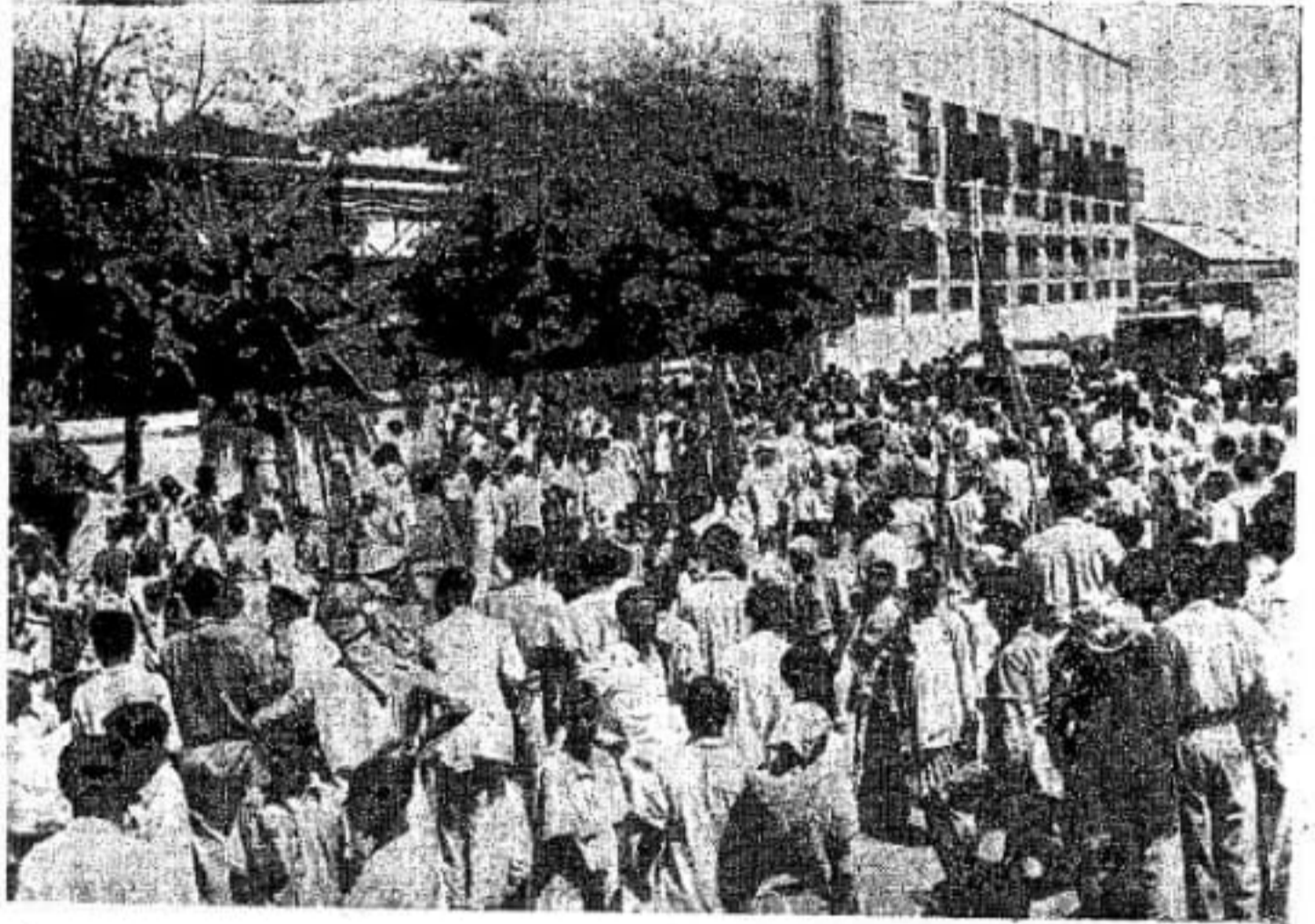


## BOMBAY WORKERS IN ACTION

( See Pages 6 - 7 For S. A. Dange's Article On Bombay Govt.'s Labour Policy )



A procession of textile women-workers of "Madhavji Dharamsee Mills.



They won a glorious wage increase of Rs. 55, from a minimum of Rs. 45 per month to a minimum of Rs. 100, through their own united action. A part of 3,000 Military Lorry drivers demonstrating before Sewree Ordnance Depot.

★

★

Bombay is at present passing through a strike-wave. Last week 25 thousand workers were on strike, this week's total is 16 thousand. The Congress Ministry instead of looking into the legitimate grievances of the workers and stopping the owners' offensive against them, is providing police protection to black-legs, and under the plea of legality insisting that the workers go through the long and tortuous process laid down in the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act for the redressal of grievances.

