

WILL COMMUNIST PARTY BE BANNED AGAIN ?

Bureaucrats' Moves -- Congress, League Reactions

From A. S. R. CHARI

DELHI, March 30.

A NEWS-ITEM appeared recently in the Delhi National Call suggesting that the Communist Party of India might be put under a ban. In official circles, it is being talked that Provincial Governors when they come to Delhi to meet the Cabinet Mission will raise this question. The guardians of 'Law and Order' are very much perturbed at the country-wide mass upsurge during the last few months, and some of the Provincial Governors seem to think that they cannot crush this upsurge unless first the Communist Party is banned.

The United Press of India has splashed a message to this effect to Nationalist papers all over India.

I understand that the question of banning the Communist Party was raised sharply before the Viceroy's Executive Council after the brutal massacre of the innocents in Bombay. Attlee's statement in the House of Commons that the Party was responsible for the trouble in Bombay seems to have been based upon the reports sent by the Home and Political Departments in Delhi.

Army And Navy Bosses Raise Red Bogey

Commander-in-Chief Auchinleck in his recent speech broadcast to every officer of the Indian Army (March 29) said that the object of the British is to hand over and the object of the Nationalists to take over, "a peaceful India," for otherwise "they (i.e. the Nationalists) will run the risk of falling to reap the rewards of their efforts." (Sic !)

He continued, "Unfortunately, there are, however, in India certain disruptive forces," and "there may therefore be trouble." He said that in the event of the Police being unable to cope with it, "the Army would be called upon to help" to put it down, and warned that if the Army failed to carry out the orders of the Government in power at the time, "then the internal situation may develop into chaos."

I understand also that the Flag Officer Commanding (FOC) RIN Bombay, has recently issued a categorical charge that the Communists are disrupting the discipline of the Navy and that the Congress does not like this. The FOC has asked the Naval Ratings to bring any Communist activity they come across immediately to his notice.

It is clear from all this that the diehard British Civilians as well as the Blimps of the Armed Forces are getting nervous at the growing popular upsurge in the country and want action against the Communist Party as the first step to crushing this upsurge. They are, therefore, raising the "Red bogey" before the Congress and League leaders with the argument:

"If you do not take action against the Reds, you yourselves will be swept out of power by them, and the country will be handed over to chaos and anarchy."

A section of the Congress and League leaders, blinded by anti-Communist prejudices and egged on by Big Business (who want to continue their drive against the working-class in peace and keep their profits safe), is playing into the hands of the British and taking up the Imperialist "Red bogey" scare.

It will be remembered that as early as November last, when Sarat Bose got cold feet and refused to attend the Calcutta students' demonstration on the INA, he made the shameful statement that, in his meeting with Casey, he had told him that the Communists were responsible for the disturbances that had taken place.

Congress Leaders' Fears Of Mass Movement

Ever since then, I reliably understand, Congress leaders in their talks with the Governors and with Wavell have assured and reassured them that the Congress would pull its whole weight in favour of preventing mass demonstrations and would be quite capable of handling the portfolio of 'Law and Order' efficiently.

It seems that they have also expressed the view that no radical elements in India except the Communists can cause any serious trouble.

On the floor of the Assembly, Masani speaking as a Congress M.L.A., said that the general strike in Bombay had taken place despite Congress wishes, the Communists were solely responsible for it.

Masani chided the Government that the Communists had been "fostered" by the Government during war-time, and now because the British had fallen out with their "principals" in Moscow, the Communists were causing trouble.

According to Masani, the British Blimps are not anti-Red enough!

Big Business Behind The Drive

This blind and rabid Red-baiting, which hitherto has been characteristic only of a handful of pathological cases like Masani, is now becoming more or less general among the Congress Legislators.

Only the other day when the Communists and Leaguers approached Mr. Asaf Ali in connection with the brutal Police repression on the Victory Day celebrations, Mr. Asaf Ali burst out:

"I know why you Communists are creating all these troubles. It is because Russia wants an unsettled Asia and an unsettled India. If what you are doing here is in the interests of India, I would support you. If it is unsettled India that Russia wants, I will have none of it."

Mr. Asaf Ali also said that the Communists are using innocent Leaguers and a section of Congressmen as their pawns in this game.

The Birla-owned Hindustan Times next morning came out with an editorial on the same lines, making it clear that it is Big Business which is the driving force behind this anti-Red frenzy.

In Circles Close To Congress High Command

I also hear that certain Congress M.L.As in Delhi in their private conversations discussed the Bombay firing and declared that the Communists were responsible for the whole RIN "disturbances."

According to them, Aruna Asaf Ali and other non-Com-

munist who supported the cause of the RIN boys and sympathised with the hartal, were only "mental cases," the real villains of the piece were Communists.

A leading Congressman, close to the High Command, who was present at Bombay at the time of the strike, told his listeners that he saw the "Red Flag wherever there was trouble"!

The A.I.C.C. "Letter to Foreign Lands" published in National Herald of March 28 says:

"Disturbances breaking out from day to day in different parts of the country are danger signals of growing unrest among the masses which has spread even to the Indian armed forces... (referring to the RIN strike)... But for the restraint imposed by the Congress and its strong hold upon the people anyone of these incidents might have set the whole country ablaze. Mahatma Gandhi as well as other Congress leaders have strongly denounced the violence and disorder and appealed to the people to remain calm and give the British what may be their last chance for peaceful settlement."

Leaguers Ditto Home Member

The League leadership which is on the whole a far more constitutional and law-abiding lot takes up a similar attitude, though it is not as yet so bitterly anti-Communist.

When the Police strike took place in Delhi, the League M.L.As talked of the necessity of maintaining the discipline of the Police and other armed forces almost as if they belonged to the British bureaucracy, and dittoed the speech of the Home Member who justified the use of tear-gas and rifles on the Policemen who were on strike.

In fact, the "Red bogey" — the traditional weapon of the diehard British Tory against every genuine people's movement — is shamelessly enough, finding buyers in the Congress and League market.

The present position may be summed up thus:

Certain Provincial Governments, particularly after the Bombay - Karachi - Calcutta - Madras incidents seem to have been in favour of reimposing the ban on the Party. In their discussions, however, I understand, the British civilians say:

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 1.)

Police Offensive Begins

BENGAL PARTY OFFICES RAIDED

By Wire.

From Nikhil Chakravarty.

CALCUTTA, April 5. On Thursday morning, April 4, the Police raided and carried out extensive searches of the Communist Party Provincial Headquarters, situated in Calcutta, of the 24-Parganas District Communist Party office and Party offices at Howrah, Kidderpore, Chetla, Jaggadai, Naihati and Belghurra. The Police also searched the premises of the National Book Agency.

The searches were made with the object of seizing copies of Kalpana Dutt's book entitled Chittagong Armoury Raiders' Reminiscences, and its translation, which the Bengal Government has just banned.

Along with copies of the above book, the Police seized other publications including Niranjan Sen's Bengal's Forgotten Warriors (reminiscences of Pre-Reform Revolutionary prisoners) and Ranadhir Singh's Gadar Heroes. The Police examined every bit of paper at every place searched, and took away some papers as well.

It is believed that searches were made at other Communist Party centres in Bengal also.

RIN CHIEF'S SECRET CIRCULAR

Extracts from order of Flag Officer (incharge of Royal Indian Navy Ships and Establishments in Bombay) Bombay to the R.I.N.

"IMMEDIATE — SECRET No. NLB/1860.

From: Flag Officer, Bombay.

To: General R.I.N. Bombay.

(1) Information has reached me that a Communist element is endeavouring to foment trouble in the city on the 24th, 25th and 26th March, and it is possible, that they may endeavour to incite trouble in the Royal Indian Navy.

Paragraphs Two to Five contain instructions for Officers and Ratings telling them how to combat the "Communist menace."

Among N. W. R. Workers (Lahore)

AIRF STRIKE - BALLOT WELCOMED

Profest - Strike Against Ration - Cut

REJECTION of their demands by the insolent bureaucrats of the Railway Board and the recent cut in food ration have given rise to a wave of resentment among all sections of the NWR workers and employees in the Punjab. The workers have universally welcomed the decision of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation (AIRF) to hold a strike ballot and thousands of them in the Lahore Workshops and Loco Sheds are today seen wearing badges of "Hungry Railwayman" and "Ready for Strike."

