

JOINT ANGLO-AMERICAN OFFENSIVE

Payment Of Entire Sum Must Form Part Of Any Indo-British Settlement

THE question of India's Sterling balances is of major importance to any postwar economic and financial scheme.

A joint Anglo-American understanding has been reached to deprive India of her Sterling Balances.

As is generally known, before the war, in 1939, India owed a debt of Rs. 400 crores to Britain.

But, unfortunately, the amount is lying in England and is in British currency.

How Did They Arise?

During the war huge British and American troops were stationed in India.

Accordingly, the Indian bureaucrats, to serve their British masters, printed paper notes day in and day out.

We were made to cut our rations of food and cloth and face famine all over the country.

Although the war came to an end some months ago, this process of accumulation is still going on and the British Gov-

ernment have declared their intention to carry on with this virtual plunder of goods from India for another two years.

It is through this British manoeuvre to cheat India, to put the entire burden of the war on our shoulders, to force us to part with goods without asking anything in return, that these credits have arisen.

Thus they do not represent India's surplus wealth, they are no measure of our 'high' standard of living.

Their Importance To Us

This huge amount represents quite over 80% of our total national income and can be of

Imperialist Plan

The British Imperialists, basically hostile to Indian industrial development, and in their attempt to retain India as their colony, have been planning to write off the whole amount.

The American Imperialists in their drive to capture the world market and squeeze the British out of their colonial markets, and confident of their industrial superiority and hence of the fact that Indians will buy from them if given a free choice, had in the initial stages supported India's demand for the early and free availability to her of her credits and even posed as champions of India's cause.

But the final upshot has been a deal between the British and American Imperialists at our expense.

At Bretton Woods (June 1944), our demand for the inclusion of these funds within the purview of the International Monetary Fund and their availability to us was turned down.

Later reports about the Anglo-American negotiations for a loan raised a hope in many that America would insist on England giving us our credits, be-

cause only through that means could America hope to establish and stabilise trade relations with India.

"Simultaneously with the publication of the Indian Industrialists' report, came well authenticated reports from Washington that a portion of any American Loan to Britain, if such a loan is offered and taken, might be earmarked for the purpose of converting Indian Sterling into U.S. Dollars, thus facilitating the purchase by India of American capital and consumers' goods."

But now this "fight for India's just cause" seems to have been unceremoniously given up.

India - A Pawn In Imperialist Bargaining

India has been made a scapegoat of Imperialist bargaining. The United States wanting to capture the Indian market had

by PREM SAGAR

been trying to impress upon Britain the necessity of paying her debt to the colonies, but Britain remained adamant.

Now the endeavour of the U.S. was to save her own interests of capturing the world market "not only by extending its moral and material support to Britain but by actually bringing pressure on that country to get the Sterling Balances scaled down."

The U.S.A.'s first interest is to see that the colonies get convertibility of their credits into dollars. Failing that, the U.S. would not tolerate Britain agreeing to pay back the debt because that would mean a regular well-established trade channel between Britain and her dominions.

India and the colonies would buy all their requirements from Britain alone on the strength of these credits and that would mean the complete exclusion of American goods from these markets for a very long time to come.

They are out to maintain the status quo to retain the Imperialist colonial system and to revert the world back to a renewed scramble for economic markets.

Books You Must Read

1. IRAN AT THE CROSS-ROADS

by Mohan Kumaramangalam Re. 1.

What is really happening inside our neighbour-Iran-this book tears the veil from Kauter's propaganda, giving the true facts of Iran's long struggle against Oil Imperialism and its agents.

2. THE WAY OUT OF CHINA'S CIVIL WAR

by Mao Tse Tung Re. 1.

Text of his report to the 7th Congress of Chinese Communists. Against the background of the mighty achievements of the 90 million Chinese people in the liberated democratically-led areas in North China, Mao Tse-tung, sets forth the programme of a Coalition Government to unite the entire Chinese people for their final bid for freedom and greatness.

3. SOVIET LIGHT ON COLONIES

by Leonard Barnes As. 12

How the British Imperialists run their colonies and the results of their rule-and what are Soviet policy and achievements in regard to the former backward nations of the Tsarist Empire-you will get described vividly in this book by the author who has himself been in the Colonial office and seen the Soviet Union too.

4. NOTES ON THE BENGAL RENAISSANCE

by Amit Sen Re. 1.

This short booklet by an eminent Marxist intellectual is the first of its kind on the subject. Bengal has been the Province which led the literary and political renaissance in our country.

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(ii) Part to be released slowly in instalments beginning in 1951.

(iii) Part to be written off. The amount allocated to the different categories is left entirely to mutual negotiations between England and her creditors.

As the Birla-owned Eastern Economist dated January 11th, 1946 says:

"The part that is to be released (category 1), therefore cannot be a very large amount."

The London Times (British Imperialist mouthpiece) of October, 23, 1945 stated:

"That Britain will be expected to ask her creditors to write off one-third of the Sterling Balances (amounting to 14 billion dollars) and to pay off immediately three billion dollars after which the balance of about seven billion dollars would be refunded over a long period."

In a message to the United States Congress, President Truman said, on January 31st, 1946:

"Our concern is two-fold. In the first place, we want other countries which are in a position to do so, to grant assistance to the United Kingdom within their means. Those who hold large Sterling Balances can do so by scaling them down. In the second place, we want to be certain that liquidation of these balances will not discriminate against American trade."

Mr. Dean Acheson, U.S. Under Secretary of State, said:

"It is our hope and the hope of Britain that some of their creditors will agree to scale down part of their debt as part of their war contribution."

Thus it is obvious from the above that a stage is finally being set for an open repudiation of our Sterling assets in the name of war effort.

MARXIST AND PROGRESSIVE LITERATURE. Books and periodicals advertised in People's Age, and also other Communist literature, are available at the following bookshops.

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA. Consulting Editor: G. ADHIKARI. Managing Editor: D. S. Hatangdi. Subscription Rate (Indian): Yearly Rs. 8/-; Half-Yearly Rs. 4/6; Quarterly Rs. 2/8.

INDIA AT END OF WORLD FOOD QUEUE

FAMINE CONDITIONS ALREADY IN MANY PARTS

Corruption And Inefficiency Under Bureaucratic Control

[BELOW we print the article which PALME DUTT has cabled to the London Daily Worker (organ of the British Communist Party) on the acute food situation in India, on the basis of his own personal study of the situation and discussions with important national leaders in Delhi—EDITOR.]

A STORM has been raised in India by the criminal callous attitude of powerful world reactionary forces in relation to the desperate food situation in India. A leading Indian national newspaper has even spoken of an organised plot against India. Before dismissing this description as exaggerated, it is worth considering the following facts:

Facts About Indian Food Situation

(1) British readers will be aware that the recent White Paper on Food has shown Indian present consumption on the low basis of 1,000 calories as against 1,050 calories for Japan and 1,600 to 1,800 calories for Germany and Austria. In spite of all rhetorical declarations to the contrary, India is revealed at the end of the food queue.

(2) The present crisis in India comes on top of chronic permanent deficiency. The minimum requirement to supply 1-lb. of food grains per head per day, is officially estimated at 65 million tons a year. The average production for the past decade has been 53 million tons, and the normal import one million ton, thus leaving a normal deficit of 15 with a result that 30 per cent of the population is permanently underfed or starved.

(3) The present special crisis arising from the drought and failure of crops has been stated by B. R. SEN, the Food Secretary, on March 2, 1946, to mean a deficit of six million tons this year.

(4) The application of the Indian Food Delegation to the Combined Food Board was nevertheless made only for four million tons in order to ensure a low level ration of 12-ozs. a day.

(5) The decision of the Combined Food Board was to allot India 1½ million tons or less than half of this minimum demand, for the first half of 1946.

(6) India has, in fact, not got anything yet of this allotted 1½ million tons. Shipments so far reaching India are out of the 4,00,000 tons allotted last year.

(7) Food exports from India have been officially admitted to have continued up to the end of 1945. For example, the Food Member, Sir J. P. SRIVASTAVA, stated in the Council of State on March 28 that 21,000 tons and 3,000 tons of rice were exported from Calcutta in the 3rd and 4th quarters of 1945 respectively. There is reason to believe that certain food exports have continued even in 1946. I have private information from authoritative quarters that sugar exports are taking place today, despite severe shortage here.

(8) The campaign of LA GUARDIA (Director of UNRRA—American) to increase the UNRRA allocation for Europe and of General MACARTHUR to increase food supplies for Japan (where "profligacy" in respect of food supplies and stocks has had to be admitted) is, in fact, whatever may be professed to the contrary, a campaign to reduce supplies for India. The Food Member, Sir J. P. Srivastava, warned on April 17th that,

"If the supplies allocated to India by the Combined Food Board are now reduced or relegated to a low movement priority, the results in the scarcity areas will be disastrous."



Finally, on top of this India is now being called upon to vote about 3½ crore rupees or over 2½ million pounds for UNRRA, which excludes India from its operations.

These are the hard facts of the present food situation in relation to the world food

situation. If steps are not taken to change this situation, all expert opinion knows that this will mean the death of many millions from starvation.

Their Meaning Under Indian Conditions

Reports reveal that shortage is already acute in large parts of Madras, in Bengal and in areas of Bombay. The low level of rations of 12-ozs. a day in the urban areas where rationing exists is far from being maintained.

In Delhi, the recent cut by half since April 8th has brought the actual level to 6-ozs. a day.

Here in the Bombay Presidency a number of areas have already been declared scarcity areas and the shortage of water is such that peasants have to go 15 miles for water, and the cattle are dying.

In Calcutta during March, six persons were officially returned as having died of starvation, while during the week ending April 6, 10 persons with no address, "presumably destitutes," were officially returned as having died in the streets or having been picked up in the streets and died in hospitals.

Here is a paragraph from a daily newspaper of today (April 19):

"Noakhali, April 18: A report from Kutubpur village states that a weaver, Bharat Chandra Nath, committed suicide by hanging on Monday night driven by hunger and unable to see his family starve. The deceased who had five children and a wife could not get yarn to weave for at least two months and the whole family had to go without food. Unable to bear the sight of his starving family, Bharat Chandra hanged himself." (Free Press Journal).

Food Imports Of 4 Million Tons Essential

In the face of the present reactionary campaign to cut down food supplies to starving India, world opinion will do well to bear in mind the authoritative statement by the UNRRA Deputy Director General, R. HENDRICKSON,

"Unless India can obtain four million tons of cereals, from five to fifteen million people will lose their lives in the months lying ahead. It is a mathematical certainty that without grain from the Western hemisphere more people

will perish in India in 1946 than died in the Bengal famine. In China, in Indo-China, the Philippines, the Dutch East Indies, in India, famine is no longer a spectre, it has arrived."

There is still just time, but very short time left, to do something to assist practically this desperate situation. British public opinion can play an important part in this. Every effort must be made to see that India gets the essential minimum of four million tons of food grain imports.

At the same time, a political settlement on the basis of Indian independence is urgent in order to enable the Indian people to tackle the internal problems of distribution, hoarding, and the blackmarket. The failure of effective central control, the corruption and disorganisation under the rule of the present bureaucracy is colossal.

profiteering, refused to ration these towns.

Now it has been announced once again that these towns will be rationed "as soon as arrangements are complete." But it is the same Food Department, representing the same interests. And so, as the Eastern Economist puts it, the arrangements "may perhaps never be complete."

But this year rationing of all urban areas is necessary in the interests no longer merely of the maximum exports for deficit and famine Provinces, but of the urban areas themselves. Reports of serious food shortage in the towns have been received from all parts of the Province, during the months of February and March—a warning signal of what is to come.

Normally deficit districts like Rohtak, Hissar, Kangra, Rawalpindi and Attock are already in the grip of acute scarcity.

In Kangra the normal deficit of four and a half lakh maunds has swelled this year to eight lakh maunds. Corrupt official machinery is holding up the import of food grains from surplus districts—and many villages are reported to be without any grain whatsoever.

Import licenses are being given only to certain favourites of the bureaucracy—who, anxious to profit from scarcity, have deliberately imported only a miserable seven hundred bags during the last few weeks.