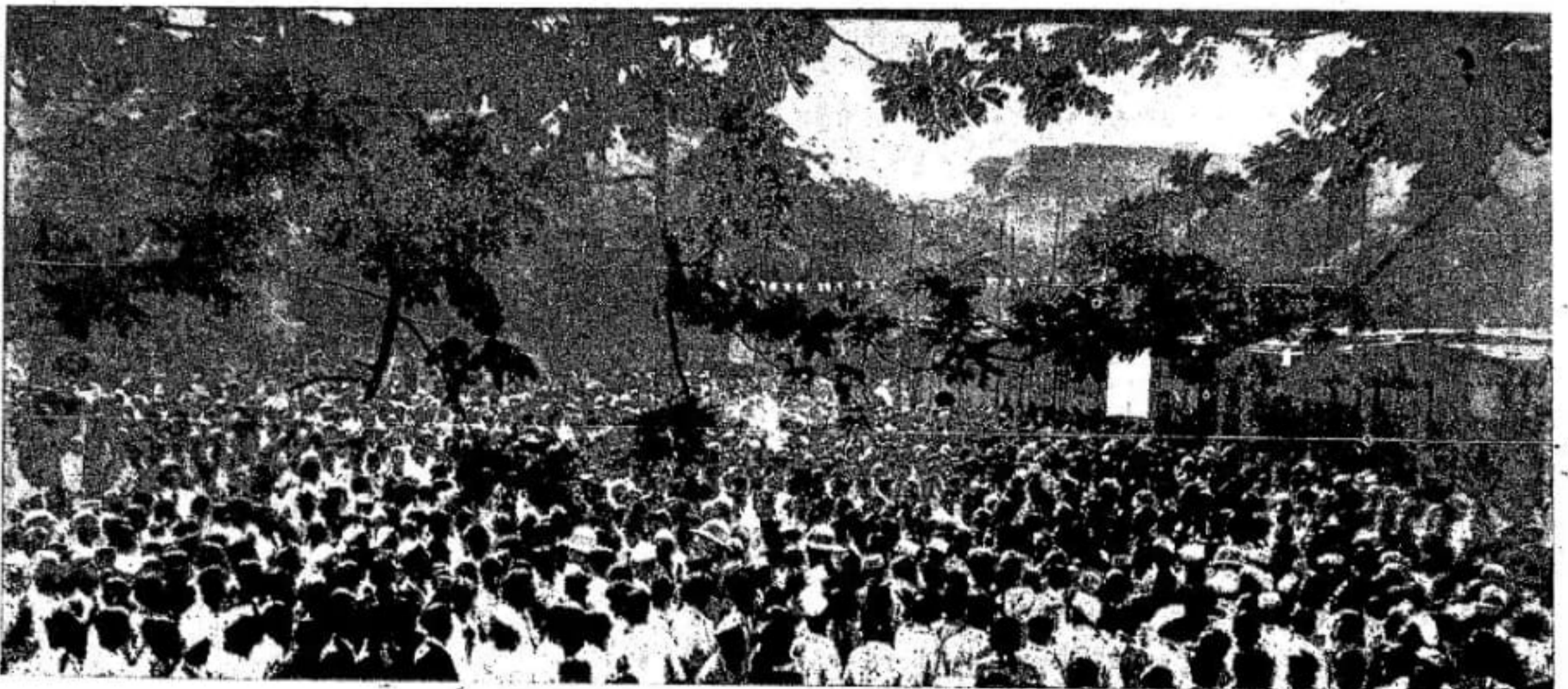


Leaders of the above drivers.

★

### ★ IN THIS ISSUE

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Workers assembled at the Kamgar Maidan to see S. A. DANGE win the Textile Labour seat in the Bombay Assembly. Last week they gave him a send-off on the eve of his departure to Moscow as India's delegate to the World Federation of Trade Unions.

# NINE-MAN GANG CONTROLS BENGAL'S CLOTH

## Minting Crores, Keeping People Naked

Nine men sit on Bengal's cloth and aid the British to keep the people naked. Take a good look at these names, the biggest five of the nine:

- \* Sir Badridas Goenka.
- \* M. A. Ispahani.
- \* B. M. Birla.
- \* R. L. Nopani.
- \* Sir A. H. Ghaznavi

They are behind the biggest ramp in Bengal today.

IN September 1945, Governor Casey's Ordinance gave these nine gangsters the respectable name of "The Board of Control of the Bengal Textile Association (BTA)"

The jobs of the BTA were described on the official files as:

- (1) Operating as wholesale dealers for cloth;
- (2) Improving the procurement of cotton cloth; and
- (3) Organising the wholesale distribution of cloth in the Province.

### Unheard Of Profits

Casey and his sahib-caucus said they were "compelled" to hand over the whole affair to Big Business because the Government had no cash. The BTA was expected to put out the six crore capital necessary for the job.

But Birla and Goenka know the ropes too well. Only eighty lakhs capital was subscribed. And the big nine then sat down to blackmail: "Give us the money or you get no cloth."

Casey and Co. obliged. The Imperial Bank began to lend crores of rupees to the BTA.

And thus with an investment of only 80 lakhs, the cloth sharks began to rake in one crore and five lakh rupees a year (at the estimated 3 1/2% return on the yearly turn-over of 30 crores).

### From Our Correspondent

This was how Casey literally presented wagons of gold to the Goenka-Birla tribe—a 125% return on their capital!

### Cloth Famine In Return

One would have expected that having got this carte blanche to bleed the Bengali people, the BTA would at least do its jobs thoroughly.

But no. So greedy have these monopolists become for more and more cash that cloth procurement has been a dismal failure.

During the last six months, the BTA has procured enough cloth (1,32,435 bales) to provide each Bengali with 2-3/4 yards only. At this rate, the average annual quota of a Bengali will be 5 1/2 yards—or just about half the already meagre fixed quota of 10 yards.

This, of course, is what the BTA procured. It distributed well under half this amount during the same six months.

Thus the Bengali people have actually received less than a QUARTER of their already ridiculously small quota during this period—ac-

tually about a yard and a quarter per head!

Corruption and profiteering mark every stage of procurement and distribution under the BTA's rule.

In a hundred different ways, the 'big nine' supplement their already fabulous income:

- Six lakhs a year were sanctioned by the Bengal Government to the BTA for its 'administrative expenses.' This went in fat salaries to the "big nine" proteges.

Thus Rs. 3,000 a month went to one J. D. Mehta, Birla's favourite, as "In-charge of the Management"; Rs. 1,500 a month went to Umamprosd, Dr. Shyamaprosad Mukherji's brother, as "a Law Officer"; and so on.

- The "nominated buyers" from mills outside Bengal are really their own agents under different names. They pocket the Commission and make illegal profits by refusing to hand over the invoices to the BTA.

- The distributors are chains under the direct patronage of the officials and the BTA.

- The BTA's insurance is with the Standard General (Goenka's), the Ruby (Birla's) and the Eastern Federal (Ispahani's) Insurance companies.

The BTA's victims are the common men and women of Bengal who hide within their houses ashamed of their nakedness. It must be scrapped.

It was Casey's baby. He nurtured and fed this monster. But the lat Sahib's raj is over.

If the League Ministry wants to help the people and not the Ispahanis—it must close down the BTA profit-mine.