The opportunist Royist and Hindu Sabhite leaders of the Union (the notorious M. A. Khan and others) have so far not only not made any arrangements to hold a strike ballot, they have joined hands with the local Railway authorities in their game of disrupting the unity of the workers. Under private instructions of the Railway bosses, Mirza Mohammed Ibrahim, Communist Vice-President of the AIRF, has been deprived of Union membership. But the workers have replied by forming a Committee of Action with Mirza Ibrahim as Chairman. With this new Committee as nucleus, big demonstrations and meetings are now being held.

The new spirit among the workers was seen when a foreman in the Carriage shop forcibly removed the "badge," which a worker was wearing. The workers rose in protest. A spontaneous procession of 2,000

immediately marched from the Carriage shop towards the Loco shop and put the foreman and his friends into panic and flight.

Early this month, 3,000 workers of the Loco shop marched to the office of the Works Manager and would not move until they secured a promise for better cloth distribution.

On the 19th March, a meeting of 10,000 workers was held outside the office of the Superintendent of the Mechanical workshop, and demands of restoration of full ration and the workers' right to hold meetings in workshop areas were put.

On the 24th March, Commercial staff workers from all over the Province held a Conference in the Lalpat Rai Hall, Lahore, and unanimously demanded an increase of their pay to Rs. 300 with provision for adequate annual increments. Full support in case of a strike was promised to them by leaders of all parties, Congress, League and Communist.

On the 28th March, 15,000 workers of the Mochlaura workshop went on a 2 hours' stay-in-strike to demonstrate their protest against the ration cut and the rejection of their demands of revision of scales of pay. etc. etc. at 1.30 pm the workers downed tools from Power House clerks and timekeepers stayed out. 5,000 workers of the night shift also followed suit. Not a machine moved. Not a tool was turned.

For the first time after years, Railway workers of the NWR so long kept divided and weak by Royist and Imperialist agents, are on the march again.

Among M. S. M. Workers (Hubli)

TOOLS DOWNED TO SPEEP UP NEW RATION - CARD ISSUE

Demand For Compensatory Allowance Against Ration - Cut

Railway workers (M.&S.M.) of Hubli, stand poised for the final attack for winning compensatory allowance and restoration of the previous quota of rations which was recently cut. They are eagerly awaiting the strike ballot on the issue of the just demands of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. There was a spontaneous one-day strike in the loco and traffic sheds on March 25.

This marked the rising tempo of the workers' anger. There had been delay in distributing the new ration cards due to the criminal negligence and red-tapism of the ration department bureaucrats and Railway authorities. That day the workers had to report for duty on empty stomachs, leaving behind starving families in their chawls.

They straightaway downed tools, demanding immediate supply of ration cards and grains. Not a single train moved out of the traffic shed; not a single whistle broke through the silence. Trains from Poona and Bangalore steamed in and came to a standstill. All platforms were overcrowded with passengers, while the Railway authorities looking hopeless and foolish rushed from place to

place. The news of the strike spread to the workshop too, where the workers observed a sympathetic hartal. The strike ended in the evening.

The District Magistrate rushed down from Dharwar and assured immediate redressal of grievances. The time-limit of the old ration cards was extended, and the grain shops remained open till 1 a.m. in the morning.

Earlier in the month, the 4,000-strong Railway Employees' Union had protested against the cut in the ration from 3 1/2 seers per week per adult to 2 1/2 seers, and demanded compensatory allowance for the cut in ration; more vegetables to be supplied and immediate restoration of the previous quota. The Union gave a call for a united demonstration on March 14. That day, a long procession of workers with Red, Tri-colour and League flags marched through the city protesting against the cut in ration and putting forth their demands. It ended in a public meeting presided over by Baba Saheb, Vice-President of the Union, and addressed by Maulana Hakim Sahib, Sjt. Gokhale and Upadhyaya, League, Congress and Communist leaders.

With the preparation going on for the all-India Railwaymen's strike, the workers at present are evincing very great enthusiasm.

HYMN OF HATE AGAINST HINDU BROTHERS SERVILE OFFERS TO BRITISH

THE policy among the leaderships of our major political parties of bluster and threat against each other and of snivelling and servility before the British reached its culmination at the Muslim League Legislators' Convention held in Delhi this week.

What are the main features of the resolution passed at the Convention?

In the preamble, a violent attack is made on the 'Hindu Dharma' and the Hindu social system, and it is 'proved' that Islam has nothing in common with it. The former "degrades millions of human beings", whereas the latter stands for "nationalism, equality and democracy."

The Hindus being tainted with this original sin, it follows that there is nothing in common between them and the Muslims. There is difference between them in "every department of life, educational, social, economic and political."

Hence, the necessity of a separate, sovereign and independent State for the "Muslim nation," where they can have "full scope to develop according to their genius."

It is quite clear that this provocative, historically incorrect, and reactionary thesis has been formulated, and put forward by the League leadership, solely for the purpose of impressing the British Imperialists, who are considered to be the arbiters of India's and the Muslims' destiny.

The simple and obvious reality is forgotten that freedom and self-determination have to be won from the foreign Imperialists; that they are the Enemy No. 1 of all Indians—Hindus and Muslims alike, whom they ruthlessly exploit and enslave; it is forgotten that freedom can only be won by all Indians uniting against the British.

Not unity with our own brothers, our own fellow countrymen, both in order to win the just demands of the Muslims and freedom for India as a whole, but an abject, pettifogging lawyer-like preparation of a case and a brief against your own brother, to be argued out before the British 'Judge',—this is considered to be the road to Pakistan by the League leaders.

Begin with Democracy In Own Camp

It is in order to conceal this shameful reality, which no freedom-loving Muslim would approve of, that they trot out their hate-filled, separatist theories of the unbridgeable gulf between Hindus and Muslims.

They talk glibly of the oppressive Hindu caste system and are conveniently silent about their own Muslim feudalists, the nawabs, the rajas, and the zamindars, who are as ruthless in their exploitation of Muslim tenants and peasants in Sind, in Baluchistan, in the N.W.F.P., in the Punjab, in Bihar, in the U.P., in Bengal.

The blood-suckers of millions of Muslims haris of Sind are the Bunde Ali Khans, the Hidayatullahs, the Khuroos.

Why not, for a change, teach Muslim 'equality and democracy' to the Nawab of Hoti, the biggest feudal chieftain of the N.W.F.P., a newly-elected League M.L.A.? Why not ask the League nawabs of the Punjab to practise Islamic democracy in relation, at least, to their lakhs of Muslim muzaras?

Mr. Suhrawardy was the gallant Knight of Separatism who moved this resolution in the League Convention. "There is difference in every department of life between the Hindus and Muslims," he declared.

But who does not know that there was a great deal in common between him and the Marwari blackmarketeers during the Bengal famine? Who does not know that the pillar of the Bengal Muslim League, Mr. Ispahani, has no objection to becoming the junior partner of the Brias in their industrial enterprises?

and Iqbal who sang with their rich golden voices, "My motherland! My glorious paradise" (Hall); and gave the "Hindustan Hamara" (Iqbal) anthem to our people, that he is not ashamed of saying to an Englishman, "the so-called India" (Mr. Jinnah's interview to Norman Cliff of the News Chronicle, March 31). How it must have gladdened the heart of every Imperialist.

Offers To British Capital

But this does not seem to be Mr. Jinnah's concern. He is willing to go much further in accommodating the British. He tells the British that they are wrong in thinking that they (the British) can derive benefit by coming to terms with the Hindu capitalists. He reminds them, "The biggest consumers of British goods are Muslims," and further the British are wrong in thinking that only Hindus can give them facilities for "flourishing trade, commerce and market in India." (Delhi Speech—April 7).

What does this amount to?

Nothing else than that Mr. Jinnah is perfectly willing to let the British Imperialists exploit the Pakistan areas, he is willing to sell out to the Imperialists, to let them keep their stranglehold over the Pakistan

And these are the men who talk of Islamic equality and democracy the loudest, who preach hatred against ALL Hindus the most.

Untenable Departure: Just To Unjust

This wrong argumentation leads up to the unjust demands in the subsequent part of the League Convention's resolution. Whereas the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League talked of a sovereign State in the Muslim majority zones of the North-West and North-East of India, which was to be a Federation of autonomous units, now for the first time a formal resolution is passed defining this zone as consisting of Bengal, Assam, the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind, and Baluchistan and no mention is made of the autonomy of the federating units.

