants, farm workers, tenants and small holders with less than twelve and a half acres. Refugees and those who have lost their land in the East with the loss of East Prussia will also be considered.

The actual distribution is to be by Parish (almost like Taluk) Land Reform Committees of five to seven members, elected by small peasants and agricultural labourers of the village. The Parish Committee's decisions must

## In Tito's New Yugoslavia

# PEASANTS' AGE-OLD DREAM FULFILLED

## Land To Those Who Till It

There is happiness to-day among the peasants of Yugoslavia. The terrible war is over. No longer will sons and fathers go off to the forests and mountains, no longer will brother murder brother. Age-old dreams are being satisfied, the land is being distributed to the poor and landless.

In pre-war Yugoslavia, an attempt at land reform was made. It proved abortive however, and only led to mass speculation and further impoverishment of the peasantry. In 1931, after the so-called reform, 3,37,429 peasant households had only 13,51,000 acres of land while 208 big estates had nearly ten lakh acres and those of land of the best quality.

THE manner in which land was distributed in Yugoslavia, is shown by the area about the ancient village of Zhuzhemberg in Slovenia. This village is now almost completely destroyed as a result of the bloody battles that raged here during the war. Even the old castle that was built by Duke Von Auresberg in the ninth century has been badly damaged.

Before the war about 300 people lived in Zhuzhemberg. 153 of them were killed in the partisan struggles. The largest land holding in the village was sixty acres. If this "rich" property were taken away the balance of the people had holdings of five to eight acres per family. But the present Count Von Auresberg owned 40,000 acres of crop lands in the vicinity and, with the forest, his estate exceeded 75,000 acres.

In nearby Stचना, the monastery owned forty per cent of the best land.

More Land: Peasants Demand

"What do you want from the new Government?" I asked one of the villagers. He had worked in America and saved some money and came home and bought an estate of 10 acres. "More land," he replied "25 acres of land."

Those about him nodded in agreement. Twenty-five acres seemed the limit of fortune to these people. "Where to get this land?" "From Auresberg and the monasteries," the villagers all

shouted. "We fought for land and we expect to get it."

Nor are the peasants waiting for the Government. They are taking land for themselves. In Vranic in Serbia, for example, the average holding is eight to ten acres per family. Two families only have more than fifty acres, and one of these had supported the occupying forces so the land had been confiscated with just enough left for the family to get along. The land is held in the National Land Fund and is being worked for the benefit of orphans left parentless by the wars.

In this village the damage done in just one night of terror from the Fascist forces, is estimated at about £75,000. We spoke to an elderly peasant. From 1932 to 1940, he, his wife and mother averaged three dinars a day (less than 3d.) They could not even afford shoes. "Life is ten times better now," he told us.

Another peasant said: "I have six acres for a family of five. From the new Government I want peace, order and equality for all citizens. Most important, I want land. Then five need no longer live on six acres. I want schools for my children. I do not want the king. He is responsible for the death of our children. The Fascists killed them in his name."

German Property Taken

In Nowy Sad, Vojvodina, the richest part of Yugoslavia, that had been occupied by the Hungarians, we spoke to Iovan Veseļin, Secretary of the National

## THESE GERMAN FEUDAL PRINCELINGS NO MORE

The Prussian Junker (big landlord) estates are being divided up in Germany. What this means is that the day of the biggest and most brutal feudal bosses of Europe has ended, a new era of democracy begun. Here are listed only a few of the big Junkers—with the area of land they owned before the war.

	ACRES
William II of Hohenzollern (the deposed Kaiser, who even when he lost his throne kept his land right through Hitler's days).	2,32,800
Prince Von Hohenlohe-Oehringen	1,03,440
Prince Von Hohenzollern-Siegmaringen	1,00,400
Prince Von Solmo-Baruth	88,880
Ernst Von Stolberg-Wernigerode	88,080
Duke of Ratibor	74,400
Duke of Anhalt-Dessau	70,320
Count Thiele-Winkler	69,120
Duke of Arenberg-Nordkirchen	66,720

A fine lot—whose names and fortunes make us think of our landed gentry, biggest allies of Imperialism. The German people aided by the Soviet have liquidated their parasites and oppressors, the Indian people must do the same—or there will be no prosperous peasantry, no food for all.

tees for the common use of modern agricultural equipment, which will be provided by the State. This also will ensure that the poor peasant or agricultural labourer will not be squeezed out by the richer peasant because of his inferior resources, lack of live-stock, machinery etc. Mutual-aid societies—i.e. co-operatives—and loan of agricultural machinery and implements will eliminate this possibility and give the poorest a chance to establish themselves properly on this newly-won land.