Government announcements have created a complete scare in the market. And in the absence of any effective anti-hoarding measures, the big grain merchants and landlords have cornered all the grain there is and are already busy securing most of the new harvest, as it is reaped. Whole standing fields of wheat are being bought up and the grain whisked away.

Smuggling has already begun into the neighbouring Provinces. Rice in particular is "leaking" into the U.P. via Delhi.

Smuggling To Neighbouring Provinces

On the 29th March, Minister BALDEV SINGH openly admitted in the Assembly, that grains were being taken secretly out of the Punjab into the N.W.F.P., the United Provinces and Kashmir.

But this admission had a definite purpose behind it. It was the climax of the campaign already begun by the Food Secretary, Wace to avoid having to declare any surplus for the Basic Plan. Till now Wace had been saying that anyhow the Punjab would have enough to feed itself. Now Baldev Singh has gone a step further and says that not merely has the Punjab no surplus, but it may actually be deficit to the extent of two lakh tons!

This, of course, is not true. Already on April 6th, Mr. Wace had to change his tune a little by declaring that "We are now likely to have a surplus." But the game has already been played. And once again, the Punjab will declare a surplus—if at all it declares one—far below its actual surplus.

According to a statement issued on March 20th by Sir WILLIAM ROBERTS, formerly Honorary Director of Food Supplies (Continued on Page 10, Col. 1.)

Food In The Punjab

Bureaucrat-Hoarder Axis Still Going Strong

Urgent Tasks Before Congress

EVER since the Central Basic Plan (under which the surplus from the surplus food Provinces is allocated and distributed to the deficit Provinces) came into operation, the Glancy-Unionist-Akali Punjab Ministry has been notorious for its attempts every year to hold back as much of its surplus as possible. Before every harvest comes in, the Punjab Food Department begins issuing false statements to prove that its surplus is far below what it actually is. Then begins a battle royal with the Government of India—and eventually a bargain is made under which the Punjab agrees to supply to the deficit Provinces an amount well below its real surplus.

This regular annual performance had in the past just one purpose: to protect the interests of the big landlords and grain merchants whom the Unionist Ministry always represented and supported. By declaring a surplus smaller than the actual one the Ministry was able to avoid the necessity for a strict procurement system of compulsory levies (the biggest fear of the rich zamindar-hoarders).

At the same time a sufficient margin was left in the hands of the hoarding landlords and merchants to allow them to make huge profits by smuggling cartloads of grain to the neighbouring deficit Provinces at fancy prices.

How Actual Surplus Was Hidden

During the last three years, the average wheat production has been 37 lakh tons and the average exports five lakh tons. This means that the Punjab has been "consuming" 32 lakh tons annually in this period.

Compare this figure with that of the years 1938-39 to 1940-41. Then, according to the Gregory Committee Report, the average production was 34 lakh tons and the average exports 6.84 lakh tons which means an average consumption of a little over 27 lakh tons.

Punjab may not be a surplus Province."

At the same time, however, Mr. Wace declared that "there is no fear of famine."

When the ration-cut was imposed, he explained that it was merely a measure "to fall in line" with the rest of India."

Hoarders Corner Wheat

But by the middle of March, the Punjab's hoarders had denuded the markets of wheat, and the totally inefficient and pro-hoarder procurement machinery of the Government was almost at a standstill. On the 17th of March came the fantastic order by which ration holders were forced to draw half wheat and half rice! This could not be explained away by an "All-India policy"—for the deficit Provinces would any day prefer rice to wheat.

The dangerous state of the official procurement machinery was brought sharply to the notice of the public. Already the hoarders had blown it up when there was only the talk of famine. What would happen in the days of real scarcity?

In the bigger towns like Ludhiana, Jullundur and Hoshiarpur, wheat disappeared from the market for days on end. I reported in People's Age of March 31 how it was only the determined action of the citizens themselves which compelled the local bureaucracy in these districts to open up Government food depots and save the population from starvation.

For the last three years, the Punjab Food Department has been resisting the extension of rationing. Jullundur, Multan, Ambala, Ludhiana, and Sialkot—all towns with populations of over a lakh should have been rationed long ago under the Gregory Committee recommendations. But the Punjab Unionist Government, anxious to keep as many fields open as possible for

Mr. F. B. WACE, the Food Secretary, at Press Conferences throughout February, kept repeating the formula:

"The absence of rains has made the prospects of the rabbi crops gloomy . . . the

by Romesh Chandra

Allowing for a rise of even as high a proportion as 10 per cent in the population during the five years between these two periods, the annual consumption should in no case exceed 30 lakh tons for the last three years. And yet, one sees that the Punjab has been "consuming" some 32 lakh tons annually.

These figures demonstrate quite clearly the real meaning of the Punjab Government's annual campaign to play down its total surplus.

This Year's Campaign Begins

This year has been no exception. Despite the fact that it is no longer a purely Unionist Ministry and the Congress has a share in the Government, the Punjab's Food Department remains from top to bottom the same as before. The same Akali Minister, Sardar BALDEV SINGH, bosses the show.

The failure of the winter rains, of course, meant that the crop was below average. But the Food Department long before any real facts could be secured, began its campaign.

Mr. F. B. WACE, the Food Secretary, at Press Conferences throughout February, kept repeating the formula:

"The absence of rains has made the prospects of the rabbi crops gloomy . . . the

★ Communist Memorandum To Cabinet Mission

★ Deadlock In Delhi And A British Award?

★ A Practical Way Out For Both Parties

THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S MEMORANDUM TO the Cabinet Mission is a clear and straightforward challenge to the British Government to prove its sincerity.

IF THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT ARE NOT PURSUING THE Tory policy and are earnest about settling with a free India and determined not to make Indian differences the excuse for continuing British domination over India, then there is no reason why they should not make the declaration of clear-cut recognition of India's independence and the withdrawal of the British Army, the very starting point of the negotiations.

Immediate Transfer Of Power

There was no need for these humiliating single-file interviews in New Delhi. Real negotiations should have been carried out between the British Government and the Indian Provisional Government based on popular parties.

As soon as the British Government does the one thing on which all Indians are united, namely, sets an early date for the realisation of India's independence and the withdrawal of the British Army, everything will fall into its proper proportions and the ground cleared for the formation of a Provisional Government based on the popular parties.

The stand of the Communist Party is clear and unambiguous. Differences between the Congress and the League on the formation of the Interim Government or on the formation of the Constituent Assembly must not be made an excuse for the refusal to transfer power fully and completely.

Such a decision would leave the two parties only two alternatives. Either they launch upon a civil war to settle their differences or they agree to form a free Provisional Government based on parity, with due representation to minorities, and decide to resolve their differences by putting their respective claims to the vote of the people in a just and democratic way.

Civil War Bogey

Our Party is convinced that there would be no civil war in India in case the British Government is honest enough to declare forthwith the recognition of Indian independence and the withdrawal of the troops, and proceeds to implement the same.

The result of such a declaration would be that neither party would have any ground left to suspect that the other is conspiring with the British to sabotage its aim.

The Congress would have no ground left to suspect that the Muslim League was conspiring with the British to sabotage the independence of India.

The Muslim League also would have no ground left for suspecting that the Congress was try-

ing to impose a single Central Government over all India with the aid of the British, thus denying the self-determination demanded by the Muslims.

On the other hand, both would be faced with the demand by their mass following to join hands to form a Provisional Government to negotiate with the British and other powers on matters of common and urgent interest such as import of food, of urgently required machinery, the prompt payment of sterling balances, and take immediate measures to avert famine and shortage of industrial goods and unemployment.

Secondly, the masses would demand that matters on which the two parties sharply differ should be put before the people by the Provisional Government in a democratic and just way for decision.

Denial Of Self-Determination

The Muslim League's demand is one for an unnatural partition of the country based on the

by **G. ADHIKARI**

separatist theory of Muslims being a nation. It is an unjust demand because it denies the right of self-determination to a whole lot of nationalities like the Assamese, Bengalis, Sindhis, Baluchis, Pathans, and to the Western Punjabs and the peoples of the Central Punjab including the Sikhs.

The League's demand for a single Constituent Assembly and a separate State consisting of six Provinces cannot be conceded without reference to the will of the entire peoples of the linguistically and culturally homogeneous areas like Assam, Bengal, the Pathanland, the Central Punjab, etc., all of whom have the right of self-determination.

The Congress formula which is based on one Constituent Assembly and a single Federation for the whole of India, while it concedes full autonomy to every linguistically and culturally homogeneous national unit is also undemocratic because it does not concede to those units the right of self-determination to the point of secession.

Congress And League Stands

The Congress proposal as formulated by the Working Committee and announced by the Congress president, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his statement of April 15, has the following features:

- * (1) Complete independence,
- * (2) A United India,
- * (3) One Federation composed of fully autonomous units which will have residuary powers in their hands, and
- * (4) Two lists of Central subjects, one compulsory and the other optional.

This last feature was specially introduced at the instance of Maulana Azad to give the Muslim-majority Provinces the option of having more autonomy by having to subject themselves

to the Centre only in relation to the compulsory subjects.

As against this the Muslim League formula, as adopted in the Convention of the League Legislators, demands the establishment of a Sovereign Independent State comprising of these zones—Bengal and Assam in the North-East, and the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind in the North-West. The League demands two separate Constitution-making Bodies to be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan.

If the peoples of these nationalities, the majority of whom are Muslim by faith, e.g., the Baluchis, Sindhis, etc., should by their established will demonstrate that they want to separate and to join up in a separate Federation, they must be allowed to do so.

It is, of course, open to us to persuade them to remain in a single Federation or Union; but we can do so ONLY by building up democratic anti-landlord movements in these areas which would enable the peoples to recognise their common bonds—and NOT by denying them their right of self-determination.

Mission's Compromise Formula

The efforts of the Cabinet Mission to solve the deadlock between the Congress and League positions has led to no result. The two compromise formulas evolved by them were based on the idea of having two autonomous Federations of Pakistan and Hindustan linked by a loose Centre in which the two Federations had equal representation.

Both these compromise solutions were convenient devices to accommodate the Princes in the common Centre and

thus clamp the whole under British domination. It is reported that they were rejected by both the Congress and the League.

It is suggested in certain quarters that if the Mission is not successful in getting any one of its compromise formulas accepted by the Congress and the League it may proceed to impose an Interim Government at the Centre, based on the Provincial Ministries, without any decision on the final constitution.

Perspective - British Imposed Award

In this situation of deadlock, the Congress and League leaders are appealing to the British against each other.

Sardar Patel, referring to this deadlock, suggests that an Interim Government composed of the representatives of the Provincial Ministries should be formed. He suggests that a settlement of the communal issue will come automatically. He feels that once such a Provisional Government is formed, and the Provinces and the Centre are working smoothly and harmoniously there will be no serious trouble.

The Muslim League leaders, who do not think in terms of joining any Interim Government until Pakistan based on six Provinces is conceded, to them as a separate State, are suggesting that such a Pakistan would be content to be "an equal member of the British Commonwealth having the right to secede" (Khaliquzzaman and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, in an interview with the Cabinet Mission, quoted by the daily Muslim).

In this state of things, with the Congress and the League at loggerheads and both looking to the British Government for a solution, the prospect appears to be an Interim Government, as suggested by the Cabinet Mission, based on Provincial Ministries which would be dominant in Congress.

No Real Transfer Of Power

However, it would in fact mean no real transfer of power but would merely be a reconstituted Viceroy's Council (similar to what Amery and Wavell had offered last September) dependent on British military force, and in which the Congress will have to face seething discontent and communal riots.

Such is the situation on the eye of the final act of the drama of the Cabinet Mission, the curtain on which goes up soon after the Easter holidays. It is the outcome in the first place of the policy of the Cabinet Mission, which refuses to transfer power declaring the recognition of Indian independence and the withdrawal of the British army by a definite date.

This refusal in its turn leads the Congress and League leaderships to manoeuvre against each other while handing over the initiative to the British to impose an undemocratic and reactionary Award.