It is patent that even from the League's point of view of

by Sajjad Zaheer

sovereignty for MUSLIM homelands, the demand as defined in the present resolution is untenable and unjust.

In the whole of Assam, Muslims are not even in a majority. Except for Sylhet district, Assam is not a 'Muslim' homeland. In the same way, large and contiguous areas of Western Bengal (including Calcutta) and Eastern and Central Punjab are not Muslim majority zones. In these areas the Muslims are nowhere more than 35 per cent of the total population.

The fact is that Bengal, for example, is the common homeland of Muslims and Hindu Bengalis who are bound together by common economic, cultural, political and historical ties. The right of self-determination, therefore, belongs to all the children of Bengal. It cannot belong to the Hindus and Muslims living in separate regions of Bengal, or to the Muslims alone, as the League demands.

It is the entire people of a homogenous national unit, who should have the right of self-determination. This ensures the full freedom of all nationalities where the Muslims are in a majority (e.g. the Punjab, Sind, the N.W.F.P., Baluchistan, Bengal) and is the only just, democratic basis.

Denying Heritage Of Muslim Patriotism

But the League leaders instead of searching for a just and equitable basis of settlement of the issue of Pakistan with their own fellow-countrymen have pinned their faith on the British, who, they think, are out to transfer power to Indians. They imagine that if they cajole and threaten them alternatively, they will be able to have their way. Hence, the hectic statements of Mr. Jinnah to each and every British newspaper correspondent.

Could there be anything more pathetic and degrading than to say, "I don't regard myself as an Indian." This is enough to make the great Muslim patriots and martyrs in the cause of Indian freedom turn in their graves.

He has drifted so far away from the common traditions of Indian patriotism, from the traditions of our great Hall, Shibli,

areas provided they agree to help him to cut up the country as he wants.

Instead of putting forward the demand of self-determination in such a way as would lead to unity between Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, against the British, and for full freedom, he wants to barter away the freedom of the Muslims in order to beat down his own non-Muslim fellow-countrymen, whom he is unable to convince because of the injustice and unfairness of his demand.

Alliance With Imperialists In Middle East

Not only are the British promised "flourishing trade, commerce and market in India," Mr. Jinnah also promises them help in carrying out their Imperialist policies outside India specially against the Muslim countries.

Indian Muslims have a long and glorious record of opposing the machinations of British Imperialism against the Muslim peoples of the Middle-East, the Near East, and North Africa. We know that today the British imperialists are seeking to dominate the Muslim countries, and are raising the "Russian bogey" merely to cover their own Imperialist designs on the Arab World, on Iran.

But Mr. Jinnah is quite willing to give them a helping hand. He is willing to enter into an anti-Soviet alliance with the world's worst reactionaries, with the traditional enemies of the Muslim peoples of Asia. This is what he says to the correspondent of a British paper:

"Russia means trouble as far as I can judge, and I think the sooner you agree to Pakistan the better it will be for you and us. No Muslim State can look on with complacency if Russia established a stronghold in Persia and one thing is certain that the entire Muslim 'bloc' will stand together in their own interests. As soon as we become self-governing and have Pakistan, there will be a powerful friendly State (emphasis mine)." (March 31,—Delhi).

"Fundamental antagonism" with Hindus, with his own millions of freedom-loving fellow-

OFFENSIVE AGAINST COMMUNIST PARTY

WE give the story of the proposed move to legalise the Communist Party on page 2 of this issue. It is natural enough for the Provincial satraps of the British Imperialist ruling-class to lose their sleep over the new countryside popular upsurge, and think of victimising our Party, which they see in the forefront of every popular demonstration against British terror and at the head of every popular action of our long-suffering toiling masses for human living conditions for themselves and against the enemies of the people.

What is new and shameful in the situation is that not one of the Nationalist papers, which featured the news, has editorially commented on it warning the foreign bureaucrats not to play with any section of our common Freedom Movement. And it is these very papers who never tire of calling our Party anti-Nationalist, while this is how they themselves betray even the cause of elementary civil liberties for our people.

They seem to hate their Communist brothers more than the British rulers! The silence of the Congress leaders is equally significant. During the elections, to create an anti-Communist atmosphere to get more votes for the Congress, every one of them thundered how we had helped the British Government during the war. Today when they hope to form the Interim Government and are already in the Provincial Ministries, not one of them has spoken up against the proposed British move to legalise our Party.

Such is their own hatred of the British rulers; such is their conception of common freedom; such is their concern for elementary liberties for every section of our peoples' movement.

British Calculations

It is, however, no easy matter to legalise our Party, and the more realistic among the British bureaucrats know it.

They have, therefore, decided to strangle the voice of our Party by refusing to renew permits for our dailies, while permits are being issued for new dailies to every other party, to be started with war profiteers' cash.

They have also decided to break our links with the struggling people by circularising for a general round-up of our leaders and workers wherever the masses get into action.

Thus, 40 Communists including all our Provincial leaders were rounded up in Delhi for organising a successful strike and hartal against the Victory day celebrations. Not one Congress leader out of a whole crowd assembled at Delhi, not one of the numerous Nationalist dailies of Delhi, has uttered even a word of protest.

The British Imperialist game is simple. To keep our Freedom Movement divided, they are concentrating fire against our Party while they are trying to create the illusion in the minds of the Congress and League leaders that the British Government is going to deal with them fairly and settle up.

The British Government is concentrating fire against our Party because we alone are rousing our countrymen against the post-war British plan of a new enslavement and division of our country, while the Congress and League leaders are walking into their parlour allured by their pleasing spider-like talk.

If the British plan is to be successfully sold to our freedom-loving people as the substance of Swaraj or practical Pakistan, the first need is to silence the voice of our Party. Such is the British calculation.

Throttling Us As Chief Enemy Of Their Plans

The British Government is concentrating fire against our Party because we alone are exposing all the tie-ups that are taking place between British and Indian Big Business and are struggling our hardest in every town and village, wherever we have a hold, against the blackmarketeers controlling our goods and the hoarders our food, while all the Muslim jagirdars and hoarders have become League leaders, and all Hindu profiteers and zamindars Congress financiers and supporters, and both are bidding for the support of British capital in India and also expressing their utmost willingness to enter into partnerships with the biggest British monopolists for the development of our country as a whole or the regions which they think will come under Congress or League control.

But the proposed illegalisation of our Party, or denial of a Press to us, or arrest of our leaders and workers, is not a matter of concern to our Party alone.

The British Constitutional plan which we are out to expose is bogus independence and bogus Pakistan. The Congress and the League leaders can scream to each other as much as they like to the utter shame of us all; they can nurse as many illusions as they like about British 'sincerity' like Maulana Azad, or appeal to British 'pledges' like Mr. Jinnah; the ultimate British Award will be against the freedom of us all, and designed to keep us ever divided.

Our forecasts about the British post-war political plan and strategy are already being confirmed by the pronouncements and doings of the Cabinet Mission.

Ours is the voice of true freedom, for its central theme is: DON'T TRUST THE ENEMY AND HATE YOUR OWN BROTHER.

Ours is the hand that will unmask the British Imperialist plan more and more for all our freedom-loving peoples to see and judge for themselves.

The British Economic plan to get a grip over our industries by entering into partnerships with our Brias and Tatas will not mean the development of Indian resources for Indian needs, but will lead to Indian economy being safely yoked to British Imperial needs; Indian labour chained to produce greater profits for British and Indian profiteers.

The profiteer-owned Nationalist-Press will shriek against every strike for decent living conditions; the Congress leaders declaim that they are meant to discredit their Ministries.

The British bureaucrats know that our Party alone is profiteer-free, and genuinely interested in exposing the British Economic plan and capable of organising practical resistance to it. Hence they rely upon slander and terror to weaken and behold our Party.

Defeat Their Offensive

But ours is the struggle for a new life for our people, and against the greed of the people's enemies, against the tentacles that British capital is spreading in our country. Profiteers and their patrons cannot destroy us for they will first have to destroy the struggling people in whose ranks our Party is born, lives and works.

All those who do not mistake partisanship for patriotism, all those who hate the profiteers, must see ever more clearly how anti-Communism helps the British rulers to put through their post-war Constitutional and Economic plans, and is playing the enemy's game.

countrymen, but willingness to accept the economic bondage of the British Imperialists, and to be subservient to their foreign policy, to this tragic conclusion has Mr. Jinnah's policy of blind separatism and faith in the Imperialists led him. Such a policy cannot but end in the most horrible fiasco.