This land reform is a big change—biggest of all that has taken place in Germany after Hitler's downfall. By it, once the curse of the German people, the Junker landlord, militarists have now been crushed, and the way opened for a new resurgence in Germany—democratic and peaceful, not militarist and aggressive, of the people and not of the Junkers.

by Raymond Arthur Davis

of peasants after distribution of land will be registered by title deeds in their names.

Expropriation will not be entirely without compensation. Landowners whose lands are seized will receive payment of an amount equivalent to the value of one year's produce of their arable land.

The National Land Fund will also include lands confiscated from German Nationals, and enemies and also lands from the former Land Fund of the Yugoslav State.

Fair Distribution

Distribution will be effected in the following manner: First to receive land will be the landless or poor partisans or members of the National Liberation Army and Yugoslav Army. Then will follow invalids of both this and the last wars. Then families and orphans of the fallen victims of Fascism.

Land will be given in the first place in areas where the peasants live or in the federal unit to which they belong. The land in Vojvodina confiscated from the Germans will be used for the settlement of those fighters of the Yugoslav army who want to settle on the land.

However, these measures will not solve all the agrarian problems in Yugoslavia. Land holdings will be minute and insufficient to give a prosperous life to the peasantry. The country will be a country of small farming.

Agricultural Co-Operatives

The State proposes to raise the efficiency of agrarian output by helping farmers to change their crops from less productive to more saleable ones. Thus in Macedonia, cotton, tobacco and fruits will be encouraged. The State has already created an Agricultural Machinery Service which, through machine-tractor stations helps the peasants by renting out tractors, ploughs, and combines.

The State proposes to encourage groupings of several peasants

(Continued in col. 1.)

# Among Pathan Humanity

What I Saw And Heard

I HAVE JUST COME BACK TO LAHORE after spending two crowded days in Peshawar. As this was my first visit to the North-West Frontier Province, I was quite excited. I reached Peshawar on the morning of Nov. 20th at the same time as Mr. Jinnah's visit. In the train with me were quite a large number of League volunteers wearing dark-grey trousers and short hip-coats carrying green League banners. Alighting from the train and on my way to the Office of our Party, I met many such groups going towards the famous Qissakhani, the main street of Peshawar where firing took place in 1930. I was to stay in a building on this very street. The whole place wore a gala appearance and seemed to be crowded—MR. JINNAH had already arrived and his procession was to be taken out in the afternoon.

AS I SAT TALKING TO ABOUT THIRTY PARTY MEMBERS and sympathisers about our election policy, wild drum-beats and sounds of pipe-music became louder and louder until going on the balcony we could see that the vanguard of Qaid-e-Azam's procession was already passing through the main street below. Gates had been put up at distances of almost every fifty to hundred yards. Green foliage and beautiful dark red carpets covered these gates.

Camels and mounted men came first followed by batches of Pathan volunteers who had come from the various districts of the Frontier. Most of those who had come from the districts were Pathan peasants and many carried rifles and revolvers—a practice not unusual for the Frontier Pathans where the Arms Law is different from the rest of India. As the processionists were marching in two-line columns, it was a considerable time before the main procession arrived.

## Procession

A crowd of about five thousand wildly cheering people, the bulk of whom consisted of black-coated Muslim students surrounded the open car of Mr. Jinnah with whom were seated the Punjab League leaders MAMDOT and IFTIKHARUDDIN, and ABDUR-RAB NISHTAR, a League ex-Minister of the Frontier. From the balconies alongside the road and from the crowd standing along the route, flowers were being constantly showered on the leaders. When Mr. Jinnah's car reached the Martyr's Memorial in Qissakhani he stopped to place flowers at the Memorial and pay his homage to those who laid down their lives for the country's freedom in 1930. At last, I thought here was something on which all Frontier people, Leaguers, Congressmen and Khudai Khidmatgars were united.