The Way Out

The only practical way out of this mess is the one suggested by our Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission. While demanding the declaration of independence and the prompt withdrawal of the Army, the Memorandum puts forward a plan on the basis of which the Congress and the League can agree to put their differences to the people in a just and democratic manner, and thus forge a joint front to secure the withdrawal of the British and full independence for the whole of India.

We demand complete transfer of power preferably to an Interim Government based on both the Congress and the League, equally represented.

Failing that, we would support the transfer of power to either of the parties—provided it is not used to manoeuvre against the other but is used to convene a Constituent Assembly based on universal adult suffrage and on the recognition of the right of self-determination of the peoples of Provinces so demarcated that they become, as far as possible, culturally and linguistically homogeneous national units.

In this way it would be possible to decide the question whether there is going to be one Constituent Assembly or many. The Muslim majority units would be free, if each of them so decides, to form a separate Federation.

The Communist Party being the party of the working people and the toiling masses will always stand for a single Indian Union of sovereign units. The interests of the common people of all nationalities and communities demand that they stand together in the fight against landlordism, and for a common plan of economic regeneration of our country.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

(Continued from Page 9.)

the world Press for the last year; there will be no more stories of Azerbaijani insurgent troops and Russian troops marching on Teheran, marches which, in fact, never took place at all.

This Press censorship will limit the rumour-mongering of the reactionary Press in Britain and the U.S. and thus help towards greater understanding of the real issues at Iran.

Autonomy For Azerbaijan

THIRDLY, the Persian Government is taking steps to reach a settlement on the question of autonomy for Azerbaijan and Kurdistan. It has ordered all Persian troops in these areas to

remain in their garrisons and "to avoid any move that might result in disrupting peace as events were now shaping to our satisfaction without bloodshed."

Simultaneously, the Premier has made a seven-point offer, which goes some way towards granting the Azerbaijani demand for autonomy. The offer is likely to "form the basis for future discussions as a result of which the Azerbaijanis are likely to gain further concessions." (Reuter.)

Having reached agreement with the Soviet, the Persian Government of GHAVAM ES-SULTANEH is now moving steadily to solve Persia's internal problems, and the likelihood is that this will result in the emergence of real democracy in Iran. April 23.

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ON THIS MAY DAY

THIS year it will be the first May Day after six years of war which have changed the map of the world and the fate of peoples. On this May Day, the Communist Party will rally the common people of our land for the great tasks ahead, for the freedom of our country, for a new life for our people and for our place in the new world.

On this May Day, we will greet the victorious peoples of Europe who successfully destroyed Fascist-Imperialism and established new democracies in their own lands and have become new powers for world freedom and peace instead of helpless pawns of Imperialist reaction.

On this May Day, we will express our solidarity with the world labour movement, for the first time unified under the banner of the 60-million strong World Federation of Trade Unions. On its strong proletarian shoulders lies the burden of defeating the game of Anglo-American Imperialist reaction of restoring the status quo. Its existence is the guarantee that the organised power of the working-class shall play a greater and greater role in moulding the shape of the new world.

Against The British Imperialist Plan

On this May Day, we will greet the greatest peoples' power of the world, the mighty U.S.S.R., the friend of every struggling people, and expose the systematic campaign of anti-Soviet slanders that British Imperialist agencies are spreading in our country.

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will rouse the common people to the great danger of the British Imperialist Plan for India, which is meant to preserve India as a British puppet, and use India as an anti-Soviet base on the one hand, and on the other, as the British bastion to keep the colonial peoples of the Middle and Far East under the British sphere.

On this May Day, we shall pledge to redouble our efforts to take our country's destiny in our own hands, with the determination that Independent India shall be a great power supporting the struggling colonial peoples, an ally of free democracies, and a champion of world peace.

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will rouse the common people to the great danger of the British Imperialist Plan being pursued by the Cabinet Mission.

There is no unequivocal declaration of Indian independence, there is no withdrawal of foreign troops, there is no final date fixed for the transfer of power. Even all political prisoners have not been released.

The Interim Government sought to be established is nothing more than an Indianised version of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Constitution-making Body would be elected out of the existing Assemblies, which represent no more than 21 per cent of the electorate from which the mass of the people were disfranchised. Such a fake body will again be buttressed by the Princes, the traditional stooges of the British foreign power and the worst autocrats over their own peoples.

What will emerge out of such a body is not a Free India but a new period of hardly veiled enslavement of our country and new and worse divisions of our peoples.

For A United Family Of Free Indian Nations

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will rouse the common people to the gravity of the situation which threatens the whole future of our country, when the great issue hangs in the balance, the issue of immediate Indian freedom or another period of new slavery.

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will make the last desperate appeal to the freedom-loving Congress and League masses to see that the efforts of their respective leaders to seek unilateral settlement with the British power rather than with each other leads straight to the imposition of a British-made settlement.

Such an imposition by the British rulers will not mean the independence of our country which both the Congress and the League demand. It would cut up the country into several British Dominions, enmeshed in the net of the British Imperial system, leading to perpetual fratricidal strife.

Two alternatives pointing two different ways face our country.

Under the black shadow of irreconcilable Congress-League differences, the imposition of a British Imperialist plan and a further period of slavery for us all.

On the strength of Congress-League settlement, immediate quit orders to the foreign power, the establishment of Indian independence, and building the future of our own desires and dreams.

The decision lies with every single Indian, every Hindu, every Muslim. Time is running fast.

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will do its urgent and great duty by putting the common issue of freedom for all, common danger of the British game against all and the common solution of the unity of all before our freedom-loving peoples, on the basis of true self-determination and for the ideal of a great united family of free Indian nations.

For Democratic Rights For States' Peoples

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will rouse the memory of recent, united anti-Imperialist actions of the people for the Indian National Army prisoners, for the Royal Indian Navy strikers in Calcutta, Bombay and other cities. Then the common people acted, put panic into the hearts of the British rulers and saved the situation. They have to act again and in the same spirit, under the same three flags—Tricolour, Green and Red—to save the country.

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India warmly greets the signs of a new popular upsurge in the Indian States, and wholeheartedly supports the demands of the oppressed people for democratic rights, for Responsible Government and full self-determination to decide their own place in the new India, and for their representation in the Constituent Assembly by their elected leaders and not by the British-protected Princes.

On this May Day, the Communist Party will celebrate the end of the Bureaucrats' Raj in the Provinces and the establishment of Popular Ministries in its place.

On this May Day, the Communist Party will appeal to the leaders and followers of all parties to keep political differences aside and wholeheartedly co-operate with each other and the Popular Ministry in power on all issues that concern the daily life of our long-suffering people, viz. food, cloth, employment, etc.

For Workers And Peasants

The Communist Party of India will demand the full restoration of the ration-cut or extra wages for the working-class and stringent measures against the food thieves.

The Communist Party of India will demand an immediate ordinance, enabling all available fallow land to be given to the poor peasants and land-

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

GOVERNMENT HUNT FOR PRIVATE ARMS Greek-Indian United Action Against Obnoxious British Film

IN Delhi, immediately following the anti-Victory Day demonstrations the Deputy Commissioner gave orders for the cancellation of the gun licences of all those "who had not bought any ammunition during the last five years." But it was noticed that certain Government servants and all White sahibs were allowed to retain their guns.

Sequel To Anti-Victory Day Events In Delhi

Delhi's people were proud that it was their city where such an order had had to be given by a completely scared bureaucracy. Throughout the war days no such order had been passed. And it was quite obvious that the heroic events of Victory Day had precipitated action.

But Delhi was not alone.

I have just come across a letter (published in the Bengali Communist daily Swadhinata) from a British District Magistrate to the Bengal League leader, Chaudhri MOAZZEM HUSSAIN (Lal Mia). Here is the text of the letter, retranslated from Bengali into English:

D. O. No. 818 (17) C.
Jail Office, Faridpore,
21st March 1946.

Dear Maulvi Sahib,
The policy that different political parties have declared they will pursue if the negotiations of the Cabinet Mission lead to certain changes makes it necessary, in my opinion, for all revolvers kept in private custody to be removed to a place of safety.

Will you be kind enough, therefore, to deposit your revolver with the sub-divisional treasury?

I do hope you will understand that this does not imply in any way a reflection on you or that your licence is being cancelled.

This is only designed to relieve you of the grave responsibility of keeping your revolver in safe custody in serious disturbances in the

future which, as I have mentioned above, are apprehended.

Yours faithfully,
Sd. A. Burnwell.

I am told that instructions were sent out by the Section 83 regime in Bengal to all District Magistrates asking them to gather in, as many arms as possible.

And, of course, it is all being done for our good—so say Imperialism's newspapers both in Britain and India. On Sunday last, the arch-Tory British weekly, the Observer published a despatch from New Delhi, which says: "Weapons of all kinds are being secretly hoarded by Hindus and Muslims against the coming 'show-down'. Apprehensive of the accumulating signs of communal tension, Provincial Governments were recently reported to have cancelled a great number of gun and revolver licences and to have issued orders for deposit of the weapons in Government armouries."

How Imperialism Explains It

Today's (April 22) Times of India has for its front page the main headline: "Mounting Tension in Delhi—Press Comments lead to Communal Bitterness." With this as its text, the paper goes on to justify the recent Delhi order under Section 144 prohibiting "the carrying of firearms, lathis or other weapons or keeping and collecting bricks or any other missiles in any building."

Throughout the world, Imperialism's propaganda line today is: "India is on the Brink of Civil War." And every statement of our leaders is being fitted into this broad, main pattern.

The Observer declares almost gleefully:

"Virtually all pretences that a peaceful settlement is possible between the Congress and the League has vanished. On the brink of a civil war and in the shadow of a famine that may destroy millions, India watches, with sickly apprehension, unmistakable signs of an approaching conflict."

And so the British must "take steps," pass orders and keep the army

of occupation in India. And all, of course, for our own good, to save us from civil war—and not to perpetuate British Imperialism's stranglehold on us.

Greeks Boycott Anti-Indian Film

JUST as British lies can no longer fool our people, so too British propaganda about India abroad is meeting with the fate it deserves. I have just heard of the way the freedom-loving people of Greece boycotted an obnoxious British film called "Ganga Din," whose purpose is to depict Indians as a contemptible and deceitful nation.

The British Army authorities in Greece sent this film to be shown at a cinema hall in the Greek town of Kwalla on May 20th last. But, as soon as the posters announcing the film were displayed, the local citizens, led by the Greek Communist Party began a campaign against the show of this anti-Indian film.

Local Indian army units stationed at Kwalla joined hands with the Greeks and together they compelled the management to send back the film.

But the British Army Blimps returned "Ganga Din" with the command that the film "must be shown." They also referred to the agitation opposing the showing of the film and remarked that "the bloody Indians can do nothing."

Picture Shown Under British Guard

Under heavy British guard, the picture was shown on June 1st. Indian soldiers were confined to barracks for the day.

Ten Indian soldiers, however, broke into the hall and started raising slogans demanding the stopping of the show. A clash ensued in the course of which one British sergeant was shot dead.

A court-martial sentenced the ten soldiers to death. But widespread agitation by the Greek people and by Indian soldiers in Greece compelled the authorities to commute the sentences to life imprisonment.

One of these soldiers, a young Sikh peasant named JOGINDER SINGH, is now locked up in the Lahore Central Jail and is treated as a 'C' Class criminal convict.

The friend who sent me the full facts of this splendid story of Greek-Indian united action, met Joginder Singh in jail. He tells me that Joginder Singh remembers with affection and gratitude his Greek friends and comrades, who fought against British Imperialist efforts to slander our Motherland.

-Ramesh Chandra

COMMUNIST MEMORANDUM TO CABINET MISSION

Correction

Owing to an unfortunate printing mistake the following para was omitted from the text of the Memorandum published in the last issue of People's Age. It should be inserted after the last para in Section 4 (Constituent Assembly):

"The Provisional Government shall, therefore, convene the Constituent Assembly on the basis of adult franchise and of the recognition of the right of self-determination for Provinces, reconstituted as new National Units (as explained 'below')."