All his threats of civil war if the Pakistan demand is not accepted, all talk about 'resistance by all possible means' to an 'imposed constitution' mean only this: imposition by the British of the Coupland Plan; division of the country, but each part under veiled British domina-

tion: bitter strife between Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs; and famine, unemployment, death, and misery for all.

That the Congress leadership also pursues an opportunist policy of disruption and servility to the British does not excuse similar tactics on the part of the League leadership.

The question which millions of freedom-loving Muslims will ask from their leaders tomorrow will be this: Whither have you led us? Through unity to freedom, prosperity and life, or through blind separatism to slavery, misery and death?

—April 16, 1946.

Workers Fight Police - Aided Blackmarketeer Bosses

EIGHT THOUSAND Bengali textile workers of the Dhaka, Tejgaon and Chittaranjan Cotton Mills in Narayanganj (Dacca) have been fighting a grim and heroic battle against the combined might of one of Bengal's worst anti-working-class mill bosses, the wily SUNNYA BOSE, Managing Director of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills, and the Police for over two months.

On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Who Controls The Mills?

The Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills were started by a group of patriotic Bengalis in the wake of the first Civil Disobedience movement of 1932. After the economic crisis of the thirties—the hyperinflation, the devaluation of the rupee and the loss of the textile industry to the hands of the British—many young men of the district joined the mill movement, and today of the mill workers, all of whom are Bengalis, no less than 75% are workers.

Soon after the mills were started, however, a group of mad bootlickers and unscrupulous racketeers got on the Board of Directors of the mills, and started showing the patriotic and honest people only today they are the masters, and nobody can question their authority.

When P. C. JOSHI, the leader of the Indian Communists, visited Narayanganj in January last, the workers of the mills approached the boss with a proposal that the mills be closed on Saturday. The day had to be a strike, a rally of workers, and the workers agreed that they would make good the loss time by working on Sunday.

Workers Resist Blackmarketeering
When the bosses, who had on many previous occasions selected into such arbitrators, refused, the workers went on strike, and called in thousands in their hands. The bosses, intimidated by the workers, decided that they would have to meet the workers on Sunday.

Shady Transactions
The 8,000 workers of Narayanganj are not fighting any ordinary employer of their class; they are fighting a gang of black marketeers led by Sunny Bose, of all stripes. Let him speak.

Facts Of Bosses' Shady Transactions
The 8,000 workers of Narayanganj are not fighting any ordinary employer of their class; they are fighting a gang of black marketeers led by Sunny Bose, of all stripes. Let him speak.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.



A glimpse of the scene in a Chittaranjan Cotton Mill. Below: workers of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills in Narayanganj, Dacca, after the attack by the Police on the 27th March last. The workers are being treated for their injuries.

Four Martyred, 74 Injured In Brutal Firing

intervened on their behalf right from the beginning. On February 26th, the Police shot dead and injured the mill workers and the mill authorities. The Police shot dead and injured the mill workers and the mill authorities.

Cold-Blooded Murder
Suddenly from inside the mill, firing started. Simultaneously with it came a shower of bricks and stones. Two leading workers, PRANONAL CHAKRAVARTY and SURESH CHIL, fell dead on the spot. Their bodies riddled with bullet holes.



Surender Chakravarty, another victim of Police bullets in Narayanganj (Dacca).

about forty workers, they were led by MRINAL CHAKRAVARTY, the General Secretary of the District Textile Workers' Union.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

withdrew to their lair. The workers, forced to withdraw, still tried to stop the advance of the Police and transfer the records by covering the bullets with bricks.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

the mill owners fired nine rounds and the Police fired 36 rounds.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

People Rally Behind Workers
The whole of Dacca has been shocked by the news of the attack on the workers and their leaders. The workers of Dacca are sending letters of support to the strikers, and calling upon all sections of the people to support the just demands of the workers.

The Dangers Signal
Yet there are danger signals, and if the mill bosses are not held out and returning to negotiate with the workers, it is because they hope that the Government in Bengal will lead to the isolation of the workers from the people, and they would be able to crush the strike.

Medical Relief
In spite of their own conditions, the Government and the workers are sending letters of support to the strikers, and calling upon all sections of the people to support the just demands of the workers.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

Brutal Firing By Police And Mill Bosses' Men
On March 27th, at about 11.30 in the morning, Jatin Moushakar and about 10 Gurkha soldiers of the mill attacked a group of workers in front of the mill. During about 30 minutes, 13 of whom had to be taken to hospital. Simultaneously, a cannon was fired and the Police were ordered to open fire on the workers and their leaders.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

We Dip The Red Banner To Singaravelu, Red Flag Weaver
Now Congress fought the Election And Celebrated Victory in Trichy Dist.

SINGLE-HANDED DEFENCE AND MARTYRDOM
Now Congress fought the Election And Celebrated Victory in Trichy Dist.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.



Aravindam, Sreedhar and Narayanaswami, S. I. Kollay workers of Villupputur, injured in the attack by Congress inspectors, during the poll for the S.P. Labour Act (Entry: Page 9).

Medical Relief
In spite of their own conditions, the Government and the workers are sending letters of support to the strikers, and calling upon all sections of the people to support the just demands of the workers.

The Dangers Signal
Yet there are danger signals, and if the mill bosses are not held out and returning to negotiate with the workers, it is because they hope that the Government in Bengal will lead to the isolation of the workers from the people, and they would be able to crush the strike.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.

Police Attack And People's Fury
It is a fact that the Police have been attacking the workers of the mills since the strike started. On the 27th March last, four leading workers, among them two Communists, were shot dead and about 74 workers injured, a large number of them seriously, by one of the most savage and brutal firings indulged in by the Police and the mill authorities of the Dhaka and Tejgaon Cotton Mills.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

Workers' Heroic Struggle
The strike was to make a show of strength and to expose the tactics of the employers and the workers. The workers were determined not to let this happen and started a peaceful resistance.



Red Flag martyr Singaravelu. His wife and 6 months' old child.

Congress - League Leaders Hit Out At Each Other

APPEALINGLY LOOK TO BRITISH FOR AWARD

1ST APRIL

Princes Glorified As Builders Of Unity!

TODAY the Cabinet Mission began exploratory discussions with the Indian leaders, having already armed itself with the official view from the ICS and the Governors.

On the first of April, nine years ago, every town in India rang with the slogan, "Down with the slave constitution." Every Indian then felt a holy anger at the British plan to use their puppets, the Indian Princes, in the proposed Federal Centre as a 'steadying influence' against the agitation for complete Indian independence (Lord Reading on the India Bill, 1935).

Today the clock has been put back. Birla's *Hindustan Times* this morning published a glorification of the same puppet Princes and their stooge Premiers as persons "primarily concerned with trying to bring the two main parties together."

Dawn today giving the League's election victory chart, declared that the Muslim Nation's verdict should not be ignored, but is afraid that it might, and, therefore, publishes three statements saying that the idea of bypassing the League is useless, will cause harm and must be abandoned.

Today Dr. Khan Saheb and Gopinath Bardoloi, the N.W.F. and Assam Premiers, met the Mission, and beyond pressing for the inclusion of the tribal areas in the Provincial administrations had nothing special to report.

Cripps-Arbiter Of India's Destiny!

In the evening, Cripps held a Press conference in the Assembly Council room which was packed with Pressmen. He seemed to be enjoying the role of an arbiter of Indian destiny, and wholly in love with the Indian Press which has such a pathetic faith in British sincerity.

The main theme of Cripps' speech was, "We have no plan, we will listen and hold the ring fairly." Only Palme Dutt put questions (reported in our last issue) that sharply underlined the nature of the problem and Cripps was obviously ill at ease.

Clever though Cripps was, his answer that the question of Interim Government is linked up with the final settlement of the constitutional machinery revealed what would be the Mission's game in the negotiations. It was a bait for a 'final solution' of a separate Federation to bring the League into the Interim Government and the offer of an Interim Government and a minimal Centre to get the Congress to accept a separate Federation.

2ND APRIL

League Organ Communally Colours Assamese-Bengali Conflict

TODAY Dawn carries a whole page of alleged Congress atrocities on the Assam Muslims. Glancing through it, I was amazed that the Assamese-Bengali conflict has been deliberately distorted into a Hindu-Muslim conflict. The headline itself was misleading for they are not Assam Muslims but Bengal immigrants into Assam.