They are now serving all over the country cut off from their families on account of frequent transfers. Shortage of accommodation in all the major cities and rise in the cost of living without an increase in wages are hitting them hard.

Over and above this, 75 per cent of employees are now, with the end of the war, threatened with retrenchment.

Representations led to no results and, in many places, clerks have been forced to resort to direct action. There have been strikes and demonstrations in many offices and centres.

The need for a more organised and united movement resulted in Conferences in Calcutta, Allahabad, Ferozepur, Lucknow, etc., and many Unions of clerks were formed.

On April 21 and 22nd, representatives of the 15-thousand strong Central Government Employees' Union, Calcutta, and of several thousand clerks from various military offices met in Lucknow and set up an "All India Federation of Accounts Clerks Unions."

The Conference formulated the following demands:

- \* (a) No retrenchment without assurance of an alternative job.
- \* (b) Higher scales of pay:
  - (i) Rs. 125-10-255-15-300 (Upper).
  - (ii) Rs. 95-7-1-200-10-250. (Lower).

Higher scales of pay for peons and duffarries were also demanded.

- \* (c) House and Conveyance allowances.

- \* (d) Three months' initial pay as Victory Bonus.

The demands were forwarded to the authorities concerned. The clerks are now preparing for a general strike as no favourable reply to their demands has been received.

May I, through your columns, appeal to the public to accord full support to the just grievances of 40 thousand youngmen? It is their support alone which can make the authorities climb down and avert a general strike.

S. S. MAZUMDAR.  
Muttra, 20-5-46.

# "WILL OUR SORROWS NEVER END?"

## A Bengali Housewife Writes To Bengal's Premier

Mrs. Mina Roy Choudhury, of village Malhati, district Murshidabad, has addressed the following open letter to the Prime Minister of Bengal. We do not yet know what Premier Suhrawardy wrote to this simple house-wife. But it describes in fine plain words which way Bengalis are going:

SIR, Where the districts Murshidabad and Burdwan meet, we Hindus and Muslims live together. Our village Malhati lies two miles north of the railway station. Pay a visit to our village.

As you enter you will see a group of middle-aged women leaving the village with their sick children in their arms. Ask them where they are going and they will reply that they are going south in search of work. But if you follow them then you will find that they are in fact going to increase the number of the dead on Calcutta's pavements.

Inside the village, you will find all the cow-sheds empty. Almost all the cows have been sold away to people who come from Calcutta. Even for those which are still left, money has been paid in advance. Nobody knows where all the milkmen have gone.

Children have died for want of milk. Those who still live do not look like children of human beings.

### Plight Of Landless Peasants

As you reach the baithak of the Sarkar family, you will find yourself in a crowd of two or three hundred people. They are the landless peasants of our village, and they have come to take land on lease from the Sarkars.

Only a few days are left before the rains come. So they want land, they want paddy on loan. Only the Sarkar Babus can give it—because they are the sole owners of the 800 bighas of land in this village.

If they are not kind, what else is left for the peasant families but to die of starvation?

That very land for the right to till which, they are lying prostrate at the feet of the Sarkar Babus, once belonged to them. Only two or three years ago for want of food, they handed over the same land to the Sarkars at the Sub-Registry Office of Bharatpur.

If you come, come after tak-

ing proper precautions. People are dying of cholera in the village. Do not be shocked if you find corpses lying on the roadside covered with either plain leaves or ordinary paper. Where could those who cannot get cloth to cover the bodies of the living, get cloth to cover the dead?

There are two doctors in our village. One of them had his "training" in Calcutta. Some twenty-years ago he served as an apprentice for six months at Batokrishna Pal's Pharmacy on a monthly allowance of Rs. 8! The other is a self-made homoeopath.

### All Round Scarcity

It is because of their presence in the village that the patients get some medicine before their death. Otherwise, they would die hoping in vain for a few drops of medicine.

If you come to our place (and please do come), kindly inform us beforehand. For my husband teaches his pupils at home. The pupils sit all naked while they study and their teacher has a bath-towel round his waist. There is only one dhoti needed when going out. I am not in purdah—and yet I have to remain indoors, because I cannot come out naked.

At our home I might be able to offer you a cup of tea. But it will be gur tea. We pay only six annas as tax and so we are classed "C" in the Food Committee's lists. And, therefore, we are not fit to get sugar.

Our village's monthly coal quota is three maunds. But coal is never to be had. If you stand on the District Board road for a while you will find cart-loads of coal. And if you pay Rs. 3-8 it is not very hard to buy a maund.

Sir, will our sorrows never end? When shall we be able to offer a square meal to our husbands and sons? Will there be no end to the dharna (supplication) at Sarkar Babu's baithak? When will the landless peasants get land?

(From Swadhinata, Bengal daily).

### Have You Read These Books?

## History Of The Communist Party Of The Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)

New Moscow Edition Rs. 2 (25 per cent Discount to Agents)

A textbook for all from which we learn the revolutionary teachings and principles of Marxism-Leninism. It shows how, on their basis, the revolutionary party of the workers and the people, the Communist Party, was built up, how the Party led the people to establish their own Soviet power through three Revolutions: 1905, February 1917, and October 1917.

It arms us with the knowledge of the laws of social development and of political struggle, with a knowledge of the impulsive forces of revolution.

It is a book every Indian must read to become a fully conscious and better fighter for the freedom of our motherland, to build the new India of the future, the free and prosperous future of our children.



## Problems Of Leninism

(Moscow Edition)

J. Stalin Rs. 2-8 (25 per cent Discount to Agents)

Recently received from Moscow, this book has not been available in India for sometime past. The new edition has been thoroughly revised and the translation made to conform more exactly to the Russian original. Beautifully printed, cloth-bound and amazingly cheap—a book of 680 pages for only Rs. 2-8.

A companion volume to the History of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, it is an invaluable classic. It explains how Leninism is Marxism of the era of Imperialism and of the proletarian revolution.

It deals with important questions relating to the peasant and national problems and explains how the Communist Party is a party of a new type, and what its strategy and tactics should be in different periods.