But it was not quite so. For though the martyrs honoured were the same and even though their blood had been spilt for freedom of all, two separate memorials side by side have been built by those who survived them to carry forward the freedom struggle—there is a Congress memorial a couple of yards away from the League memorial—a witness to the National disunity which exists in our country today. The attendance in the League Conference which commenced about eight in the evening was about 30,000. Some estimated it to be 30,000 and, of course, the League journalists put it in their papers as 50,000.

As double or treble the figures of actual attendance when reporting their own party meetings seem to have become an accepted convention, the result that people have no longer any faith in figures of attendance given by the press is not surprising.

A session of the Congress leadership even goes to the extent of doubting if it is any use wasting such an energy in contesting Muslim seats as the Muslims cannot be induced even by the

ly Khans sat there and bearded Pathans in long coats and togas and turbans. With many there were armed bodyguards. Most of the big Nawabs, Khans and semi-independent ruling chieftains were there. Many of these, I was told, were not members of the League, but had nevertheless come to the Conference. Representatives of trans-border Tribes were also there.

## In The Conference

"There sits the richest Khan of the Frontier" a friend of mine pointed out to me, "the Khan of Hoti who has collected a huge dump of scrap iron"; and "There sits the big Khan who would not allow his two sisters and three daughters to be married considering it to be below his dignity. How can any man, argues the great Khan, be so important as to establish marital relations with daughters and sisters of such an august personage as himself?"—this was related to me by another friend.

A large number of Pir's, still very influential in the Frontier, were also there. Among the Frontier League leaders ABDUL QAYYUM and ABDUR RAB, ex-Minister, seemed to me to be in the forefront of the whole show. Aurangzeb Khan (ex-League Premier) in spite of his huge size was tucked away in some corner. Not once did he come to the mike. None had injured the League more because of his corrupt practices than this man and it is good he has been eliminated.

The League Parliamentary Board has not even given him a ticket for an Assembly seat. Every Muslim Leaguer whom I met considered this to be a good riddance.

Muslim merchants, military contractors, lawyers and barristers, rich shop-keepers and many Khan Bahadurs were also sitting on the dais. All who paid Rs. 501 could go up there. There were four or five hundred such "distinguished" people.

## U. P. ELECTION SCENES

(Continued from page 8).

attend the meeting of the Congress workers of the Eastern Districts to be addressed by Maulana Azad at his Vindhyachal residence, would raise this question at that meeting.

Actually at the meeting the subject came up for discussion, and it was decided to contest only 40 out of 86 Muslim seats in the Provincial Elections and to reorganise the Muslim Parliamentary Board. Alarm was expressed at the trend of the speeches of the Maulanas which were becoming far more theocratic than those of the Leaguers.

A session of the Congress leadership even goes to the extent of doubting if it is any use wasting such an energy in contesting Muslim seats as the Muslims cannot be induced even by the

What of the thousands below? Here there were the common Muslim poor of Peshawar and four to five thousand like them who had come from the countryside. Here also sat almost the entire young intelligentsia of the N. W. Frontier Province; all Muslim students from Peshawar colleges and schools who are now solidly with the League.

It is they who were loudest in their acclamations of "Pakistan Zindabad." It is they and the ex-Red Shirts, now in the Muslim League National Guards, who have been reared in Khudai Khidmatgar traditions of patriotism, who shouted frequently, "Hukumat-e-Bartaniya Barhat" (Down with British rule)—a slogan not heard anywhere else in Muslim meetings.

## Mr. Jinnah's Speech

Mr. Jinnah in his speech reminded the audience that he was visiting the Frontier after nine years. When he had come here in 1936, he addressed a meeting in the same Shahbagh where the present meeting was being held. Not more than two hundred people had attended that meeting then. There is "Zamin asma kar-jarq" (a difference of heaven and earth) between the former and present meetings. Today crores are behind the League and everybody knows that the League is the representative organisation of the Muslims.