Dawn, in order to fan the anti-Hindu sentiment, completely suppressed the fact that last year Saadullah's Muslim League Ministry in

Assam had rained bullets on Bengal Muslim immigrants who were flouting the 'line' (segregated settlements) regulations and rushing in to make of Assam a Muslim majority area.

But the mention of this would upset the League's lustful demand for Assam, and even Saadullah who met the Cabinet Mission today kept quiet about it.

The Opposition leaders Qayyum (N.W.F.P.), Saadullah (Assam), Mamdot (Punjab), and Syed (Sind) met the Mission today. The first three supported the League demand and referred further discussions to Jinnah, but Syed while supporting the Pakistan demand for a separate Federation said that Sind would not join it unless it was assured equal status with other units. He was equally critical of both the Congress and League leaderships.

A sealed letter from Gandhiji was delivered to Pethick-Lawrence, and there was anxious speculation about it.

I learnt later that Cripps had asked Gandhiji yesterday whether if the Centre was assured control over defence, etc., as he had demanded in the Gandhijinnah talks, he would stand by the terms he had offered to Jinnah in September 1944.

Congress leaders one day and the League the other, and while seeming to work for Indian settlement and freedom are really trying to secure their own position and continuance of their British masters' rule.

3RD APRIL

THE Mission's discussions reached a high point today when they met the top Congress leaders.

The cocksure optimism that the British were eager to oblige the Congress that marked the Simla parleys, is absent now. But there are people like Durgadas, one of the four editors of the Birla-owned *Hindustan Times*, who still say, "The basic factor governing the situation is the anxiety of the delegation to bring about a settlement. The Ministers and the Viceroy realise they can't afford to fail."

As if to strengthen the Congress case against the League, the *Hindustan Times* this morning published Azad's statement that the League victories in the elections are mainly due to an inter-Provincial conspiracy between the League and the Government officials.

Dawn, putting "pressure" from the League side, published Jinnah's interview to the BBC reporter that Pakistan must be

For the first time in my knowledge Gandhiji's camp was being guarded by volunteers with lathis in hand.

4TH APRIL

Jinnah Meets Mission, Patiala See Congress Leaders

TODAY Mr. Jinnah met the Cabinet Mission.

Patiala's ruler saw Gandhiji and Sardar Patel.

In the evening, Mr. Jinnah broke his long established convention and went to the Patiala Premier's house to interview Master Tara Singh.

These events underline the sorry state of our main political organisations. Hitting out blindly against one another, they rush forward seeking British arbitration and alliance with British puppets.

This morning's papers carry Nehru's interview with Reuter's correspondent in which he seemed to realise the difficulty of a settlement if Muslim sentiments were not taken into consideration. He demanded an Interim Government based on Provincial Assemblies, and a Constituent Assembly into which no area would be compelled to enter, and could stand out, if it so desired, and carry on autonomously for

where he reiterated what he had told R. P. Dutt the previous evening that the complete withdrawal of the British Army from India was a pre-condition to Indian independence, and added, "It is absurd to talk of independence with all these foreign armies here."

Dealing with the programme of the National Government and of the Congress Ministries, he said, "I am glad that the Congress has definitely and finally decided to put an end to Landlordism in India by giving compensation in return."

I asked him, "Why was compensation necessary? Would it not be swifter and more equitable to pass Legislation abolishing Landlordism without compensation. Would not compensation be ultimately a burden that would fall on the peasantry, the bulk of the Indian population?"

Nehru answered that in his personal view compensation was inequitable, but the Congress was trying to avoid conflict and was seeking a peaceful way, and it was necessary to pay the price for peace.

I asked him, "Considering that big landlords constitute a tiny handful, were not the chances of conflict almost nil in the method I suggested?"

Nehru replied that landlords were a played out force and were helpless and might be given some little help. He added that the big ones will be given small compensation, etc.

The highlight of the conference was Nehru's outburst against Tara Singh. He was evidently furious at Tara Singh's secret negotiations with Jinnah.

5TH APRIL

Jinnah-Tara Singh Parleys

TODAY I gathered inside information about the Jinnah-Tara Singh, and Patiala-Patel talks.

The Patiala-Patel talks were simple enough. Sardar Patel knew that the Patiala-Akalis combine was carrying on discussions with Jinnah. So he was quite curt, and said that the best thing for everyone was that the Akalis should first recognise that the Congress alone represented all Indians; secondly, they should demand that the Britishers should quit India and leave us to settle our problems, and added that all other questions could be decided later.

I understand that the Akali camp is set against the Congress, and bitter that no bargain has been struck.

In the Jinnah-Tara Singh talks; it seems that Jinnah insisted on the acceptance of the division of India as a condition precedent to any negotiations. Master Tara Singh, a thorough opportunist, agreed to discuss on that basis, Jinnah was satisfied, and said, "I shall give all your reasonable demands. We will be not only just, but generous, and if you ask for 20, I will give 21."

Master Tara Singh sounded Jinnah on Sikhistan. It is necessary to remember that in the British Punjab, Sikhs cannot lay claim to any majority area for the Sikh State, though with the abolition of States like Patiala and Nabha, etc., a Sikh homeland can definitely be carved out.

But the present Akali leaders are not bothered about Sikh interests, and have agreed, I learn, to claim a Sikh State, which in practice would mean more areas would come under the rotten rule of the Maharaja of Patiala.

Jinnah is reported to have said that if a Sikh State was possible on a reasonable basis, he would be prepared to give facilities for the repatriation of Sikhs from other areas in the Punjab. He also held out the

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

Gandhiji is understood to have replied that the conditions are different now, Jinnah had rejected those terms, and today even if Gandhiji were willing, the Congress would not agree. The letter is said to have conveyed this information to Pethick-Lawrence.

Cripps' clever act of courtesy in going to meet Gandhiji as soon as he arrived has made all the Congress leaders forget many of Cripps' lies against the Congress after the failure of his '42 mission.

This afternoon the Cabinet Mission and Lord Wavell went out and met the old ailing liberal leader Tej Bahadur Sapru who has grown grey in his long faith in the British rulers.

Two "Compartments" In One Constituent Assembly

I learn that Cripps mooted the idea of two separate 'compartments' in the same Constituent Assembly instead of Jinnah's two Assemblies, but Sapru promptly asked, "what about the Centre?" To which Cripps answered, "It is for the 'compartments' to decide and if they decide on separate Centres we could still have one Centre over all." And so everybody could be happy—the British most of all.

Anxious and eager to know what the Mission's view is, Nehru and Gandhiji met Sapru soon afterwards.

Late tonight I learnt that the Princes of Bhopal, Gwalior, etc., who met the Cabinet Mission today, have submitted a memorandum of demands (see page 4).

The British rulers are hard put to it to get hold of a seemingly independent middle-man who will put across their line. Officials are too easily marked out. No decent Indian would agree to play the British game of dark intrigue, and so the Princes are now made to hypocritically express their support for Indian freedom.

Bhopal and Patiala met the

a fully sovereign State. It would not join an all-India Centre, but would certainly consider the question of remaining in the British Commonwealth! Jinnah also claimed that to the extent the League was not successful in the elections in the North-West Frontier it was on account of the Government using its powers against the League.

Sapru Pleads For Interim Government

Sapru, I learn, held a Press conference this morning, to which only foreign correspondents were invited. Evidently Sapru discovered from yesterday's talks that the Cabinet Mission is thinking of 'settlement' in terms of Congress-League agreement. To put pressure for the Congress, Sapru said that the final solution would take very long and an Interim Government should be set up immediately.

At the Viceroy's House today, Maulana Azad arrived for interview accompanied by Asaf Ali.

The rot that has set in in our political movement can be gauged from the following story I gathered from reliable sources. It seems Sardar Patel does not trust Azad fully and was afraid that in separate discussions with the Cabinet Mission, he might be led into making admissions that might be difficult to resile from later. So he insisted that Azad should take Nehru with him.

Azad, ever touchy on this question, insisted that he would take his own interpreter Kabir or Asaf Ali. It was widely said among Pressmen that Azad finally won and had his way.

In the evening when Gandhiji arrived for a meeting with the Cabinet Mission, the crowd was the biggest ever seen.