Modern Quarterly

Please note that the annual subscription rate of this periodical is Rs. 8 (single copy Re. 1-14), and not Rs. 6-12 (single copy Re. 1-9) as advertised in the "P.A." of April 7, 1946.

BOOK-SHOPS FOR COMMUNIST LITERATURE

To the list of book-shops given on page 2 (col. 1) of this issue add the following:
People's Book House,
Regent Square,
Nagpur (C.P.).

less labourers, especially the Harijans, to increase the country's drive against famine and for more food.

The Communist Party of India will demand immediate measures for the liquidation of peasant indebtedness and the reduction of rent. The Communist Party calls upon the peasant and all other progressive people jointly to press for the immediate abolition of zemindari, malguzari, khoti and similar vestiges of feudalism, for the distribution of land to the peasants which also can be a permanent guarantee against chronic famines.

The Communist Party of India will demand emergent administrative measures by the Popular Ministries to allay industrial unrest, enforce the recognition of Trade Unions, stop wage cuts and unemployment and introduce a minimum living wage.

The Communist Party of India will press for and co-operate with all urgent measures for more houses, better sanitation and more cultural facilities for workers in factories and offices.

On this May Day, the Communist Party of India will rouse the workers and peasants to the grim prospects of famine, unemployment, misery and devastation and the great opportunities for a creative role in our country's life through their own organised strength.

Every worker in his Trade Union, and every peasant in his Kisan Sabha, should exert the full weight of his class against the greedy profiteers and the soulless famine-makers and for their true role in the tasks of national reconstruction.

The bureaucrats and the bosses refuse to budge. A new mighty spontaneous strike-wave has already begun. The Communist Party of India, as the true party of the working-class, is pledged to see that new struggles become new victories and bring new unity and strength to Trade Unions, the main weapon of defence and further advance.

Against Fratricidal War

On this May Day, toilers of all faiths, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, rallied under their Red Flag, will pledge anew not to let the rising communal tension prevailing in the country infiltrate into their own ranks. On no account shall worker be divided from worker, peasant from peasant, toiler from toiler. Instead they shall pledge to do all in their power not to let Indian fight Indian, shed Indian blood and perpetuate British rule over us all.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF WORKERS AND PEASANTS UNDER THE RED FLAG!

FOR THE IMMEDIATE UNITY OF ALL FREEDOM-LOVING INDIANS!
NO LOOKING TOWARDS THE BRITISH RULERS FOR THE WAY OUT!
ALL EFFORTS TO FORGE A UNITED CONGRESS-LEAGUE-COMMUNIST PATRIOTIC FRONT!

NO TRUCK WITH PROFITERS, BLACKMARKETERS AND LAND-GRABBERS!

IMMEDIATE MEASURES TO ENSURE FOOD, CLOTH AND JOBS TO THE PEOPLE!

FOR LIFE AND LIBERTY!
AGAINST FAMINE AND SLAVERY!

Congress Working Committee Discussions - League Reactions - Mission Sounding Leaders On Award? - Immediate Attention Focused On Interim Govt.

Sunday, April 14

The Hindustan Times this morning published the Daily Herald's New Delhi message...

had himself expanded this idea in a Press conference a few days ago...

Zamindars And Their Vested Interests

Today the big zamindars, the ageing supporters of the foreign rulers...

support the general Congress demand provided that they are allowed to remain on the books...

Wednesday, April 17

This morning's papers carry the news that the Cabinet Mission is not attending much significance to the League's demand...

not members that the League Convention had done more harm than good to the League's cause...

Thursday, April 18

The Cabinet Mission is not attending much significance to the League's demand...

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Friday, April 19

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Saturday, April 20

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Sunday, April 21

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Monday, April 22

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Tuesday, April 23

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Wednesday, April 24

is going to be an agreement between the Congress and the League...

Tories Would Like Interim Govt.

All of which makes it clear that even Tories in England would like an interim Government...

Under Princes' Raj

Repression To Crush Rising Peoples' Movements For Democratic Rights Main Fire Against Communists

No Civil Liberties Under Sir C. P.'s Regime

SIR C. P. RAMSAYMY IYER, the Dewan of Travancore, is quoted among "the elder statesmen" of India...

Transvaal

Transvaal State Congress, the Secretary of the Transvaal Communist Party...

Alwar

Alwar State Congress, the Secretary of the Alwar Communist Party...

Jammagar

Jammagar State Congress, the Secretary of the Jammagar Communist Party...

Alwar

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Monday, April 15

CHATTOPADHYAY carries the headline: "Mosque And School Building Demolished At Gungahat, State At Several Other Places On Bihar."

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"QUIT INDIA-WE SHALL SOLVE OUR OWN PROBLEM" Communist Memorandum Explained

By Air Mail. NEW DELHI, April 18. P. C. JOSHI'S MEETING WITH THE CABINET MISSION was the last of a series of interviews and provided a fresh type of reality to the Cabinet Mission.

When Joshi arrived at the Viceroy's House at 4 p.m. to meet the Cabinet Mission, most of the Pressmen who had heard about him a lot but had not seen or known him, were asking one another, who he was.

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EFFORTS AT CONGRESS-LEAGUE COALITION

Strong Resistance From Within Both Camps

From Nikhil Chakravarty

CALCUTTA, April 20.

SINCE the return of both the Congress and League leaders from Delhi (Mr. SUHRAWARDY on the 12th, Sjt. KIRON SHANKAR on the 16th), Ministry-making negotiations have taken a new turn. Mr. Suhrawardy had talks with Maulana AZAD at Delhi, and Azad is reported to have insisted on the inclusion of non-League Muslims in the Cabinet.

But it seems that the Congress Working Committee, realising the eagerness of certain Bengal Congressmen for a Coalition Ministry finally gave the directives which omitted insistence on the inclusion of non-League Muslims.

They made the demand that excepting the Premier, there should be parity between the Congress and the League in the Cabinet; that either the Home or the Civil Supplies portfolio should go to the Congress; that an Anti-Corruption Board should be established; all political prisoners released, and no controversial legislation introduced without mutual agreement.

On the League side, despite the objection of certain reactionaries to Suhrawardy's meeting Azad, the Bengal leader secured Mr. Jinnah's sanction to go ahead in forming a Coalition with the Congress.

Opposition To Partition

There is also a certain amount of disillusionment against their respective High Commands in both the Congress and League circles here.

The Bengal Congress leaders are perturbed at the fact that the Working Committee was thinking in terms of partitioning Bengal, and except for Dr. PRAFULLA GHOSH, who has agreed with his colleagues in the Working Committee, other Bengal leaders have made a special representation to Azad against partition.

According to the United Press of India, they are reported to have stated that although in a minority, the Hindus of Bengal would prefer to remain as they are at present and work with the majority community in the political sphere, rather than accept any scheme for partitioning Bengal. Kiron Babu also said in an interview:

"Loose talks on these issues on parity among certain top-ranking leaders in the Congress alarmed the people of Bengal."

The Bengal League leaders also returned from the Delhi Convention perturbed at Mr. Jinnah's denial of sovereignty to East Pakistan, and thereby going back on the Lahore Resolution. Actually, ABUL HASHIM (representing the progressives inside the League) had a tiff with Mr. Jinnah in the Subjects' Committee on the question. The Bengal Leaguers are also perturbed at the idea of Urdu being made the language of Pakistan. Suhrawardy interviewed said:

"Bengal ought not to be dismembered, and I believe that my Hindu friends also would like Bengal to remain one entity."

Congress Terms

So, when Kiron Babu returned from Delhi on the 16th, he at once resumed his talks with Mr. Suhrawardy. As an earnest of Kiron Babu's stand, the same morning a statement was issued by his brother Dr. Kumud Shankar Roy, Congress M.L.C. He said,

"Both the League High Command and the Congress High Command, one is glad to note, are anxious to find a workable formula for a Coalition and will commit a very great error if they insist on their token rights (that of League to exclude and that of Congress to include non-League Muslims).

"As far as the formation of the Provincial Ministry is concerned, . . . rigid insistence by the Congress that its non-communal all-embracing out-

look requires that it should champion the cause of non-League Muslims and others does not, it must be stated, always produce the desired result. . . . The disgraceful Bunde Ali Khan episode of Sind politics could not have been possible, but for insistence on their token rights by the Congress and the League."

He pleaded for a Coalition on the basis of three points—an agreed programme; keeping all-India constitutional issues out; and parity between the Congress and the League.

In this atmosphere Kiron Babu and Suhrawardy continued their talks on April 16th and 17th. Negotiations then reached a stage when Kiron Babu wanted to consult the Congress Parliamentary Party and so its meeting was called on the 20th, after which final decisions were to be taken.

Resistance Inside Congress

Speculation is rife as to why Kiron Babu found it necessary to call a meeting of his party, and it is generally believed that Kiron Babu is meeting a tough opposition from the Forward Bloc group.

Though at the beginning, Forward Bloc M.L.A.s were reported to be most anxious to join the Ministry, they now seem to fear that they themselves may not get a seat in the Cabinet, and are, therefore, expected to put up the toughest opposition to Kiron Babu in the M.L.A.s' meeting on the 20th.

Kiron Babu has also to placate the Khadiites whose attitude against forming a Ministry seems to have stiffened now.

This is reflected in the Nationalist Press. The Ananda Bazar Patrika, mouthpiece of Sarat Babu group, wrote on the 17th April:

"What remains a mystery is the reason why the Congress Party under the leadership of Sjt. Kiron Shankar Roy has suddenly become so keen on joining the Suhrawardy Ministry."

The Nationalist (which has now become a Forward Bloc paper, Shyama Prasad having sold out) editorially commented that Ministry-making was "full of promise as well as mischievous." Advocating a "broad-based Ministry," it insisted on the inclusion of Nationalist Muslims inside the Cabinet.

The Khadiite Bharat began by advocating Coalition, but with a snag, namely, that it counted on Mr. Suhrawardy accepting the Congress terms by defying Mr. Jinnah or by Mr. Jinnah climbing down. But as negotiations proceeded, it became more sceptical. On the 7th it warned against surrendering the Congress principle of nominating anybody it liked, and said that the Coalition move was just a trap set by Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Suhrawardy to establish that the Congress was nothing but a Hindu organisation.

Inside League

While Kiron Babu has to put up with open attacks from the Forward Bloc and veiled criticisms of the Khadiites, Mr. Suhrawardy too is having some difficulty inside the League.

The Nazimuddin clique, which

was defeated by the Suhrawardy group and is nearly finished has still a few remnants among the M.L.A.s. They fear that with the Coalition, they will be exterminated, as the Ministry then will not have to depend on them, while in the case of a one-Party League Ministry, every M.L.A. will count, and so they will have to be placated by favours and patronage.

The Azad, which represents clique, has started regular attacks. On the 16th, it wrote:

"Such efforts (for a Coalition) are leading to active flouting of the policy and line of action followed by the Qaid-e-Azam. We will be happy to see the end of such meetings between leading League representatives and the Congress show-boy."

On the 18th, it doubted Congress sincerity and held that the Congress, finding it impossible to attack the League Ministry from outside, is now planning "to oppose the League from inside."

Spreading Confusion

Siddiqui's Morning News is doing its best to sabotage a Coalition. When the talks in Delhi seemed to have broken down, the Morning News, with apparent glee wrote on the 14th: "News of the breakdown of negotiations for a Congress-League united Ministry in Bengal will be received with satisfaction everywhere."

When on the 16th, negotiations were resumed, it got panicky and in order to poison the Congress mind against a Coalition, it gave a provocative 6-column banner headline, "Congress Bows Its Head Before Muslim League." The same evening, Mr. Suhrawardy and Kiron Babu in an open Press Statement, condemned Morning News. Undaunted, it said the next day, "League-Congress Coalition in Bengal means disaster to Bengal" and "betrayal of the Muslim electorate." It openly pleaded for Coalition with other Parties, which, of course, include Europeans.

Both the Morning News and the Azad tried to confuse Leaguers by saying that the League programme (e.g. abolition of Permanent Settlement, Secondary Education Bill, Compulsory Primary Education Bill) will be whittled down by the Congress coming into the Ministry, and I found many honest Leaguers sincerely nurturing this fear.