"Your God is one; Your book Quran is one; Your organisation is one. Be united. Our aim is Pakistan where we want to establish Mussalman - ki - Hukumat (Muslim rule). We have no friends, neither the Angrez nor the Hindus. These are the two powers we have to fight. Even if they are united, we are not afraid. Both of them are banyas. We shall face both."

He warned the Muslims of the *chal* (deception) and *jal* (trap) of the Hindus. He exhorted them to vote for the League candidates. The whole world was watching these elections. If the League were defeated, then Muslims in India would be reduced to the condition of untouchables and Islam in India would be completely destroyed. Even if a monkey is put up by the League, they must vote for him.

Why were the Hindu leaders painting him as the worst man living?, he asked. Because they wanted Akhand Hindustan. They were drunk with power. But they can never crush the Mussalmans. The Congress was standing in the way of freedom. In the Muslim lands, Muslims wanted to live according to their Islamic ideal and culture. In Hindustan they wanted Hindus to have their Raj where they could live according to Hindu ideals and philosophy of life. The Muslims tell the Hindus, be free and live honourably, but let the Muslims also be free.

fatwas of the Congress-minded Ulama to vote against the League.

Among the Leaguers, on the other hand, pro-League Ulama are denouncing all Nationalist Muslims as Hindus! A prominent Lucknow League official himself, while reporting the election result said, "Of 2,000 voters, 1,800 Muslims voted for Nawab Ismail and 200 Hindus (he meant Muslims who did not vote for the League) voted for Dr. Farooqi." Seeing my surprise, he remarked, "You see those who are not with us are our enemies, to be fought and wiped out."

Thus these elections, so far, have not made Congressmen and Leaguers learn from the verdict of the people and see each other's claims more soberly with a more open mind. Both have used them only to increase their mutual bitterness and intolerance.

Mr. Jinnah then replied to the charge that he had not made any sacrifice.

"Leave me aside. I am a bad man, but what about the Muslims who sacrificed in 1920-21 and other Pathans who sacrificed in 1930-31? How have the Hindus and Congress treated them? The Ak Brothers were kicked out of the Congress, and when the question was raised by the League of extending constitutional reforms to the N.W.F. Province, the Hindus and the Congress opposed it. We did not support the 1942 movement because it meant freedom for Hindu India and slavery for us. We say, accept the demand for our freedom. Help us to gain our freedom also, then see who sacrifices more. If they expect us to shed our blood for our own slavery, this can never be. As long as it is in my power, I shall not allow one drop of Muslim blood to be shed in vain."

## Its Effect

I have quoted extensively from my notes of Mr. Jinnah's speech just show the narrow sectarian grooves in which the mind of one of the tallest of our National leaders today is working. It is horrible that any patriotic leader of our people should bracket the Congress and the Hindus with the foreign Imperialists.

It is a calamity that the greatest of the Muslim leaders of India should not see the obvious—that far from being opponents, the millions of freedom-loving Hindus and Sikhs are natural allies of the Indian Muslims and without forging a United Front with them and with the biggest anti-Imperialist organisation of the Indian people, the Congress, neither of them can defeat our common enemy, the British Imperialists.

If the Congress policy towards Muslims is today unjust and wrong, the task obviously is to work for changing this policy. To do or say things which create anti-Hindu feelings among the Muslims can only in turn, aggravate the anti-League prejudices of Congressmen and Congress masses, put Hindus and Muslims further apart and thus only help the enemies of Muslim freedom, the British and the Mahasabhaites.

Yet it cannot be denied that such was the total effect of Mr. Jinnah's Peshawar speech.

While however Mr. Jinnah in his speech maintained a certain level of dignity and argued on a political plane, some of the other speakers threw all caution and decorum to the winds and sounded just like the Muslim echo of the Hindu Mahasabhaites.

Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan of the Central Provinces was presiding over the Conference. He took upon himself the task of replying to the Mahasabhaite attack on the League and the Muslims and said exactly the same vulgar and stupid things about the Hindus that Dr. Moonjee and Savarkar say about the Muslims! His speech disgusted even the League journalists who were sitting near me and I was glad that the most purple anti-Hindu passages of his address were received with stony silence by the audience.