Please write to any of one bookshops at Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Nagpur, Poona, Bexwada and Calcutta.



### Govt. Controlled Cloth Shops Close Down

NAGAR district (Maharashtra) like the rest of the Province has been experiencing acute cloth shortage. There is widespread blackmarketing and very few Government-controlled shops in the district. The District Kisan Sabha had, therefore, demanded some time ago the opening of more shops.

The Collector far from meeting the obvious need of the people replied in effect, "There is enough cloth in the district and clamour against blackmarketing in cloth is meaningless!"

Then suddenly in April all the control shops closed down. The result was that all the cloth went into the blackmarket, opportunely enough just on the eve of the marriage season when the demand for cloth goes up considerably.

Open blackmarketing is now going on and the dealers are demanding their own prices.

The Congress Ministry has now been in office for two months. It is time that the Ministry took up the question of cloth scarcity seriously. The kisans' demand is for more control shops and not for the closing down of even the existing ones.

A NAGAR RESIDENT.  
16th May, 1946.

### Yarn Shortage Hits Handloom Weavers

THERE is general shortage of yarn in the country as is commonly known. Particularly the insufficient quantity and inferior qua-

lity of yarn suitable for WARP and double yarn in fine counts for borders is hitting the handloom industry very hard.

Many mills are manufacturing warp quality yarn in fine counts, and it should not be too difficult for the Textile Commissioner or the Provincial Textile Controller to allocate a part of it for handloom weavers.

We have learnt from reliable sources that the Government is importing large quantities of art silk, but handloom weavers have been sadly neglected here also. Some eight months ago, the handloom weavers of Thana district received a thousand pounds of art silk. Since then nothing has been done.

We want to draw the attention of the Popular Ministry of Bombay, through the columns of your paper, to the plight of the handloom weavers, and request them to provide all possible facilities in the matter of yarn, etc., according to the recent Central Government Resolution on the subject.

G. M. MOMIN,  
Hon. Secretary,  
The Momin Weavers' Cooperative Society.  
Bhiwandi (Thana District)  
22-5-1946.

### Accounts' Clerks Prepare For Strike

DURING the war there was a great demand for Accounts clerks, particularly in the Military Accounts Department, and all sorts of alluring prospects were held out before educated youngmen.

On entering the Department these men were made to sign bonds for service anywhere in the world.

# KASHMIR IS ALIVE AND FIGHTING

## It Will Not Remain Under Ruler's Heel

May 26:

**“QUIT KASHMIR”**...hundreds of placards bearing this slogan in bold letters have appeared all over Srinagar.

At night the city rings with groups shouting the slogans of the Resistance.

The Dogra soldiers rush madly, every time they hear a slogan, in the direction from which it comes. But the people are away—and steadily, proudly comes the cry again from somewhere else:

“Kashmir ko chorh do!”

It must be maddening for the soldiers...For the Kashmiris it is not just a children's game of hide-and-seek. It is their grim demonstration that all Kak's terror will not break them.

### Mad Dogs

The police and the military spent hours tearing down the “Quit Kashmir” posters. But they are up again as soon as it is dark.

Today scores of dogs were seen running about the streets with—“Quit Kashmir” placards round their necks. The military chiefs went crazier than usual and set their soldiers to chase the dogs. At 4th Bridge, three dogs were shot dead. To the Maharaja, men and dogs are all the same. Bullets kill both.

But as the soldiers chased the bewildered dogs, shouts followed them from street to street:

“The dogs are being hunted by mad dogs.”

### In Life And In Death

People are sitting in their houses talking of another unnamed hero. News travels fast in Kashmir, though

papers which tell the truth are locked up.

It was on the Aerodrome Road, day before yesterday. A procession of kisans was marching to Srinagar, led by a village elder. Round his neck was a flaming “Quit Kashmir” placard.

The soldiers stopped the procession. Go back they ordered; you cannot enter Srinagar. And then, without a moment's pause, a rain of blows with heavy lathis. Kashmiri kisans, they defended themselves with their bare hands.

Out came the soldiers' guns. The village elder was shot and left for dead—with the flaming “Quit Kashmir” placard still firmly round his neck.

“Bury this placard with my body”...this was his last wish. In death as in life, the unknown hero breathed the spirit of the Kashmiri Resistance.

How long will the Kashmiris bear in silence this terrible torture? How long will the leaders of the Resistance be able to hold back the people's anger?

### Put them To Flight

Today a military squad rushed into a house and began to abuse and insult the women who lived inside. This the people could not stand—and they fought with all their strength and put the soldier-goondas to flight.

There are moments when the people must hit back—to save their very honour.

Every school and every college is on strike. The Presidents of the All-Kashmir Students' Federation and of the Kashmir Students' Union have been arrested, together with 20 other student leaders.

School children were lathi-charged near Awantipura. School children—the future of our nation. But for Kak's bullets nobody is too young.

May 28:

**T**HE Nazis used to make Jewish scientists and men of culture sweep the filth off the streets.

In Kashmir, the Nazis have burst out again. Lawyers are being made to crawl on their knees and wipe the streets clean with their turbans.

Kak will deny every item of truth sent out from Srinagar. And his paid Press agents will help him do it.

But the evidence indelibly printed on the eyes of the Kashmiri people will remain. They can never forget these scenes of horror and humiliation. Pandit NEHRU has said now that he shall not be coming yet to Srinagar. Kashmir's hopes of an early release from this horrible torture have been dashed to the ground. Why is Panditji not coming? Let him come and learn the truth, and storm the prison-cage which holds Sher-e-Kashmir SHEKH ABDULLA.

### Alive And Fighting

But even if he cannot come and is too busy to visit this Land of Terror—Kashmir knows the people of India are with her. Kashmir knows too that it has the strength to carry on against the Maharaja's bullet-raj....

Only today came the news from Anantnag that the entire Kashmiri police force refused to lathi-charge their own brothers and sisters. Forty of them were put under arrest.

Yes—Kashmir is still alive...and fighting. Kak lies when he says Kashmir is under his heel.