After Gandhiji's return, I went to his hut in the Harijan colony. The Balmiki Temple ground looks spick and span with shamanas and tents. While going in, I saw a sight which is a sad commentary on the state of our political life.

sometime. I heard a middle-class League intellectual say, "Our leader has been talking of struggle for a long time. Let him give a call now." Another said, "Now that the League is going to be bypassed, struggle is inevitable." The first Leaguer replied, "But our leaders are anxious to bypass the masses."

There is a general feeling in the League rank and file that their leaders are not precisely the type that can lead the mass struggle of Mussalmans.

5TH APRIL

Back To The Days Of All-Parties' Committee

THIS morning's headlines in the *Hindustan Times* reveal that a deadlock has been reached: "Jinnah's Three-Hour Talk with the Mission"; "Next Move Rests with the Cabinet Ministers"; "Princes' Helpful Attitude Welcomed."

It also publishes Sardar Patel's interview to Reuter, the purpose of which seems to be to negative the concessions to the League that Nehru felt inclined to make yesterday.

While Nehru had said that certain areas may carry on for sometime without coming into the Constitution-making Body, Patel declared that the utmost the Congress could concede to the League was, first, redemarcation of Provincial boundaries; secondly, fullest autonomy possible to the Muslim majority areas, but subject to a strong Centre in charge of Defence, etc.

This was going back to the days of the All-Parties' Committee, 18 years ago, when Mr. Jinnah demanded fullest Provincial autonomy and the constitution of Muslim areas into Provinces, and was agreeable to a Federal Centre with residuary powers vested in the Provinces.

Nehru's Press Conference

In the evening, Nehru met Pressmen in a conference,

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 1.)

- What Greek Elections Reveal
- Chiang's Intrigues In Manchuria
- Transjordan - Britain's Cat's-Paw

THE Greek elections ran their expected course, ending with a complete majority for the Royalist Party. The reactionary Press is doing its best to paint the elections as free, but the voting figures themselves reveal the extent to which the people did not participate.

Majority Of Greeks Abstain

The E.A.M. (Greek Liberation Front) and the Left Liberals refused to participate on two grounds: first, because the electoral registers were faked; secondly, because the entire country was being terrorised by Royalist bands.

As a result, even according to the completely unsatisfactory lists, 55% of the electorate did not participate in the elections, compared to 25% in Britain, 10% in Austria, 15% in France, all figures of elections held last year.

The Director-General of the Ministry of the Interior, Lianopoulos, has stated that the results from 90% of the polling stations revealed that 980,000 out of 2,211,000 had voted. The then Premier, Right-wing Libe-

ral M. Sophoulis, also admitted that abstentions represented the people's protest against the way the elections had been held, which while peaceful in Athens, were not so in the countryside.

As a result of the elections themselves, the most vicious section of Greek reaction, the Populist Party, has "won" a complete majority.

Described as a "pro-British anti-Communist" group, and led by M. Constantine Tsaldaris, this section aims at bringing back to power the old discredited King, and through him to institute a similar kind of rule to that of the pre-war Fascist dictatorship of General Metaxas.

It represents the most reactionary section of the Greek population, the shipowners, big capitalists and agents of British capital, the men who betrayed Greece to Hitler, and are now willingly coming forward to rule Greece in the interests of British capital.

Tory Press Whitewashes Reactionaries

The British Press, however, is busy whitewashing the Right. The reactionary Sunday Times (approvingly quoted by our own Imperialist mouthpiece, The Times of India) has suddenly discovered that the Right in the sense of "big capital and reactionary political and social ideas does not exist and cannot exist in a country like Greece!"

"The main parties of the Right," The Times of India comments, "are democratic, liberal and progressive" (my emphasis—M.K.)—and one such party, the Populists, now looks like having a commanding lead."

How "democratic" the Populists are, is shown by the fact

that all its outstanding leaders were closely linked with the German occupationists during the war. Further, the leader of the National Liberals, which "made common cause with the Populists in the elections" (Reuter, April 4), General Stylanos Gonatas, was notorious for his organisation, on behalf of the Germans, of the hated Security Battalions, made up of the riff-raff elements in Greek society and used to attack the Resistance movement. This Gonatas has become Minister of Communications in the new Cabinet.

Once Servants Of Hitler Now Of British

The Right, once servant of Hitler, now servant of British reaction, has triumphed—temporarily; and clearly enough so long as British troops remain in Greece, suppressing the people and supporting the Right, the Populists will continue to rule Greece.

But just as in our country British-backed stooges have never ruled peacefully for long, so also in Greece this will solve nothing for the people, rather it will only pave the way (and in no distant future) to an all-in revolt of the Greek people against enslavement by foreigners—for this is the real result and significance of the Greek elections.

Facts Of Manchurian Situation

DURING the last week, the real reason for Chiang's virulent campaign against the Soviet "occupation" of Manchuria, came out sharply and clearly.

The facts are these:

* (i) By the Sino-Soviet treaty of August 1945, the Soviet pledged to withdraw its troops from Manchuria within three months of the Japanese surrender, i.e., on December 2.

* (ii) Later, on November 30, the Chinese Government requested that Soviet troops should stay on in Manchuria "for some time" because the Chinese Government was not yet ready to take over the administration of these areas, and to this the Soviet Government agreed.

* (iii) In January and February, the Government-controlled Press in Chungking launched a vicious propaganda campaign against the presence of Soviet troops in Manchuria; the Chinese Government, of course, kept quiet and said nothing.

* (iv) On March 27, the Chinese Government announced that agreement had been arrived at about the withdrawal of Soviet troops by the end of April, and Soviet troops started evacuating Manchuria.

Now last week came the report that General Tung Yan Ping, head of China's Military Mission in Changchun, had expressed the wish that small garrisons of Soviet troops should remain until Chinese Government troops entered the city.

A day before, General Tung had made the request that Soviet troops should help the Kuomintang troops in suppressing the Communist-led democratic partisans, and the Soviet commandant naturally refused.

Soviet Refuses To Suppress People

Thus it is not the presence of Soviet troops in Manchuria that disturbs the Chungking Government. Their real grievance is that the Soviet troops—unlike the Americans—refuse to join in suppressing the Chinese people.

This is why, though Chungking has requested Soviet troops to withdraw, it has made no such request to the U.S.—rather it happily uses U.S. transports, aeroplanes, etc., in its campaigns to destroy the democratic Communist-led partisan armies.

And it is because Soviet troops refuse to back Chiang in his

Monarchy In Greece Means Fascism

—Athens Correspondent Of Tory 'Observer'

"The Right want to impress on international observers how forbearing they really are and, in any case, there will be plenty of work for the 'X' bands before long. . . . It is perfectly legitimate to advocate the monarchy in a democratic country, but here it is sinister and dangerous because monarchy means Fascism, with all the internal and external peril that entails.

"The return of the King will mean dictatorship; in no other way could the King be clamped down on the Greek people, and in no other way could he be maintained. The Left would fight openly and secretly. . . . The Right are quite aware of that. They have an answer. Purges, secret Police, censorship—the brains behind the Royalists are quite open about it."

—From the Athens Correspondent of the London Observer, March 31, 1946.

anti-democratic crusade, that a campaign of slanders and calumnies has been launched—alleging that the Soviet was stealing Chinese factories, railway lines, etc.—which reached a fantastic height when the Central News Agency reported that "enormous quantities of chairs, desks, bedsteads, wardrobes and other types of furniture are being removed" by the Soviet from Chungchun!

All these fabrications, in fact, only express one truth—viz., anger at the Soviet's refusal to play an Imperialist game, to join up with American reaction in backing the Kuomintang's war to destroy Chinese democracy.

British Hold Retained Over Transjordan

TRANSJORDANIA became "independent" through a treaty signed with Britain on March 22. And the event was given a big 'welcome' by Imperialism's Press agents the world over.

But already the 'gilt' of independence is wearing off and underneath can be seen the old shoddy frame of colonial slavery.

The special correspondent of the Hindustan Times reported:

"Publication of the terms of the treaty granting 'independence' has provoked great concern in Arab circles in London. . . .

" . . . There is positive apprehension that Britain is trying to use Transjordan as a cat's-paw in the big-Power diplomatic struggle in the Middle East." (April 2).

So also the Egyptian newspaper Maysr Elfatat warns:

" . . . The independence now granted consists only of a formula and is granted on terms.