Fear On Both Sides

But the most amazing reaction of all is this. More than one League M.L.A. was heard to say openly, "During the elections, we said: vote for us; we will fight the Congress inside the Assembly. But now if there is a Coalition with the Congress, how shall we be able to show our faces to our electorate? Others seriously said,

"The Congressites after becoming Ministers will become intimate with the League M.L.A.s, and will find out all their weaknesses, and afterwards by many baits and temptations will try to break up the League."

Similarly, many Hindus are apprehensive that the Coalition might mean surrender to Pakistan. One Congressite said:

"Our Bengal Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC) President declared that after the elections, there would only be two parties in the country, Pakistanis and anti-Pakistanis. Now how could there be compromise between the two?"

Thus, while there is widespread anxiety for a Congress-League coalition, there are powerful forces trying to pull them back and these forces are thriving on the poison spread by both the parties against each other during the elections.

Negotiations In Bengal

TRIUMPH FOR REACTION ON BOTH SIDES

Final Congress Terms And League Reply

From Nikhil Chakravarty

CALCUTTA, April 21.

THE Congress-League talks formally broke down on Saturday night with Kiron Babu's letter intimating Mr. Suhrawardy about the rejection by the Congress Parliamentary Party of the League offer to join the Coalition on the ground that Mr. Suhrawardy's answers to the Congress conditions were unsatisfactory. The final Congress terms are as follows:

Congress Terms

FIRST, Mr. Suhrawardy should issue a statement dispelling misgivings created by his rabidly anti-Hindu speech at Delhi League Convention.

Mr. Suhrawardy replied that he would have issued a statement on assuming office, but pointed out that not a single Congress Ministry has issued any statement dispelling Muslim fears.

SECONDLY, the Congress wanted a guarantee that "Communal legislations" would not be moved if two-thirds of either party objected.

Mr. Suhrawardy's reply was that the Muslim League "stood committed to the passing of the Secondary Education Bill."

The Congress wanted parity with the League excluding the Chief Ministry which would go to a Muslim.

Alternatively, both the Home and Civil Supplies portfolios should go to the Congress.

Mr. Suhrawardy insisted on the seven to five ratio and on the retention of the Home portfolio by the League.

The Congress demanded the release of all political prisoners.

Mr. Suhrawardy agreed to release the detenus, but as for the convicted prisoners, he said that "their cases will be subjected to further revision and scrutiny."

Later on, in an interview Mr. Suhrawardy said that the release policy followed in other Provinces could have been taken up in Bengal.

The Congress circles hold that owing to the terrific pressure inside the League, Suhrawardy could not concede the Congress terms.

On the other hand, Mr. Suhrawardy in an interview said that he had information "from some Congress friends" that the Congress Parliamentary Party was determined to break off the talks.

League circles are making the charge that under cover of "communal legislation" the Congress, being Hindu and landlord dominated, is bent on sabotaging the Secondary Education Bill.

Each Blames The Other Side

The Congress circles are making the charge that the League afraid of opposing the bureaucracy and Clive Street burra sahibs funk on the question of release.

The tragedy is that both the accusations have some truth in them.

The entire Press today is celebrating the breakdown.

The Jugantar says: "Congress members by refusing to surrender to the League terms have shown proper sense of responsibility to the country and the people."

The Hindustan Standard (Sarat Babu's mouthpiece) is jubilant:

"We never believe that Mr. Suhrawardy's offer was sincere. Nor did we ever believe that there was the least possibility of a coalition on honourable terms."

The League paper, the Morning News, captioned its editorial: "Symphony of Relief." It explained how the failure to achieve a Coalition is a good thing because "any Legislative measure which would benefit the peasants would militate against the interests of Hindus and for the matter of that, the Congress."

None of them regret the breakdown, but blame the other side.

Stand Of Bengal Communists

FOR CONGRESS-LEAGUE COALITION

Uncompromising Struggle Against Bureaucracy, Vested Interests, Partition

IN the first days of the negotiations, in Congress circles, the gossip was spread that Communists would join the League Ministry and would get one portfolio in the League Cabinet. When Coalition prospects were low, League circles actually sounded the Communist Party for joining with it to form a Coalition.

But the Communist Party made it clear that it stands for a League-Congress Coalition; and that in case the League Ministry puts up a fight against the Europeans and is threatened because of that, the Communist Party will support it unhesitatingly, but it will never support any surrender to the bureaucracy, to the Europeans and to the vested interests.

But most interesting of all is the warning of the Morning News (League paper) which, while pleading for Coalition with all other groups against the Congress, demands that the Communists must not be taken in. The Morning News, mouthpiece of Muslim capital and friendly to Clive Street, naturally fears Communist support.

The following are some extracts from a statement issued by JYOTI BASU on April 17th on behalf of the three Communist M.L.A.s in the Bengal Assembly, explaining the Communist stand.

"As Communist members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, we have from the beginning stood for the formation of a Congress-League Coalition Ministry in Bengal. It is our firm conviction that an uncompromising struggle has to be waged against European vested interests, zamindars and profiteers to save famine-ridden Bengal, and that such a struggle cannot be won except by the combined strength of the Congress and the League."

Welcoming Dr. Kumud Shankar Roy's statement as offering a "basis for Congress-League Coalition in Bengal," and observing that other issues can also be settled easily, "through friendly negotiations between parties," it goes on:

"The Communist Party assures them both of its full support inside as well as outside the Legislature in any constructive work and in any struggle against the Imperialist bureaucracy and against zamindars, vested interests and profiteers, and against any partition of Bengal."

● **Socialist-Communist Victory In France**
● **MacArthur -- Dictator Of Japan**
● **Democratic Gains In Iran**

THE first major round of the battle over the new constitution in France has ended with a victory for democracy. The new draft constitution was passed by a substantial majority, the voting being 309 to 249; the Socialists and Communists voted en bloc for the draft, while the reactionary Popular Republicans (M.R.P.) and the extreme Right voted against it.

The most important feature of this victory is that the two parties of the French workers, the Socialists and Communists, voted together and there is no doubt that their co-operation on this key issue will lead to greater working-class unity on all major issues—the real guarantee of democratic advance in France today.

The Constituent Assembly that drafted and voted on the constitution, has now been dissolved. On May 5, all France will go to the polls to vote in a referendum on the draft.

It is clear that the Communists and Socialists will ask the electorate to approve the draft while the M.R.P. and the Right will campaign against it; the likely outcome is that the draft will be approved by a substantial majority and will then become the constitution.

New Draft

If, however, the draft is rejected by the electorate, then the new Constituent Assembly (to be elected on June 2) will

have seven months to frame another constitution.

This new draft marks a decisive improvement on the old constitution of 1875, the main features being as follows:

* (1) A sovereign National Assembly, elected by direct, universal suffrage with proportional representation.

* (2) This Assembly will have the following powers:

(a) Election of the President whose functions are mainly honorific.

(b) Election of the Prime Minister with power to choose his Cabinet, but both the Cabinet and its programme must be submitted to the Assembly for approval.

(c) Legislative powers.

* (3) An Economic Council and a Council of the French Union, one composed mostly of technicians, trade unionists, employers, the other of representatives of France and the overseas Empire, both of which are merely advisory and consultative.

* (4) A new declaration of the Rights of Man, the most important articles of which are the articles defining the rights of owners of property.

Article 33 of the new declaration runs thus:

"The right of property cannot be exercised contrary to the good of society, or in a manner to prejudice the security, the liberty, the existence or the property of another. Any goods or undertaking, the exploitation of which has the characteristics of a national public service or of a de facto

monopoly ought to become the property of the collectivity."

The declaration also lays down in great detail, the obligation of the Government to care for the welfare of the people, including the provision of free secular education.

Points Of Controversy

The main disputes in the Assembly were over the powers of the Assembly and over education.

The M.R.P. and the Right wished to have a Second Chamber weighted in favour of reaction in order to lessen the power of the fully democratic Assembly.

Secondly, they fought hard to preserve the subsidies to Catholic schools, a practice started by the old Marshal Petain during the Hitler occupation, and contrary to the traditions of French education ever since the Revolution of 1789. The Right hoped this way to preserve one part of the educational system as a reactionary preserve—but this attempt was decisively defeated.

Altogether, the new constitution marks a big democratic advance, a blow to the monopoly trusts whose control of France's economy and politics led to the enslavement of France by Hitler. And its approval by the French electorate on May 5 will pave the way for a yet further streng-

thening of the democratic forces—and particularly of Socialist-Communist unity, and thus for a decisive defeat for French reaction.

Japanese Elections

THE extraordinary background to the Japanese elections became still clearer last week when the correspondent of the Times of India, NOYES THOMAS, lifted a corner of the veil that has long been there, concealing General MACARTHUR'S policy and actions in governing Japan.

It is well known that on March 21, the Far Eastern Commission (on which all the allies who took part in the war against Japan are represented) wrote to General MacArthur asking if he would postpone the elections "having regard to the established positions throughout the country of the more reactionary political parties." On March 29, the General replied curtly and sharply with a "No."

Later, reports the Times of India correspondent, the General who has been consistently pursuing an anti-democratic policy, took the offensive against the Allied Control Council and attempted to convert that organisation into a body completely subservient to his views.

This eventually ended in his defeat, but even today he seems firmly decided on a policy of virtual non-co-operation with the Control Council (composed of representatives of the USSR, China, the British Commonwealth and the U.S.) and the Commission.

Victory For Reaction

As the Commission had warned, the elections did result in a victory for reaction.

"It seems likely," wrote Noyes Thomas, "may be necessary—to 'purge' politically INCHIRO HATOYAMA, the leader of the successful Liberal Party, who is expected to be the next Prime

Minister of Japan (1)." (April 17).

So also OWEN LATIMORE, once adviser to CHIANG KAI-SHEK and a leading expert on the Far East, summed up the results in an article headlined, "Worst men in Japan have won a victory."

"These (the big industrial magnates of Japan) are the very people" he wrote, "represented by the reactionary parties that have just gained a majority in the parliamentary elections" (Reynolds News, April 14).

There is no doubt, therefore, that the Japanese elections have solved nothing; rather the battle between democracy and reaction inside Japan and between the Dictator MacArthur and the Control Commission is only beginning.

Press Censorship In Iran

WHILE the controversy in the Security Council over whether the Iranian issue will be withdrawn or not still continues, inside Iran itself certain important democratic steps have been taken.

The FIRST is the decision of the Iranian Government to bring to trial General ARFA, former Chief of the General Staff, on a charge of conspiracy against the constitution. It was General Arfa in fact who was the key-man in the anti-democratic conspiracy led by the British agent, SYED ZIA-ED-DIN (also in jail now), and certainly his trial will mean a big blow to Iranian reaction's (and its master, British Imperialism's) plans to keep its overlordship over the people.

The SECOND is the decision of the Persian Government to impose censorship over all outgoing dispatches of correspondents.

This very necessary step will put an end to all the lying rumours that have been flooding (Continued on Page 4, Col. 4.)

Breakdown Of Coalition Talks In Bengal
'Rejection Of K. S. Roy's Reasonable Terms Serious Responsibility For Suhrawardy'

--Bengal Communist Leader's Statement

Bombay, 22nd April, 1946.

BHOWANI SEN, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

THE negotiations between Messrs. KIRAN SANKAR ROY and SAHID SUHRAWARDY for a Congress-League Coalition Ministry in Bengal raised hopes in all progressive quarters.

The reported breakdown of the negotiation has pleased nobody except incorrigible sectarians and anti-social criminals like hoarders and profiteers.

Our Party, during and after the elections, has been seriously campaigning for a Congress-League Coalition Ministry. We have had to pursue our campaign in the face of slanders and calumnies from the Congress leaders who have been telling the Hindu voters that the Communists will make a coalition with the League, and join the League Ministry, that the Congress will crush the possibility of another League Ministry, and so on.

Kiran Babu's Commendable Efforts

Nevertheless, after the elections were over, Sjt. Kiran Sankar Roy, leader of the Congress Party, himself began negotiations with the League leader for a Coalition Ministry. He deserves congratulation from all progressive people for pursuing this aim with courage in the face of strong opposition from a section of Congressmen.