# INDIA-WIDE SUPPORT FOR KASHMIR STRUGGLE

## Messages Of Solidarity

HYDERABAD (Deccan)

“Is it not an attempt to maintain the irresponsible autocracy in the States as before? The States peoples' organisations throughout India must take cognisance of the incident and muster all their strength to meet the eventuality.”

SWAMY RAMANAND TEERATH, the State Congress leader and a Standing Committee member of the All-India States Peoples' Conference.

“This attack (in Kashmir) is significant as it comes off at a time when the States peoples too are demanding their self-determination in the larger context of freedom of India as a whole...Every honest States peoples' worker, whatever political views he may subscribe to or party he may belong, must realise this danger and unite to face this Feudal-Imperialist combine.”

SHERI RAVI NARAYAN REDDY, President of the Hyderabad State Andhra Conference (the organisation of the 85 lakh Andhras of the State)

KARACHI

On a resolution moved by Communist Corporator ABDUL GAFOOR, the Karachi Municipal Corporation adjourned its meeting on May 28 for five minutes as a protest against the harsh treatment and indignities heaped on the people by the Government of Kashmir State.

PUNJAB

“...The people of Kashmir are fighting by themselves, but they are fighting not for themselves alone. They are fighting for us all. At a time when British Imperialism is

striving to perpetuate its rule in India by alliance with the Princes, as clearly revealed in the Cabinet Mission's award, this fight of the Kashmiris for their own freedom is a direct blow against that unholy conspiracy, against British rule itself....

“A raging tearing campaign must be begun forthwith, throughout the country. In this campaign the people of this Province, as neighbours of Kashmir, are in a position to give them most aid and therefore must take the lead.

“...From every platform and every meeting, from Congress and League Committees as well as other patriotic organisations, the warning must go forth that if this repression is not ended and the legitimate demands of the people granted, the country will rise as one man and resort to every measure to put an end to this regime of terror.”

—PUNJAB COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

“The Kashmir administration has very nearly repeated the horrors of Jallianwala Bagh in an attempt to suppress the demand for constitutional freedom in the unhappy valley of Kashmir.

“I feel sure that the internal division and dissension among the people of Kashmir will be washed away by the blood which has been shed so freely by the Dogra troops of the State.

“The kind of grim tragedy that has been, and is still enacted in Kashmir, cannot but shock the feelings of Muslims and, indeed, any fair-minded person in British India.

“I assure my Kashmiri brethren of our utmost sympathy in this hour of their trial and sufferings.”

NAWAB OF MAMDOT, President of the Punjab Muslim League.

“On behalf of the Punjab Kisan Committee we send our sincerest support to the people of Kashmir in their fight for freedom.

“We warn the State authorities that the kisans of the Punjab will not tolerate this repression lying down. By continuing their repression, the State authorities will only be inviting the Punjab kisans to take steps for direct action to support the people in the State.

“We are calling a meeting of the General Council of the Provincial Kisan Committee to consider this serious situation in Kashmir.”

—THE PUNJAB KISAN COMMITTEE.

BOMBAY

At a mass meeting of 10,000 citizens of Bombay held on June 2 under the auspices of the Bombay Committee of the Communist Party, the following resolution was passed:

“The heroic people of Kashmir, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs under the inspiring leadership of Sheikh Abdullah have launched a struggle to oust the autocratic rule of the Maharaja and establish people's rule.

“The Princely bureaucracy have started a ruthless campaign of repression establishing a regime only comparable to August 1942. The whole State has been handed over to the military.

“Undaunted by this repression the people are heroically resisting these atrocities. This meeting strongly condemns this Dyerism. This meeting demands that the present slaughter be stopped immediately and public enquiry be made in the affairs of the Kashmir State.

“This meeting declares to the people of Kashmir that their struggle is a part of the struggle of the Indian people for independence.

“It is further of the opinion that the bloody events of Kashmir have exposed the true nature of the Cabinet proposals.

“This meeting assures the people of Kashmir that the citizens of Bombay regard their struggle with sympathy and admiration, and further assures them that they will help them in every possible way.”

—Romesh Chandra



### G.H.Q.'s Latest: Wash The Bloodstains Off

**T**HE really smart murderers leave nothing to chance.

The military chieftains up in New Delhi are on the alert for everything. Elaborate secret plans to shoot down the people are, of course ready for use.

But there is a bit of a hitch. The wretched Indians have an unpleasant habit of making a hell of a fuss over every little firing, and of demanding an enquiry. And these enquiries can be quite troublesome at times.

So now officers are being given the low-down on ways to blow up such enquiries and wash our tell-tale blood off their hands.

If you face them with these allegations, the Generals will sniff and snort and deny the whole thing point-blank.

But remind them (gently please, so that they do not burst a blood-vessel) of Army (India) Training Memorandum No. 30. Turn to Para 18. And you will find a Note on “Military Aid to the Civil Power.”

“Now that we are becoming involved in the aftermath of a major war,” says the Note pompously, “with its inevitable economic and political upheavals, it is as well that officers are made aware of their duties.”

Firing on our people is one of these “duties” of the “aftermath” (what a big word behind which to hide every Imperialist butcher-plan!). And so the note presents every officer with a “formula”, which he can wriggle out of any inconvenient enquiry.

### Learn Magic Formula: Shoot With Impunity

Look out for the formula—the British plan to make frequent use of it. This is how it runs:

“The attitude of the rioters was such that in my opinion there was a danger of life and of property and that nothing short of firing would prevent it.

“The rioters were therefore warned to desist or disperse or I should be compelled to fire, and such a warning was given in an audible manner. The rioters however would not desist or disperse; I therefore ordered....(here state

who is wounded, a section, etc.) to fire on the most prominent ring leaders among the rioters. The moment the rioters showed signs of dispersing, I ceased fire and had the wounded tended and sent by ambulance to hospital.”

G.H.Q. certainly works well ahead of time. It is a law-proof formula and any officer can get off scot-free if he memorises it.