"British troops are continuing to occupy Transjordan while Great Britain continues to pay Transjordan a sum equal to that which she paid (for maintenance of the Arab Legion, a semi-mechanised armed force of 16,000 men, officered and trained by the British—M.K.) before the conclusion of the new agreement."

The fact is that all Britain's talk of independence is simple moonshine—whether to Transjordan or India. By stressing the Soviet menace, in Transjordan, Britain has effectively retained her troops, her military bases and thus her hold over the country.

In India too it is the same game that she is trying—using the myth of the Soviet menace to retain her own domination.

Transjordan has no democratic movement of any great strength—and thus easily fell a victim to British intrigues; but is this also to be the fate of India despite her sixty-year old national movement, leader of Asia's struggle for liberation.

—April 9, 1946.

Our Reporter's Delhi Diary

(Continued from Page 8.)

bait that if Sikhs agreed to remain in Pakistan, he would raise them from the third community to the second, which means that with weightage he would give them an artificial majority over Hindus.

League MLAs' Convention

Today, everywhere in Delhi cars and lorries with League flags are rushing about. They are bringing newly arrived League Legislators from all parts of India for their Convention which begins tomorrow. I learn that Jinnah's idea is to give ocular proof of a separate Pakistan Constituent Assembly.

The Convention might also pass a resolution that in the event of any interim solution being adopted despite League opposition, all League Legislators would be withdrawn from the Assembly as a first step towards the much talked-of "struggle for Pakistan."

Nearly 500 delegates are expected, and Jinnah's speech is likely to be a threat that the entire Muslim population would fight to the last man.

In the coming week, more fireworks can be expected from both the sides. Nine years ago, both the Congress and the League had opposed the Federation that the British sought to impose over India into which they had brought the Princes and given them one-third seats.

Today both the parties are appealing to the Mission for an Award. There is little doubt that such an Award will be three Federations under one Centre, instead of three forces in one Federation, and the Princes would play the same role as ever.

Talking to a Muslim tongawalla, he said bitterly to me:

"The Angrez won't give an iota. If brother fights brother, what can they get? As for us, poor people, life is becoming impossible. Horsegram that was Rs. 15 per maund during the war has completely disappeared from the market for the last six months. We have to pay Rs. 23 for it in the black-market. Why cannot these leaders think a little more about our difficulties? That might at least make them quarrel less."

Polling For S.R. Labour Seat (Villupuram)

CONGRESS SUPPORTERS RAID PARTY ELECTION OFFICE Defending Communists Injured

MARCH 23 was Polling day for the Railway Labour seat in Villupuram, a railway junction in Tamilnad on the S.R. ANANDAN NAMBYAR, General Secretary of the S.R. Labour Union, was the Communist candidate; opposing him was one ADIKESAVULU REDDIAR, Congress candidate.

Local Congressmen with a number of school urchins and high-school students kept shouting near the Polling booths: "Down with the Communist Party." "Do not oppose the Congress and lose your Deposit," etc. They harassed not only the voters but the railway passengers as well.

This went on the whole day. Quite unmindful of this, we carried on with the polling peacefully. The railway workers came with Red flags in their hands marching batch by batch to the Polling booths. The total number of votes polled was 553 out of 635 votes. More than 90% of the votes were cast in favour of Nambyar, the Communist candidate.

This infuriated the Congressmen all the more. When the train carrying the Pondicherry volunteers was just steaming out, the goonda elements and a number of children started throwing sand and stones at the moving train. Even the Station Master got some of them. Exasperated at this, the volunteers got down, and drove the boys away.

Then the whole gang moved to

the streets of Villupuram and began to attack the Party election office. There were three workers at that time in the office. The Congress Secretary and member of the Tamilnad Provincial Congress Committee, Tholasingam, accompanied by a notorious Communist renegade, entered the office and asked for Purshottam, a leading Party worker and an official of the Union.

The three workers in the office, Narayanaswamy (a roadvan porter), Padmanabhan (a yard coolie) and Arumugham, said that Purshottam was not in the office and was at the Polling booth. At once the Congress gang got down and organised throwing stones. This continued for half an hour or so. One full bag of stones was thrown at the office from the street below. They also climbed to the top of the office and tore off the Red flag and burnt it. The shops downstairs were also damaged.

Our three workers defended the office alone for sometime. Then the news reached the railway station from where some railway workers rushed to defend their Labour Union and the election office. Half a dozen

bravely defended the office against a mob of hundreds. In doing so, Narayanaswamy, roadvan porter, was seriously injured by stones, and the whole election office was besmeared with his blood. Arumugham, Padmanabhan and Kuruppiah also received injuries.

By this time the Police arrived on the scene. They got upto the office, collected a sackful of stones, and took away with them the mats with "bloodstains" as exhibits. They also arrested three Congressmen.

The whole public of Villupuram was thoroughly disgusted with this goondaism.

When some of our workers approached Adikesavalu Reddiar, the Congress candidate opposing Nambyar, and requested him to intervene, he flatly refused saying, "Those fellows will not listen to me. I won't go to that place."

The Police questioned the injured Communists as to who had hit them. Like Karyanandji in Bihar, they refused to give names of Congressmen to the Police, although they knew who had assaulted them.

The Railway workers gave the answer en masse to Congress goondaism by electing by a smashing majority, the Red Flag candidate Nambyar to represent them. Nambyar polled 12,974 votes as against 5,011 for the Congress candidate.

Post-War Upsurge For Egypt's Real Independence

BRITISH Foreign Minister Bevin is shortly flying to Cairo to negotiate a new treaty 'as between equals' (Bevin) to meet the Egyptian demand for the withdrawal of British troops and the scrapping of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, which has reached explosive proportions.

The British troops recently fired upon 'Out with the British' demonstrations at Cairo and elsewhere and British-Officered Egyptian puppet Police carried on a pitched battle with the students of the Cairo University. After that the British demanded the punishment of the Egyptians involved.

And yet the British would have us believe that they are about to quit Egypt!

The Egyptians, naturally, are not taken in by the honey-sweet talk about 'independence', and look upon the withdrawal of British troops as the acid test of British intentions.

The newspaper Maysr El Fatat, for instance, has unearthed a British conspiracy for the continued stationing of British troops in Egypt, and rightly thinks that the Bevin Mission is a hoax.

It writes: "We have been informed that the British military authorities are renewing contracts for the utilisation of buildings by British troops in Egypt till the end of 1947."

"How can one believe after that that the forthcoming Anglo-Egyptian negotiations are to be aimed at reaching agreement concerning the evacuation of British troops from Egypt? Why are these contracts renewed now?"

The newspaper Wafd El Mysri has unearthed the other part of the British conspiracy. British troops are to stay on—but in civilian dress!

It says: "We have learned that British servicemen are forbidden to appear in Cairo streets in army uniform, beginning April 1. They will only be permitted to appear in the city in civilian clothes. Thus, instead of evacuation, the British plan only a change of costume."

WILL COMMUNIST PARTY BE ILLEGALISED?

(Continued from Page 2.)

"The Congress is coming into power soon. To protect the interests of their own Birias, they are bound to take drastic action against the Communists. Why should we do their job for them and get a bad name? Let them do it when they come into power." This seems to be the present position regarding the illegalisation of our Party. Everyone expects that the Congress would be in power in two months' time not only in the Provinces but in some measure in the Centre too.

If for some reason a reconstituted Centre is delayed, it is said that our Party may be declared illegal if any other popular demonstration on a large scale takes place and they can charge the Party with being responsible for the "disturbances."

Anti-Communists refer to the possible illegalisation with glee, and I understand that there are not a few Congress leaders who think that if this is done before the Congress takes power, it will make things far easier for them.

In any case, drastic actions are likely against our Press and journals for articles and reports on popular demonstrations or for condemning Government repression.

whelming majority of, whose membership consists of foreign enterprises.

He is also on the Board of Directors of the Suez Canal Company and the S. A. du Wadi Komombo (the biggest foreign Land Company in Egypt, holding over 60,000 acres or more than one per cent of the total cultivated area of Egypt).

He represents too the Filature National (the biggest foreign cotton mill) and the Cairo Tramway Company and the Societe Egyptienne d'Electricite (two foreign companies holding public utility concessions).

SHERIF SABRI PASHA, another delegate, is on the Board of Directors of the National Bank of Egypt (a British bank with the authority to issue bank-notes), of the Suez Canal Company, etc.