What pained me equally was to see how deeply the Muslims generally have been hurt by the recent anti-League sabre-rattling of Pandit Nehru. There was a time when of all Congress leaders Nehru was the most loved by Muslims. Today his very name is anathema.

There is not one poem and not one speech where Pandit Nehru is not denounced. Every young and old speaker who spoke at the Peshawar Conference and everyone who recited a poem made it a point to answer Panditji that he could not crush the Muslim League, that he could not stop the Muslims from achieving Pakistan, etc.

## Progressive Spokesman

After Qaid-e-Azam, it was Mian Iftikharuddin who spoke on the next day, November 21. He aroused great enthusiasm at the Conference. Among other things, he told the Muslims not to get offended when others say that there were Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs inside the League.

"The Congress" he told them, "has also passed through this stage. The League is rapidly developing. A time will soon come when those sitting below would, he sitting on the dais and those on the dais would either have to march with the peo-

ple or be eliminated."

At this stage a couple of Khan Bahadurs declared that they were prepared to give up their titles. Qaid-e-Azam ordered them to do so!

The announcement of Khan Mohammad Abbas Khan, ex-Congress Minister, who has resigned from the Ministry and joined the League, electrified the whole Conference and his appearance on the platform was greeted with loud cheers and slogans of "Pakistan Zindabad," "League Zindabad."

How do Frontier Congressmen and the Khudai Khidmatgars look upon these developments? One Khudai Khidmatgar leader when told of the thousands who had come from the villages to attend the Conference, remarked, "Most of the volunteers are hired men!" The general feeling among these sections is that the League in the Frontier is nothing but a combination of pro-Government Khans and toadies. They refuse to see the big patriotic upsurge among the Pathan masses who are being drawn more and more towards the ideal of Pakistan as their freedom. They only see rotten elements in the League leadership and give cheap and childish explanations about the growing mass following of the League.

Nevertheless it is well-known that many Pathan Congressmen while opposed to the League, themselves do feel that Pakistan is a just freedom demand. In their speeches and propaganda they never oppose Pakistan directly. They hit at the League precisely at those points which at any rate in the Frontier are its weaknesses, namely, influx of a large number of rich Khans and Contractors.

They do not pause to consider whether even the Congress in the Frontier is today free from such elements. Meherchand Khanna, who had been sent by the Government to America during the war to do anti-Congress propaganda is one of the Congress Parliamentary bosses today in the Frontier.

But, of course, it has become a rule now with the Congress and League leadership to see evil and nothing but evil in the ranks of all others except their own.

## Pathan Freedom

What is going to happen in the elections can be finally said only when all the League and the Congress tickets have been distributed. At the moment, Leaguers hope that they will win anything from twenty to twenty-five seats. This means that they will capture the majority of Muslim seats; the total Muslim seats being thirty-eight in a House of fifty. Even though they may not be able to form a Ministry if this comes about, as I think it will, it will mean a big victory for them. The Congress is still strong in the countryside, specially in the Peshawar and Mardan district. But its influence is decreasing, whereas that of the League is on the increase even in the villages. The slogan of Pakistan is catching fast among the Pathan masses; they see it as Pathan freedom.

"Which side are you going to vote?" I asked my Pathan tongawalla in Peshawar. "Whichever side has done more qurbani" (sacrifice), he replied caustically. "The Prophet has said you must support the side which commands the allegiance of the majority of the Millat (Muslim people)," he further added.

I told him "Here in the Frontier, the Khudai Khidmatgars have done more qurbani than the League, but the majority of Muslims seem to be with the League. What will you do in such a case?" I persisted. He became silent for a moment and then replied, "If that is the case, both should unite. What is the use of fighting among ourselves? Only by uniting can we throw out the Angrez."

I was amazed, and blurted out, "That is exactly what the Communist Party is saying." He in his turn now turned round and looked at me for a moment and said: "I never heard of such a Party." This for the moment silenced me. But it was good to hear such a voice—the voice of common sense—and to know the heart's desire of the common man, amidst the blinding storm of pride and prejudice raging around me. (Lahore, November 30).