He demonstrated his eager-

ness for a settlement by advancing reasonable demands as "minimum conditions," leaving aside "fundamental questions." Mr. Suhrawardy has taken upon himself a very serious responsibility in rejecting Kiran Babu's offers.

League Stand Unjust And Unwise

FIRST, he refuses to treat the Congress on an equal footing in respect of the distribution of portfolios, in spite of the fact that the Congress this time did not press for the nomination of a non-League Muslim.

Such a refusal is not only unreasonable, but it makes the League's position absurd by rejecting a claim which the League itself makes to the Congress in respect of forming an Interim Central Government.

SECONDLY, he refuses to make controversial issues a subject for common agreement instead of deciding them on the basis of a simple majority vote on the ground that the League is committed to certain things, such as to push the Secondary Education Bill.

Such a position is unreasonable and unwise. Successive debacles of HUQ and NAZIM-UDDIN have proved for instance, that provision for equal opportunity for Muslims in the field of education can be secured not in alliance with bureaucratic officials nor by

raising communal tension but by agreement and understanding with the Congress.

THIRDLY, Mr. Suhrawardy refuses to promise the release of prisoners convicted of political offences. If there is any single issue on which all parties and sections in Bengal including the League agree, it is the release of all political prisoners.

Suhrawardy's refusal degrades the League in the eyes of the patriotic people, and only serves the interests of the djehard bureaucrats.

While coalition talks were in progress powerful anti-social interests had been exerting strong pressure in both the camps, and it appears that Mr. Suhrawardy yielded to that pressure.

One-Party Ministry Cannot Succeed

Our Party appeals to Muslim League brothers to think again and not cut the throat of the League and the people of Bengal by taking the responsibility of a One-Party Ministry in the face of another famine. If they do, corrupt officials and greedy hoarders will find it easy to twist the necks of the Ministers and play havoc with people's lives.

At the same time our Party requests all patriots not to worsen the situation by concentrating on a tirade against the League, but to continue ceaseless efforts to isolate the opponents of a Coalition, and convince the honest Muslim Leaguers that a Coalition of the Congress and the League on a just and reasonable basis is the only safety for the people of Bengal.

A. S. R. CHARI'S DELHI DIARY

(Continued from Page 7.)

on Muslims and says that mob outrages followed in the wake of Congress Ministers, and categorically calls on the local League leaders everywhere to "organise for safety by every possible means." It concludes, "The recent ugly writings on the wall are warnings that Muslims must be prepared to defend themselves—now, immediately."

Talks Centre Round Interim Govt.

I learnt today what Major WYATT, who was a member of the Parliamentary Delegation and is now Cripps' Secretary, thinks of our Memorandum and also of other matters. He is reported to have liked it but feels that it provides no immediate solution for the present appalling situation. "Indian parties do not agree, and we will get a bad name," he says. "As regards the withdrawal of British power within six months, he gave out the stale argument that the British cannot leave a vacuum behind and there is little chance of agreement among the parties. He feels that an interim Government is certain in any case. This, no doubt, is a significant pointer to what is coming."

On the eve of the Cabinet Mission's departure for its holiday in Kashmir, frantic informal meetings took place. After a talk with Maulana Azad, Cripps had a meeting with Mr. Jinnah till 1 a.m., and woke up early and met Gandhi at half past six, met Pandit Nehru after breakfast and later in the evening, Gandhi went to Pethic Lawrence with whom he had an hour's talk.

I understand that after Mr. Jinnah's rejection of the Cabinet Mission's alternatives regarding the final solution, Cripps' talk centred on the Interim Government.

Friday, April 19

Today I gathered further details of the Cripps-Nehru conversation. Their talk centred round the powers of the Interim Government which, it appears, Cripps said, would have complete powers without basic changes in the Constitution, the Viceroy's veto being held in abeyance by a gentlemen's agreement.

In fact, there is surprising unanimity among Congressmen that all these could be consistent with complete transfer of power. There is little doubt that the Cabinet Mission as well as Congressmen have begun to glorify the reconstituted Executive Council as an Interim Government of Free India.

Returning late at night, I met a volunteer at the mouth of a lane in Daryaganj, with a lathi and a torch. Talking to him, I discovered that the communal tension is very acute, that in Daryaganj alone 500 volunteers have been called up to patrol the area by shifts. Being a middle-class locality, these men work in the offices by day and patrol three hours at night. Already panicky rumours about riots breaking out are going around.

Saturday, April 20

I met Rajaji today. He said that he had read our memorandum and thought that our scheme was the best solution of the present problem. Then I told him about Cripps' argument that it was impractical. Rajaji promptly suggested that we should give up our insistence on adult suffrage and accept a restricted electorate. He said that a good scheme should not risk its being rejected on the ground of impracticality.

In the Hindustan Times office, junior members of the editorial staff fancy that our Memorandum is indicative of a change of line towards the League. When pressed, they had to admit that it is on the lines of our Election Manifesto and concedes full sovereignty to national units to decide their destiny while giving both the Congress and the League the opportunity to swing the masses of the people to support their particular stand.

The Cabinet Mission is away in Kashmir.

Communal Tension Rising

Among the people there is a feeling that communal riots may break out at any time; and the general middle-class in both the Congress and League have started reconciling themselves to the idea of civil war and the sentiment is often expressed that if there is to be a civil war, it is much better to have it done with right now. The vehement professions of sincerity made by the Cabinet Mission have absolved it of any likely blame.

Today there is a rumour that a whole lorry-load of lathis was caught at the Delhi Gate as it was being imported into the city.

From all indications it seems likely that the Cabinet Mission will, after another attempt at agreement, form an Interim Government and postpone the final solution.

Cripps has sent for his wife and this is taken here as an indication that he will stay in India at least to the end of July, probably as an observer on the spot of how the Interim Government functions.

ANTI-SOVIETISM COVER FOR IMPERIALIST INTRIGUES

Targets Of New Soviet Plan

“EVERYTHING depends on whether the Soviet Government can reorientate its outlook to adopt more harmonious methods of diplomacy and less unilateral action”—wrote Imperialism's Times of India in its most-sententious vein on April 4.

“Everything depends on the Soviet,” “the Russians are too suspicious,” “with Hitler's defeat it is the Russians alone who are creating trouble”—such statements are becoming more and more numerous, and the interesting thing about them is that they are made without regard to facts at all!

Why Suspicious?

For if it is the Soviet alone which must “reorientate its outlook,” stop being “suspicious,” and so on, obviously the Anglo-Americans must be behaving like angels of peace!

Here are a few examples of their current contributions to keeping the world quiet and peaceful.

(1) The Canadian and U.S. armies and air-forces are co-operating in an exercise, called “Operation Musk-Ox,” described as being “officially assigned to gather information on possible military operations in climate similar to that in the portion of the Soviet Union, closest to the United States and Canada.”

It began on February 15, fadov dar This “Musk-Ox” expedition is a 3,100-mile journey into uncharted polar waters. It began on February 15 and will take 81 days in all. Its assigned objective is the testing of the effect of sub-zero temperatures on weapons, radio-signals, clothing, etc.

(2) The U.S. Navy and Air-Force are preparing to “rope off” a vast expanse of the South Pacific to try out the atomic bomb; and these true believers in UNO (as they claim to be) are carefully excluding UNO from observing the tests.

(3) The British Imperial General Staff has made it clear to the Government that no “considerations of political justice” in Egypt or Greece can be allowed to interfere with its military plans for the Middle East, drawn up in 1942.

Encircling The World

(4) The British home fleet is going to carry out full-scale BATTLE exercises near Gibraltar while the Royal Air Force is going to put through a

gigantic bombing practice on the island of Helligoland (off N. Germany). (5) The U.S. authorities have begun to boast that they have achieved success in the establishment of “an international encircling system of air bases” (from an article by Joseph and Stuart Alsop in the conservative New York paper Herald Tribune).

The Americans now have bases in Greenland, Iceland, Arabia, the Azores and Brazil—according to the authors.

(6) The former U.S. Minister to Bulgaria, Mr. Earle, as soon as he returned to the U.S., declared that Russia is “the greatest danger that ever threatened America.” Russia should be given an ultimatum to “get back to her own territory. If the Russians refuse, I would use the atomic bomb on them while we have it and before they get it.”

Soviet On Guard

And so on. There are hundreds more such examples of the intense activity in Britain and the U.S.—all, of course, in the cause of peace!

While this is happening, is it surprising that the well-known Soviet academician Professor EUGENE

TABLE should write:

“We are not guilty of an exaggerated suspicion, but we fully realise the need for vigilance.”

Or listen to I. X. LEWIS, an Indian engineer, who lived eleven years in Russia, and who describes himself as “not a Communist, neither am I a politician.” Here is what he writes:

“It is nonsense to talk of a Russian Red ‘Imperialism.’ Every Russian hates, loathes and detests war intensely and no wonder! His economic system needs no expansion. The full and true story of her terribly bitter fight and sacrifices against a hostile world has yet to be written. “Let the world hold out its hand to her in REAL friendship and if Soviet Russia, the friendless, is assured that this is not another trap but that she has at last REAL friends, the world will behold that transformation internally and externally which will show Soviet Russia as she really is. Everything depends on the attitude of the world.” (Bombay Chronicle, April 22).

Yes, it is time we saw through the anti-Soviet propaganda of the Imperialists—which is in reality designed to cover up their own intrigues for domination, for getting

bases and keeping troops anywhere and everywhere the world over so as to be able to preserve their dwindling Empires and privileges.

The New Plan

THE Soviet people, however, are on guard against aggression—and this is not only in words. This determination is being translated into reality, hard realities of iron and coal, steel and oil.

Last month NIKOLAI VOZNESSENSKY, Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Soviet Union, made a report to the Soviet Parliament on the new Five Year Plan (1946-50), and the objectives it sets up before the entire people.

Voznessensky began his report by contrasting proudly and justifiably the development of Soviet industry between the two wars—a development without which there would have been no world victory over Hitlerite Germany.

In 1944, the output of large-scale industry was nearly eleven times its output in 1917; the amount of marketable grain two-and-a-half times the 1917 figure—which alone prevented any famine in this war.

So also the number of guns built by Soviet industry was 30 times the number built in Russia during the last war; machine-guns, fifty times; rifles and Tommy-guns, five times; mortars, sixteen times, and so on.

Targets For 1950

But, said Voznessensky, this was not

enough. Now in the next five years (1946-50), the following targets must be set and achieved:

1950 Target	1938 Actual	Increase over 1938 Actual
Gross output of industry (billion roubles)	205	48
Pig-iron (million tons)	19.5	35
Steel (million tons)	25.4	35
Coal (million tons)	250	50
Oil (million tons)	38.4	14
Electric Power (million kilowatt hours)	82,000	70
Motor-cars	500,000	240

So much for production, but simultaneously the conditions of those who produce will improve. Here are a few figures.

1950 Target	1938 Actual	Increase over 1938 Actual
Total wage bill (billion roubles)	252	48
Expenditure on cul-		

1950 Target	1938 Actual	Increase over 1938 Actual
rural and material needs in billion roubles	106	169
Hospital beds in thousands	985	39
Kindergartens in thousands	2,260	100
Cinema houses	48,700	59

Will Be Achieved

These are no doubt big figures and big objectives. But no one will dare to scoff at them today if they remember how they scoffed at the equally striking targets of the first great Five Year Plan which transformed the Soviet Union from a backward agricultural country into one of the foremost industrial states of the world.

Of course, they may not remember how history proved them wrong; just as Bevin imitates Curzon and, shouts about his Empire's life-lines, they too may imitate their mistaken forbears and question these figures.

But that will harm only them, the Soviet will go forward, masterful and relentless, on its chosen path of “raising the material and cultural standards of life of the Soviet people.” (Voznessensky).

—M. Kumaramangalam

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In Greece Today

FAKE ELECTIONS LEAD TO FORMATION OF FASCIST CABINET

By Air.

LONDON, April 10.