HUSSEIN SIERRY PASHA also has interests in the Bank of Egypt, the Suez Canal Company, the Wadi du Komombo, and in many other lesser foreign companies.

ALY SHAMSI PASHA too, is the President of the Board of Directors of the Bank of Egypt and of the Cairo Water Company (foreign).

HAFEX AFTFI PASHA is an ex-Ambassador to London and Vice-

be withdrawn from Cairo to the Suez Canal zone "when barracks were ready."

This treaty, too, made little more difference than the 1922 treaty.

"Barracks" in the Canal zone were still not ready when the war broke out in 1939, and the clause about shifting British troops there was formally cancelled "in view of the threat to Empire and Egyptian security."

British officials remained in charge of all the key posts in the administration—specially the Police and the Army—and saw to it that the Egyptian Army was 'not ready' to take over the defence of Egypt.

British interests in Egyptian economy were still more deeply entrenched till today 70% of Egypt's national income per year is required to pay interest on British investments.

War-Time Robbery Of Egypt's Wealth

During the war, Egypt was stripped bare to provide for the upkeep of British and Empire troops stationed there. The cost of living shot up 600% and caused untold hardship for all except a handful of landlords and profiteers who made fabulous profits.

In the year of the Bengal famine, Egypt too had a famine which took away over a million lives—a very high figure for a country like Egypt whose population is very much smaller than that of Bengal.

The British paid for this terrible drain on Egyptian resources with paper currency issued against blocked sterling worth over £400 million. Even with the end of the war, British war-time policies have continued. Sterling balances get bigger and bigger but are blocked in London, and Egypt cannot get the much-needed imports from America because the dollars she gets are converted into blocked sterling by the British.

Conditions For Real Independence

With this black record of fake 'independence' burning in their minds, no Egyptian is impressed with Bevin's fresh move to grant 'independence.'

The Egyptians demand real independence which must mean:

THE complete withdrawal of British and other foreign troops from Egypt and the Sudan.

THE dismissal of all foreign officials—mainly British in the higher posts—from the Army, Police force and civil administration.

THE cancellation—not 'revision'—of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty.

THE unity and independence of the Nile Valley by a union of Egypt and the Sudan (which is nominally under Anglo-Egyptian control but really a 100% British base).

It is obvious that the British are out for high stakes in Egypt. They want to keep their grip over Egypt, as a 'life-line' to India and to the anti-Soviet British-controlled 'Eastern Bloc' of puppet states in the Middle East, which they are trying hard to build up.

But it can be assumed that the Egyptian people—who fought the British in recent months and have not walked into the British spider's parlour—will make things hot for the British till they are forced to quit.

-by Arun Bose

Withdrawal Of British Troops—The Crux

These newspapers certainly do not reflect the views of extra-suspicious eccentrics or 'sensational' journalism.

The two major political forces in modern Egypt are the WAFD and the NATIONAL WORKERS' AND STUDENTS' COMMITTEE. Both have seen through the Bevin hoax.

BRITISH IMPERIALISM'S STAKES

The Wafd is the old-established anti-British nationalist party of Egypt. It had asked that the question of the withdrawal of British troops be brought up before UNO. When 'negotiations' with the British were announced instead, they asked for a majority of Wafd delegates as the least that could be done to ensure that there would be no abject surrender to the British on the conference table.

But the puppet Government of Egypt turned down this request and the Wafd is out of the delegation altogether.

The National Workers' and Students' Committee led the recent 'Out with the British' demonstrations and is the new rising force which has brought the question of the withdrawal of British troops to a head.

Their outspoken manifesto, dated March 10th, says:

"The Committee cannot recognise the negotiations—as they are planned by Sidky Pasha (present Premier of the pro-British Egyptian Government) and is convinced that such negotiations cannot lead anywhere else than to a mock treaty which would not change anything basically in the Imperialist domination (of our country). . . . It goes on to say:

"... the people do not accept those leaders or delegates who agree to negotiate with Great Britain without demanding that Great Britain fixes beforehand an early date for the evacuation of the Nile Valley. This is the only way of safeguarding the independence of our country."

"Negotiators" Of Egyptian "Independence"

It boils down to this. Bevin will 'negotiate' in Cairo with his own chosen puppets or, rather, he will 'negotiate' with his own image, as if he were sitting before a mirror.

A glance at the forces and interests the Egyptian "negotiators" represent is enough to make this crystal clear.

SIDKY PASHA (President of the delegation) is the President of the "Federation Egyptienne des Industries"—the over-

President of the Board of Directors of the Marconi Radio Telegraph Company (a British firm holding the concession of the Egyptian State Broadcasting system).

These representatives, therefore, represent the biggest foreign enterprises in Egypt.

Sidky Pasha, incidentally, is also notorious for having banned anti-British newspapers and meetings after the February clashes and conducted a joint drive with the British against the 'Communists.'

Secret Link-Up Exposed

The Paris paper Le Monde, (close to the French-Foreign Office) reported on the 11th March that Sidky Pasha's Government had put aside £25,000 as secret funds for the struggle against the Communists to finance a special section of the Police for the job.

PHIL PIRATIN, member of the British Parliament, also pointed out recently in the House of Commons that there was a 'Supreme Committee of Security' in Egypt financed by England and Egypt together to fight the 'Communists.'

Sidky Pasha is also known to have plans for establishing a dictatorship. When last in power—in 1930-33—he abolished whatever constitution there was and ruthlessly suppressed every democratic movement.

The other six members of the delegation are mostly Ministers of the present puppet Government or belong to other pro-British or pro-Fascist elements.

ALY MAHER PASHA, for instance, is an ex-Chief of the Royal Cabinet who was detained during the war as the leader of the Fascist forces in Egypt. He had made contacts with Fascist armies marching on Egypt and let out military secrets to them.

NOKRASHI PASHA, another 'politician' member, was Premier of the pro-British Saadist Party which was in power when the first February clashes broke out.

Twice Given Independence By Britain

Most Egyptians, therefore, see

the British troops—whether in military uniform or in civil dress—lording it over the country, and also know these 'negotiators' on Egypt's behalf very well. So they do not take the Bevin Mission seriously.

An additional reason is that they have had deeper experience of 'negotiating' with the British 'on the basis of independence' than we in India have.

British 'recognition' of their 'independence' in words, has no magic charm for them. The reason is that they have already been 'granted' 'independence' twice in the last 25 years by the British! It is a case of twice bitten, thrice shy.

In 1922, the British signed a treaty with them by which the British 'Protectorate' over Egypt was 'abolished' and which solemnly spoke of Egypt as an 'Independent and Sovereign State' with an 'Independent and Sovereign King.'

But the 'treaty' had other clauses—more vital. The following subjects were 'absolutely reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government':

- * (1) Security of Empire communications in Egypt;
- * (2) Defence of Egypt;
- * (3) Protection of foreign in-

terests in Egypt and 'minorities';

* (4) The Sudan (which lies to the south of Egypt in the upper Nile Valley) and Egypt's relations with foreign states.

Tentacles Of British Capital

This 'discretion' was liberally used to entrench British troops and British capital in Egypt. British troops were stationed all over—including the capital city, Cairo. Under their 'protection', foreign vested interests not only remained but developed at a galloping speed.

Between 1914 and 1933, for instance, out of the 114 new undertakings set up in industry, commerce and mining with a total capital of £15 million—there were 36 giant foreign firms which alone controlled £10 million!

The 'Sovereign and Independent Government' of Egypt, of course, helped the British for all it was worth. The King, with sweeping powers of dismissing unwanted Governments and even of dissolving the Mejlis (Parliament), and the British officers who monopolised all the key posts in the Army, Police and administration saw the job through with the help of Egyptian 'partners' of foreign capital like Sidky Pasha and 12,000 reactionary landlords who control 60% of Egypt's cultivable land (as against the 2,263,000 peasants who own the other 40% between them).

The Treaty of 1936

By 1936, the Egyptian people—led by the Wafd—refused to tolerate this state of affairs any more and wanted real independence with the withdrawal of British troops and clearing out of British officials.

The British, too, thought they had to make another 'gesture', and signed the 1936 treaty. Egyptian 'independence' was again 'recognised' but only on condition that Egypt entered into an 'alliance' with Britain. British troops were to remain on Egyptian soil until the Egyptian Army was 'strong enough' to defend Egypt. They were, however, to