The note suggests he can add, as pepper and salt, such gems as:

“I saw men breaking down the doors of houses,” or, “Two of my men were rendered senseless by stones.”

These are their preparations for the “aftermath”—the manufacture of lies and evidence well ahead of time.

When the time comes—and our masters seem to be determined that it shall come—I hope every lawyer who fights for our people in any such case will refuse to accept such parrot-testimony from guilty officers. I hope he will call into court the Memorandum I have quoted here and blow the lid-off this scandalous conspiracy for organised perjury.

### Benthall-Birla On The Same Side

**E**VERYBODY knows the Railway Board is in a panic about the railway strike. But, it is not alone.

I have just seen an editorial in Birla's Hindustan Times titled “Stop the Strike”. Of course Birla's editor dare not dismiss the workers' demands as sharply as the all-White Railway Board—after all, he is still supposed to be editing a Congress paper! So he talks round and round to say exactly what Benthall says, only in more “patriotic” language.

His last—but, at bottom, his most fundamental—argument is:

“The demands have to be judged against....the relative standard in industry.”

All this means is that Birlaji is in a dither. He is fretting and fuming because he is afraid that if the railwaymen win, his own workers will

have to be paid a living wage too. So through his very “nationalist” organ, he puts across his poison.

The last proposal in the editorial is:

“The dispute should be taken out of incompetent hands....The situation demands that the Viceroy take immediate counsel with Gandhiji, Maulana Azad, Pandit Nehru, Mr. Jinnah and an industrial leader.”

How modest Birlaji is—he is too shy to put it straight—so instead of saying “G. D. Birla,” he writes “an industrial leader.”

And how brazen Birlaji is. He makes the offer to Wavell and Benthall so outspokenly: “Call me into the negotiations and I shall help you break the strike”—(that is all the Hindustan Times' editorial means).

Benthall Sahib has not been slow to catch on to the hint.

In his recent conference on the railway strike, he quoted profusely from the Hindustan Times!

When the burra sahibs start quoting a paper, start watching it carefully. It cannot be up to much good. And Birlaji is not.

### Time For Licking and Kicking

**“T**HERE'S a time for licking, and there's a time for kicking....” Don't be alarmed. It's only Sir FIROZ KHAN NOON putting across the new “theoretical” basis of the Punjab League's landlords, at a private gathering of Noon's toady hangers-on. A friend overheard him and sent me the news.

Noon is arguing for a policy of pleasing the British.

“We always make mistakes. When we should have kicked the British, we licked their shoes. And now we are kicking them, when we should be licking their shoes.”

And then a whisper goes round.... JENKINS, the new Governor, who has succeeded GLANCY, is a great friend of Noon's and Lady Noon's and Begum Shah Nawaz's. May be,

just as Glancy kept Khizar in power, Jenkins might help the League. Oh hurrah!

Keep licking, boys. You have done it all your lives.

### Tribute To The White Lords

**I**HAVE just been taking a look at the Treaty of Amritsar, signed between the British and the Maharaja of Kashmir in 1846, a hundred years ago—the “sacred” treaty by which the Maharaja bought Kashmir and its people for a paltry 75 lakh Sikh rupees.

Article 10 is magnificent:

“Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government and will in taken of such supremacy present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female) and three pairs of Cashmere shawls.”

But the goats became a bit of nuisance. So in 1884, it was arranged by “mutual consent” that instead the Maharaja should present:

“10-lbs. of pashim in its natural state as brought to Kashmir from Leh, four pounds of picked and assorted black wool, four pounds of grey wool, four pounds of white wool, and one pound of each of the three best qualities of white yarn.”

But today the Maharaja of Kashmir has been declared “Independent” with the rest of his Princely brothers.

His tribute now is no longer in wool and in shawls and in goats—but in Kashmiri heads and Kashmiri blood. With these he seals his new unsigned treaty of alliance with Britain, whose terms are—

● Kashmir's fruits for the Maharaja.

● Kashmir's soil, with Gilgit as the hub, for the British army—and its plans for a third world war.

—Romesh Chandra

# Works In Favour Of Profiteering Employers-Workers Being Forced Into Bitter Struggles

### EVEN RIGHT TO STRIKE ASSAILED

The anti-labour orientation of the Government has been increasing day by day. It is now in the hands of the Government to pass the law which will give the workers the right to strike.

The Government has been passing laws which are against the interests of the workers. It is now in the hands of the Government to pass the law which will give the workers the right to strike.

The Government has been passing laws which are against the interests of the workers. It is now in the hands of the Government to pass the law which will give the workers the right to strike.

# CONGRESS MINISTRY USES D.I.R. TO CRUSH LEGAL STRIKE

The Congress Ministry has used the Defence of India Rules to crush a legal strike. The Government has been passing laws which are against the interests of the workers.

## Protection Given For Legal Strikes

The Government has been passing laws which are against the interests of the workers. It is now in the hands of the Government to pass the law which will give the workers the right to strike.

## Government-Sponsored Unions

The Government has been passing laws which are against the interests of the workers. It is now in the hands of the Government to pass the law which will give the workers the right to strike.

## Wages, Hours, Bonus

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# FAILING PULSE OF INDIA'S FOOD SYSTEM

## MASS STARVATION IN TWO MONTHS?

The food situation in India is becoming increasingly serious. The Government has been passing laws which are against the interests of the workers. It is now in the hands of the Government to pass the law which will give the workers the right to strike.

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# Last Phase Of Cabinet Mission's Activities

# FREE PROVISIONAL GOVT. OR WAVELL-DOMINATE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL?

The Indo-British negotiations have reached the last stage. The Cabinet Mission tried to sell its plan as the blue-print of Indian freedom, escaping the disadvantages of Pakistan and yet meeting the Muslim fear of Hindu domination, in short as being good for everybody.

Or will they surrender to the British-made and Wavell-led Interim Government with the hope of turning the tables against each other in the Constitution-making Body?

facto' Free Provisional Government.

They had almost succeeded but a closer study of their plan made the people critical, and the undue delay in the establishment of Interim Government more suspicious and vigilant.

and so constituted that it will help them to put their final plan through. Their way to it will also be the same, as we shall see enacted this week.