The latest news from Greece confirms two facts: (1) that the election results were completely faked and have no relation to the real feelings of the people; (2) that the new Government is composed of the heirs of the Metaxas Fascist regime and the Quisling agents of the German occupation, the rich men, ship magnates, and landlords.

THE elections were fake elections for two principal reasons; first, the register itself was a bogus register; secondly, the elections were not free but held under conditions of terrorism.

Bogus Register

In 1936, the population of Greece was 6,875,000; the number of voters (males over 21) was 1,753,000.

During the occupation by Hitler, about 1,000,000 Greeks lost their lives. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the present population is the same as that of 1936. Yet the new register contained over 2,200,000 names, nearly five lakhs more than the 1936 register!

Obviously this meant that at least 500,000 or so were ‘dead’ voters—and this was confirmed by the Athens correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, who wrote on March 27: “The voters number 2,200,000, of whom nearly 500,000 are ‘dead’!”

Clearly enough any number of bogus votes could be cast in the names of the ‘dead’ persons—and with the entire police and administration virtually under their thumbs it was easy for the Right to organise this.

Terrorism Rampant

And the elections themselves were held under conditions of extreme terrorism. On March 31, the day before the elections, PETER BURCHETT, correspondent of the very Tory British paper, the Daily Express, wrote: “Since yesterday evening

there has been a wave of arrests of EAM supporters. Police patrols with rifles are well in evidence. In fact, the police seem to feel they are on top of the world today. Those distributing leaflets asking the people to abstain from voting are immediately beaten up by the police.”

The former Minister of the Interior, HAVINIS, also wrote that “there has never been such terrorism in Greece.”

So also ARGYRIS, Athens correspondent of the liberal U.S. daily, the Christian Science Monitor, emphasised that abstentions from voting would have been higher if terrorism had not prevailed in many areas:

“Fairly clear proof exists, that approximately one quarter of the Leftists in the large cities voted under duress. Many Leftist Government workers of Salonika voted in order to protect their jobs, also many factory workers similarly were compelled to vote.”

According to the EAM (the Greek Liberation Front), arrests and murders of its supporters went on right up to polling day; between March 15 and March 28 alone, 40 supporters of the EAM were murdered.

The EAM has also sent to the Commission of Allied Observers the elections a list of names and addresses of 185 of the principal armed monarchist-terrorist bands and another list of 1,099 army officers who served as officers in the “Security Battalions” organised by the Ger-

mans to maintain their rule over Greece.

New Cabinet

It was inevitable, therefore, that the Right should ‘win’ the elections. And the personnel of the new Cabinet itself shows what this means for Greece.

Judge POULITZAS, the new Premier, held the post of President of the Supreme Court when the Germans ruled Greece—and was a consistent supporter of the pre-war Metaxas dictatorship.

JOHN THEOTOKIS, the new Minister of the Interior, was addressed thus by the Liberal paper, the Corfu News:

“You returned to Corfu two months after the invasion of Greece accompanied by German officers, bringing a personal letter from Marshal List, (German Commander) to the Italian Command of Corfu). Whence these German favours, M. Theotokis?”

And the rest are of the same character, most notorious being General STYLIANOS GONATAS, new Minister of Communications, closely associated with the organisation of Security Battalions during German rule. Thus the elections have solved nothing in Greece.

As HUGH MASSINGHAM, correspondent of the Tory Observer, candidly admitted:

“We shall be made to pay for March 31 (the day on which the Greek elections were held). In London it may have seemed that Mr. Bevin had a resounding triumph during the Greek debate in UNO. Here in Athens one can only suspect that he was badly out-manoeuvred. The Russians waved the Red flag and in he charged to find himself—where? Committed to an early election held in dubious conditions whose results can only bring us trouble.”

FOOD IN THE PUNJAB

(Continued from Page 3.)

in the Punjab, the total wheat yield of the Province will be between 32 and 35 lakh tons—which means there will be “a definite margin for export.”

Sir William, himself one of the biggest landlords in India, cannot be accused of being out of sympathy with the profiteers. And one can take it that his estimate based on actual conditions on his own and other lands is, if anything, less than the actual amount and certainly not more.

It is a pity that the Congress has not been able to change the pro-hoarder policy of the Ministry. The crux of the food situation in the Punjab lies in its procurement machinery.

People's Demand

For the past three years, popular bodies—like the All-Parties Central People's Food Committee in Lahore, the Provincial Kisan Sabha and the Provincial Trade Union Congress have been urging the Government to adopt a system of monopoly procurement and compulsory levies from all rich landowners.

Only now, when the whole country is faced with famine, when many districts of the Punjab itself are already experiencing shortage, only now has there been a declaration, that “the principle of a levy of wheat on zamindars has been accepted by

the Punjab Government.” It is understood that the Food Department is contemplating collecting a percentage of the wheat produce of all zamindars owning more than 50 acres of land.

One can take it that the Unionist landlords will fight hard to prevent this scheme from coming into operation, although they will, in any case, have the profitable loophole of smuggling the real, but denied, surplus out of the Province.

When the Coalition Ministry was formed, many Congress M.L.As were insisting that the Food portfolio should be held by the Congress. Akali leader Baldev Singh would have none of it—and threatened non-participation in the Coalition if he were not allowed to continue as Food Minister.

But whether or not it holds the Food portfolio, the Congress owes it to its electors in the Punjab and to its Ministries in deficit Provinces to keep a careful watch on the food policy of the Coalition Government.

Profiteers have for too long ruled the Punjab and starved other Provinces. They can be stopped from continuing their game if the Congress asserts itself inside the Coalition Ministry and makes a determined drive to set up an efficient procurement machinery which will eliminate hoarding and black-marketing.

FOR DEMOCRACY AND REAL INDEPENDENCE

CHARGE OF BEING SOVIET PUPPETS - A SLANDER SPREAD BY PEOPLE'S ENEMIES

Party Leader's Interview With Foreign Correspondents

[Dr. KESHAVARZ is the leader of the Parliamentary group of the Tudeh Party in the Iranian Mejlis. Educated in Paris, he is now a Professor of medicine in the Teheran University. He is recognised as the foremost authority on children's diseases. Even his political opponents—the present Ministers and members of the Parliament—testify to this. Dr. Keshavarz has treated their children and still does so.

A number of foreign correspondents—including those of the New York Times, the Daily Telegraph, the London Times, the Daily Express and Reuters—recently interviewed Dr. Keshavarz in Teheran.

We give below a summary (translated from the Iran-e-Ma) of the answers he gave to the questions put to him by these correspondents—EDITOR].

Q. WHAT is the membership of the Tudeh Party of Iran?

A. HAD we been living in a democratic country, it might have been possible for me to answer your question. But the Tudeh Party has to work in a country where its members and representatives are thrown into jail, its Trade Unions (recognised by the World Federation of Trade Union,) suppressed, its forty daily newspapers banned. These conditions do not permit me to answer your question.

Q. HOW many votes did the Tudeh Party poll in the recent elections?

A. IN all it received 1,50,000 votes, and its first candidate polled 5,000 in Teheran.

But it should be noted that, contrary to the fundamental law, the Government had made the production of a ration card a pre-condition for voting. The workers and peasants supporting the Tudeh Party, had owing to their extreme poverty sold their ration cards in exchange for some food and medicine for themselves and their children. They were thus deprived of their right to vote. Apart from this, great pressure was brought to bear upon voters by Government officials, election officers and the gendarmerie and police.

A Party Of Oppressed

Q. WHAT does the Tudeh Party demand for Iran?

A. THE answer is contained in the Programme of the Party. The Principles and Programme of the Party are as follows:

1. HIZBE Tudeh-e-Iran, or the People's Party of Iran, is the party of the oppressed classes—the workers, peasants, and the freedom-loving intellectuals and professional people.

2. THE Tudeh Party of Iran stands for the complete independence and integrity of Iran and always struggles against Imperialist intrigues.

3. THE Tudeh Party stands for friendly co-operation with all the freedom-loving nations of the world on the basis of complete national equality and for the security of world peace.

4. THE Tudeh Party stands for the establishment of a National Government and a real democratic regime.

5. THE Tudeh Party struggles against the remnants of antiquated economic regimes—the pastoral or feudal regimes. The Party stands for a progressive and centralised economic planning based on the greatest good, for the greatest number of the people of Iran.

Land For The Peasantry

Q. WHAT does the Tudeh Party propose for the peasants of Iran?

A. THE Parliamentary group of the Tudeh Party is the only group in the Iranian Mejlis which has published a very clear-cut and practical pro-

our comrades. Pro-Fascist elements burnt our paper in the streets. But we never lost heart. We drew strength from the Allied victory at Stalingrad and Al Almien against greater odds. The destruction of our daily only strengthened our determination. Never for a moment did we lose our faith in the democratic cause.

Thirdly, you perhaps know that unlike the leaders of the present ruling circles of Iran, the leadership of the Tudeh Party is entirely free from corruption; theft, misappropriation of public funds and misuse of their public position are completely unknown among its members.

A large number of college professors, teachers, engineers and members of the intelligentsia in general are managing the affairs of the Party.

Our worst opponents who use their offices, their Ministerial positions and their Parliamentary membership for oppressing the people of Iran, could not, despite their worst efforts, accuse us of theft, corruption, etc., which are so prevalent among their leaders.

And so they are spreading the lie that we derive our strength and support from the Soviet Union. But if you think a little over this, you will realise that nowhere in the world are there freedom-loving people who have not been accused of this by their reactionary opponents at one time or another?

I never for a moment deny that like all true democrats and freedom-loving persons the world over, the Tudeh Party looks with affection, pride and confidence at the great Soviet Union. We also respected the patriots of France led by De Gaulle who worked for the liberation of their country and were supported by the British.

Sympathy For All Freedom Movements We have also great sympathy for the freedom movements of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Poland and Spain. We consider that the defeat of democrats in one country is a blow to democrats all over the world.

We understand and believe that the Soviet Union viewed with sympathy the freedom movement which grew in Iran and in which the Tudeh Party played a great part. We believe that neither the Soviet Union nor, for the matter of that, any true democrat could have taken any other attitude.

This should be a satisfactory answer to your question. As for those who think that our love and respect for the Soviet Union and its people is motivated by selfish ends—all those who know the past and present of the leaders of the Tudeh Party, and their distinguished intellectual and social position in Iran, will simply laugh at the suggestion.

Azerbaijan

Q. WHAT is the relation of the Tudeh Party with the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan?

A. THE Tudeh Party of Iran has no connection with the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan. Two months ago, the Tudeh Party in Azerbaijan dissolved itself and joined the Democratic Party. According to our rules a man cannot be a member of two Parties at the same time.

Q. WHAT does the Soviet Union want in Iran?

A. THIS question you had better address to the Soviet Union.

Q. DOES the Azerbaijanian movement aim at partitioning of Iran?

A. IN the first place, it should be noted that the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan has repeatedly pointed out in its statements and through its daily organs that Azerbaijan is a part of Iran and should remain so.

Secondly, we are fully satisfied that the Soviet Union does not want a single inch of land from Iran. The Moscow Radio also pointed out a few days ago that the Soviet Government has no intention whatsoever to take over any part of our territory.

The democratic movement of Azerbaijan is the reaction to the oppression carried on by the Iranian ruling-class for the past twenty-four years. Robbery, corruption and oppression knew no bounds. Even the Times (London) wrote that no trace of democracy was to be found anywhere.

Real Story Of Coup D'etat Rumour

Q. IS it right that the Tudeh Party intends to carry out a coup d'etat in Teheran?

A. THE Tudeh Party consists of workers, peasants and intellectuals, and these are not the people who possess arms. Moreover, there are present in Teheran more than 40 thousand armed soldiers and police, tanks and guns and motorised units. Doesn't it look ridiculous for us, in face of all this, to think of a coup d'etat?

But this false rumour is being circulated with a view to cover up the plans of a coup d'etat which we know are being hatched by the most

reactionary circles led by Syed Ziauddin.