It is not merely a matter of Indian honour, but the only way to Indian freedom here and now, the only way to save our millions from the coming famine.

Not one but two flies are walking into the British spider's net and each thinks of itself as the spider!

- (2) Immediate withdrawal of British troops.
- (3) No Princes but only people's representatives at the Union Centre.
- (4) All-out support to the rising peoples' struggles in the States and the mighty strike-wave that is spreading fast.

Somehow the British must go, somehow we must get the chance to make a move along, is the common desire.

Lord Wavell has begun negotiations once again. The Congress and the League will not agree on the composition of the Interim Government, and once again he will appeal to them to trust him if they cannot agree among themselves and he will do his best and utmost to keep the viewpoints of both in mind and be just to both.

No Fundamental Objection

What do you Communists want our leaders to do? The more we study and think over the British plan, the more it seems your criticism of it is sound, but what is the way out?

Through Constitution-Making Body

Mission Gets Upper Hand

That is the same way in which the Cabinet Mission got the chance to make an award on the Constitution-making Body. Thus also Lord Wavell will manoeuvre his utmost to get the chance to give another award.

Even today neither leadership is taking a fundamental objection to the Imperialist plan but only seeking amendments, the concentration of the League being upon how

We consider it our patriotic duty to warn the Congress and the League followers that if their leaderships further pursue the path that they have been taking so far, of each trying to adapt itself to the Imperialist plan, to get the better of the other, the result would be either the ignoble surrender of both to the Imperialist plan

- (1) Unqualified acceptance and implementation of self-determination.
- (a) Redrawing the boundaries of Provinces on correct linguistic, cultural and national bases through a Joint Boundaries Commission under a neutral Chairman.
- (b) Acceptance of the right of any such new Province to secession through a referendum immediately after the Constitution-making Body has concluded its labours, so that the Indian Union is a real voluntary union and the people of every Province are free to form their own separate State or group together into a Federation as they desire.

Therefore, it becomes the first duty of all freedom-loving Indians to see through the game of the Imperialist masters at every stage so that we know what they ARE up to and what they WILL do.

that are being discussed and how the Interim Government will be formed of four nominees of the Congress, four of the League, and four belonging to neither party, i.e., the balance of power will remain neither with the Congress nor with the League but with the Viceroy's own nominees.

to retain the six Provinces in the Groups, and of the Congress being upon how to save the Frontier and Assam at least.

Similarly, the stand both leaderships are taking on the issue of Interim Government is guided by their own undying mistrust in each other.

- (2) The new constitution to be on the basis of adult franchise.
- (3) The Constitution-making Body to finish its work within a year and get rolls for new elections ready in the meanwhile.

Therefore also, it becomes our second but equally important duty never to forget the weakness of our political leadership so that we do not swing from easy hope to painful frustration but are able to mould our destiny, see our way forward clearly, get the strength and the wisdom to overcome our failings and reap the harvest of our strength that is inherent and patent in our freedom movement.

The Imperialist game has become clear beyond words from their own mouths.

The British design is simple enough, - put through a plan for future India in which the

The League insists on parity as the only guarantee of the fearful Muslim minority against Hindu majority in daily affairs of administration and in influencing the Constitution-making

The above proposals only give flesh and blood to our common demand for independence against British Imperialism. They embody the way of true democracy among ourselves today and for our future tomorrow. They enable our people to judge their parties and act as the final arbiters of their own destiny and of their own mutual relations.

Works In Favour Of Profiteering - Workers Being Forced Into Bitter Struggles EVEN RIGHT TO STRIKE ASSAILED

The pent-up grievances of workers held down by repression throughout the war period are bursting out in sporadic strikes and demonstrations...

Half gone to eat for aid; and in another case, that of the Maharashtra Mills, where the Labour Minister appointed an inquiry Committee...

which are now available, give enough details about wage conditions in 17 important industries. On this demand for the reduction of hours of work, the statement is completely silent.

WHY day mills and factories are coming out on strike and approaching the Congress Ministry to intervene on the side of the workers and solve their grievances...

The Labour Minister has been asked by tens of workers and particularly the Bombay Cotton Workers Union (B.C.W.U.) to make its policy clear with regard to this demand...

Without free and compulsory primary education and a literacy drive for all adults throughout the country, to make literacy a qualification for employment is a vindictive act of the illiterate and encouragement of nepotism.

Government is concerned of the excessive frequency of legal strikes in the city of Bombay... It wishes to make it plain that the workers who have resorted to illegal strikes should look for no sympathy or help from it...

But this dissemination of "legal" strikes should not lead one into believing that legal strikes will be protected by the Government from police interference and that the employer will not receive police help for his employees...

There are promises of better housing. But military buses by some are being pulled down right before the eyes of the workers because they were seen on gyanthana street, means mainly for the seats of the well-to-do...

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CONGRESS MINISTRY USES D.I.R. TO CRUSH LEGAL STRIKE

On June 1st, the Bombay Commissioner of Police, proclaimed an order under the Defence of India Rules, prohibiting for a period of 15 days any meeting, procession or assembly of more than four persons...

Other big strikes are in progress in the rest of the state on the 2nd. The iron and steel industry is also affected...

MRS. J. B. Wadia has written to the Congress Ministry regarding the strike of the Bombay Iron & Steel Workers' Union (B.I.S.W.U.)...

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FAILING PULSE OF INDIA'S FOOD SYSTEM MASS STARVATION IN TWO MONTHS?

At the fortnightly Press Conference of the Food Member of the Government of India and from enquire from Food Department officials I have tried to get answers to the crucial questions that are on everybody's lips...

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# **Rly. Board's Trick To Mislead The Public Exposed**

## **Workers' Main Demands Excluded From Proposed Adjudication**

Mr. D. S. Vaidya, member Council of Action of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, has issued the following statement:

**S**IR EDWARD BENTHALL, War Transport Member of the Government of India and spokesman of European capital in India, has made several inaccurate and wrong statements in his interview to the Press correspondents in connection with the impending railway strike.