International Commission

Q. WOULD you favour the idea of an International Commission coming to investigate the situation in Azerbaijan?

A. FOR four years, the Tudeh Party has been working and telling the world that there is no democracy anywhere in Iran. The offices of our Party are being destroyed and forcibly closed down. Party and trade union leaders are arrested. Unarmed workers are being shot at. Democratic papers are being suppressed and their printed copies are confiscated and burnt. Tudeh members of Parliament are openly attacked and wounded.

All this has been continuously happening, but you never thought of sending an International Commission to see with its eyes all that was going on here. It seems a little surprising to me to find you contemplating an International Commission today and your hearts melting in sympathy for the people of Iran!

If some misunderstanding has been caused between the Iranian Government and the Soviet Government, it is for these two Governments to settle it amongst themselves. The people of Iran never want to create an international stir in the world.

We know the present plight of the peoples of Palestine, India, Indonesia and Indo-China. We are very much affected by their sufferings, and do not want Iran to be made the excuse to distract the world's attention from them.

TASKS OF INDONESIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

(Continued from Page 12.)

One of the most pressing problems of the moment is that of the youth. It cannot be denied that it seems as though the present awakening of our nationalism is largely represented by our youth.

When the youth widen their vision towards the basis of the new society, they will understand from that that the strength of our struggle is not centralised in the forces of the youth, but in the mass of the people, especially in the working class which is organised and has a sharp consciousness and understanding regarding the class struggle in the world.

If our youth understands this, they will know that their position is in the front ranks of the working class and the peasantry.

It is clearly an error to presume that the youth must lead our struggle of independence, an error which can lead to the destruction of our struggle. . . . In conjunction with a working-class revolutionary party the youth become the shock-troops of the party leading our struggle. . . . It is necessary to organise to overcome the deficiency of understanding in all matters relating to this problem. . . .

Military Training And People's Militia

Owing to the present conditions in the world it is necessary for us to heighten our readiness

to defend the motherland and our people with fully organised resistance. We require that this resistance be organised. We require an army according to the need of the period. . . . As quickly as possible, we must bring into being a people's militia in which all youth from a certain age must undergo military training for a certain period.

On account of the deficiency of material, this must be carried out with the limited means available and meanwhile the lack will be made up. The need for this instruction is extremely urgent. It must include academies for land and sea. The shortage of instructors can be made up with assistance from overseas.

In order to overcome the shortage of weapons for our resistance, it is only fitting that we sacrifice other necessities, owing to our circumstances at present. The manufacture and purchase of weapons is of special importance at this moment.

In admitting military requirements we must not for a moment make any mistake about the role of military force in our revolution. Having set up the Indonesian State, in our struggle we are forced to use the weapon of State struggle, that is the army. This does not mean, however, that we become slaves to the State or to militarism. . . .

We must be careful lest we destroy the spirit of our popular revolution by being enmeshed in militarism and Fascism.

The Indonesian War Of Independence

A STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIAL FASCISM AND NATIVE FEUDALISM

Dutch Power - A Factor In British Imperial Policy

(Extracts from the book entitled *Our Struggle* by Sutan Sjahrir, the Premier of the Indonesian Republic, translated from the original Malay)

AFTER two months of the establishment of the Indonesian Republic there is the hope and desire in every section of our people for independence and the determination to defend it.

For the people the slogan "Independence" does not merely mean the establishment of the Indonesian State, nor is our flag of red and white merely a symbol of unity and ideals of the people and the state, but these things mean for them their own independence from tyranny, from starvation and misery, the red and white flag is for them a symbol of struggle, the struggle of the people.

During the last three and a half years under Japanese subjection the basis of village life was disrupted and destroyed, by forced labour levies, the kidnapping of villagers to become slaves far from their homes, impressment into military service, the forced surrender of crops, in short, by a tyranny that knew no limits.

Likewise in the cities thousands were thrown out of work, thousands fled from the villages to the cities to escape the tyranny and starvation in the villages and thousands more fleeing from forced labour and military service swelled the unemployed army in the cities. All this caused unrest in the cities too.

The Japanese were faced with a rising tide of resentment which was likely to explode at any moment into open revolution.

After the Japanese were defeated and were waiting to be taken captive, their Government (in Indonesia) was without authority, and popular resentment against them increased. Such were the conditions before the emergence of Independent Indonesia and such are the conditions in which Independent Indonesia has been established.

Choice Before the World: Socialism Or Capitalism

The ending of the Second World War left three supreme military and economic powers, that is the USA, England and the Soviet Union. These three are the leading powers which control the international relations linking most of the countries of the world. This has caused the disappearance of the individual sovereignty of all other countries, a sovereignty which in any case was extremely limited previously.

The political system of Soviet Russia stands strongly on its basis of Socialism, and has passed the difficult tests of the past years, its basis not being dependent on political or economic conditions outside Soviet Russia.

The United States and England on the other hand require the whole world as a field for their economic existence, which is Capitalist and Imperialist.

The Second World War which destroyed the wealth of the world to the extent of thousands of millions of guilders, has impoverished, with the exception of the United States, the whole world. Everywhere the means of production have been destroyed to a great extent and there is a lack of manpower due to widespread starvation and sickness.

All this has brought about a weakening of the capitalist world and it is difficult to see how Capitalism can find the strength to continue its existence.

In a large part of the world there are economic crises, confusion and sharp political strug-

gles. There is the increasing trend of the working-class to change the basis of Capitalist society and create a Socialist society.

On the other hand those holding to the old system, despite this threat, still search every road by which they can strengthen their position with plans to improve Capitalism and Imperialism. Thus we face a new Imperialism. We are living now in a period which will determine which system will emerge and finally determine the fate of mankind, that is, the new Capitalism or Socialism.

The competition between these two tendencies and powers is reflected in the continuous political struggle of the world. We will experience continued political crises, economic crises and there exists the possibility of conflict and perhaps of another world war.

PREMIER SUTAN SJAHRIR ON TASKS OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Indonesia is surrounded by countries under the influence of the Capitalist Imperialism of England and the United States. The fate of Indonesia is bound up with English-American Capitalist Imperialism.

Dutch-Tools Of British Imperialism

For more than a century past Dutch power over our people has been a fruit of English foreign policy. We know that in the beginning of the nineteenth century England seized Indonesia from the Dutch and indeed the Dutch would not be in Indonesia except by grace of England. They are merely a factor in English policy.

English foreign policy towards East Asia has been carried on for more than a century, though new powers and conditions have appeared, such as Russia, Japan, the USA, the Chinese Revolution, and the changed circumstances, especially in China, cannot be overlooked.

The most important change in relation to our country occurred when the Japanese drove out the Dutch. On account of defeat, Japan will temporarily disappear from the politics of North East Asia, and it can be said that Japan will fall into the hands of the USA which has now become the biggest Pacific power.

The United States now feels that it can modify and reconstruct English policy of the last century throughout the East, and in our country too. If the English cannot reconcile their policy with that of the USA, which is concerned only with its own Capitalist existence, then England will be overwhelmed by the power of the USA. It is clear that the Dutch power has only been a tool in English policy.

It is also clear that the American attitude towards Dutch control of our country is not the same as the English attitude.

In this circumstance it may be possible for us to occupy a position which will agree with the political aspirations of the United States, the colossus of the Pacific, but this possibility is limited as long as the world is Capitalist and Imperialist as at present. . . . Because of this the fate of the people of Indonesia is bound up with international conditions and developments.

(Until the basis of society is changed and an end is put to

Capitalism and Imperialism) the struggle of our people cannot be fully satisfied, and the independence which we can achieve, even freed fully from the Dutch, will still be nominal independence, similar to that of other small countries under the influence of big Capitalist countries.

For Democratic Revolution

Although for many years we have been in a modern world, and although the society of our country was changed and influenced by it, the existence and outlook of our people, especially in the villages, was still feudal.

To maintain our subjection the Dutch retained all remnants of feudalism in order to restrict the development of our people. Thus for example, Government officials are merely tools made by the Dutch exploiters from the feudal heritage of our society.

Dutch exploitation sought its strength in alliance with modernity and Indonesian feudalism,

finally to become a special type of Fascism. Colonial Fascism far surpassed that of Hitler or Mussolini. Long before Hitler's concentration camps of Belsen and Buchenwald, Boven Digoel was established.

The movement of our people opposed foreign subjection from the beginning and in opposing this feudal bureaucracy, the autocracy and Fascism of the Dutch, our movement is a genuine social movement.

The revolution emerges in its beginning in a national form and enters the setting up of a democratic society, thus giving it a social character. If we do not perceive this transition, we face a great danger, that in not considering feudalism as an enemy, we still permit the spirit of feudalism which still exists as a sort of nationalism. This would become nationalism with a type of solidarity that is feudal solidarity or hierarchism.

So in setting up the power of our society in our revolution, we must never forget that we are taking part in a democratic revolution.

Having defined the nature of our struggle as above, it is clear that our revolution must be held by democratic groups, who are revolutionary and not by nationalist groups who have been slaves to Fascism, either Dutch colonial Fascism or Japanese military Fascism.

Clean Out The Collaborators

The revolutionary democratic struggle begins with the eradication of all traces of Japanese Fascism, which prevents understanding amongst those who are still influenced by Japanese instruction and propaganda. Those who sold their souls and honour to Fascist Japan must be separated from our revolutionary leadership (that is, those who worked in propaganda, Japanese Secret Police, those who took any part in the Japanese fifth column).

All of these must be considered as traitors to our struggle and are not to be identified with the workers who worked for the time being only, to secure the necessities of life. Thus all political collaboration with the Japanese such as mentioned above must be regarded as Fascism itself, or a tool of Fascist Japanese, and is a betrayal of the struggle and revolution of the people.



Premier Sutan Sjahrir

The State of the Republic of Indonesia which we create as a means in the revolution of our people must become a means of democratic struggle, cleansed from all traces of Japan and its Fascism.

The entire Government must be democratised as quickly as possible, so that the majority of the people may participate in Government affairs.

People's Organisations

This may easily be accomplished by setting up where necessary, representative bodies of the people from the village

directing its struggle towards defending the State of the Indonesian Republic. . . . This is as it should be, but the national solidarity of the working-class must be raised to an international level, so as to be in tune with the struggle of the working-class throughout the world.

The excess of the spirit of nationalism can hinder the working-class from perceiving the international nature of the struggle, and may cause deviations which will weaken its position and cause retreat.

In order to avoid the danger that in the nationalist struggle the basis of the struggle is overlooked and forgotten, that they will not be deceived or imposed on, it is necessary that in the nationalist struggle the working-class knows how to struggle for its position in its own manner as Indonesians, that is organised as workers with weapons of class struggle.

The spirit which is necessary to carry on the struggle in this way is the spirit of its class and the solidarity of its class not weakened by the spirit of nationalism.

The conditions for clarifying its position in the political struggle of the working-class are to claim full rights of the people, even from the State of Independent Indonesia itself, the freedom of speech, of writing, of assembly, of meeting, of the right to strike, of the guarantee of employment of health conditions, education for children, the fixation of wages, etc.

Liberate The Peasantry

For our peasantry the struggle for independence can only have meaning if its mass nature is realised by them.

If the present revolution of the Indonesian people is to be felt as a popular revolution for the peasantry, so that they can no longer be suppressed by the Government, so that they can enjoy the fruits of their labour, and not be oppressed by laws which benefitted only those who governed, then our revolution must overthrow feudalism in the rural districts, feudal Government regulations, the impressment of labour and produce, as was the custom under Dutch subjection.

The villages are so overcrowded that although production from the soil is carried out as intensely as possible, it is still not enough to raise the living standard of the people in general. This condition is becoming more and more acute.

Apart from attempting to redistribute the inhabitants of Indonesia more evenly among the islands with intermigration, the complete answer to the question in Java is undeniable industrialisation.

If the surplus population of the village becomes a field for raising the standard of living with cooperative endeavour, and industrialisation is brought about under Government planning, a large part of the surplus village population of Indonesia will be increased, especially with the basis of a prosperous peasantry.

Working-Class Struggle A World Struggle

These conditions make the world one international unit. Thus the resistance and struggle of the working-class against this can only produce any result if this truth is fully realised.

The activities and struggle of the working-class must be on an international scale.

Our working-class is now

(Continued on Page 11, Col. 4.)