Sir Edward wants the public to believe that the Railway Board, in its search for industrial peace, had offered to refer the points in dispute to adjudication and that the leaders of the Federation had not availed themselves of the offer.

He insinuates that the Federation leaders had shirked giving categorical reply to the Board's offer of adjudication.

Benthall is either grossly misinformed or has suddenly developed a faculty for imagining things. For it is a perversion of facts to suggest that the Board had offered to refer all the points of dispute barring retrenchment to adjudication. The Board had done nothing of the kind.

### **The Four Points Of Dispute**

Everyone knows that there are four points of dispute, viz., (1) Retrenchment; (2) Revision of scales of pay; (3) Bonus; and (4) Consolidation of D.A. into wages.

The Board categorically refused to refer either the question of retrenchment or demands 3 and 4 above to adjudication.

As regards revision of scales of pay, the basic demand of the workers, its attitude was equally arrogant. It stated that the scales of pay could be settled after the report of the Pay Commission, whose recommendations would not be binding on the Government, and which might take even five years to complete its thorough and searching inquiry to the satisfaction of Benthall.

All that the Board offered in its generosity was that if it was found that any section of railway workers was getting much less than other Government servants, the matter could be referred to adjudication and an interim award given.

This is the offer of the Railway Board which Benthall is parading as a peace offer, but which in reality is an offer to cheat the workers and postpone the vital question of revision of pay indefinitely.

Naturally, the Federation leaders could not be a party to this game. Let the public be quite clear about the Board's offer.

### **Main Demands Excluded**

The Board has not agreed to refer the main demands, including revision of scales of pay, to adjudication and the Federation has not rejected such an offer.

The attempt of the Government spokesman to make the thing look different is only an attempt to misrepresent railway workers and their organisations.

In spite of the grim food situation the Government of Delhi autocrats does not want to move even an inch to meet the demands of railway workers.

It does not want even to grant adjudication because it is afraid to face one, since railwaymen's organisations are in a position to expose the utter fraud and bankruptcy of the administration. Afraid to face adjudication, refusing to grant the demands,

Benthall is resorting to misrepresentation as his only weapon in the unholy fight against railway workers.

His aim is to mislead the public, isolate the workers, and beat them down—the same old game of divide and rule.

Benthall considers that the strike, if it comes about, will be an illegal strike. In a country where the only legal thing is slavery of millions, this talk of illegality and legality will not mislead anybody.

### **How Will The Strike Be Illegal?**

But it will be interesting to know from the worthy Sir Edward under which law the strike is illegal. The answer is, it is illegal under a rule of the same hated Defence of India Act, under which the Congress leaders were imprisoned and detained without trial and Mahatma Gandhi was very nearly driven to death.

There is also an interesting story behind the rule. Originally the rule laid down that it was illegal to go on strike when all points of a trade dispute had been referred to adjudication. Under the rule as it stood then the Government would have been compelled to accept adjudication on scales of pay and all other demands before declaring the strike illegal.

But in 1945, the Government deliberately altered the rule, in the teeth of opposition from trade unions and reduced adjudication to a farce.

The altered rule states that Government may refer all or any points of dispute to adjudication after which it is illegal to resort to strike.

This means that the Government can refer a few minor demands to adjudication, refuse to refer the major demands, and yet declare a strike illegal.

This is the trick that the Railway Board and Benthall are playing on the workers and the public. They have referred a few minor demands to adjudication by Justice Rajadhyaksha, excluding categorically the major demands, and are now taking advantage of the Defence of India Rules to broadcast that the strike will be illegal.

They only want to mislead the public to be able to repress the railway workers.

### **The Issue Of Workers' Wages**

An official statement issued along with Benthall's interview indulges in the same kind of misrepresentation.

It tries to mislead the public by stating that the issue of workers' wages has been referred to a Pay Commission.

After more than a hundred years' of experience of British rule, Indians have learnt that appointments of such commissions, whose recommendations are not binding on the Government, are only a device to gain time and cheat the people.

One can mention in this connection that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Labour, which was appointed in 1929 and which drew attention to the fact that more than four lakh of railway workers drew a wage of less than Rs. 20 per month, are yet to be implemented.

There is no reason to believe that the Pay Commission's recommendations will have greater authority than that of the Royal Commission on Labour.

The public should not allow

itself to be hoodwinked by this constant reference to a Pay Commission.

The statement further states "that the interim demands put forward by the Federation would cost Rs. 33 crores, that if they are granted the whole finance will be upset, that it will lead to increased costs of travel and movement of goods and that Government were not prepared to concede the demands without consideration by the elected representatives of the people."

The reference to the elected representatives of the people is very touching when made by a Government which has distinguished itself by arresting and detaining these representatives without trial whenever it suited its interests.

But if the Government is so convinced of the justice of its case, and has such firm faith in the elected representatives of the people, why does it not refer all the issues to adjudication by elected representatives? Why refuse to refer the main demands, such as scales of pay, to adjudication and only make an offer of an interim adjudication which deals with paltry changes?

The Government statement does not answer that because it has no answer. It cannot

answer why it shirks an adjudication on all the main issues.

### **Are The Workers Well - Paid ?**

As a part of this misrepresentation the official communique makes the astounding statement that railway workers are comparatively well paid. The statement can only be described as a barefaced lie, and shows that sometimes official spokesmen lack even minimum integrity and honesty in their dealings with the underdogs.

In March 1931, the Royal Commission on Labour found that out of 7,59,000 railway employees, 4,08,000 were in receipt of less than Rs. 20 per month.

In the last sixteen years the situation has not only not improved but deteriorated.

Mr. EMERSON, Chief Commissioner for Railways, admitted on May 27th in his Conference with the Council of Action of the AIRF that the Board's proposal to raise the minimum wage to Rs. 16 would benefit no fewer than 3,50,000 employees.

This means that 3,50,000 railway workers or nearly 40 per cent are drawing a wage below Rs. 16, very sound evidence indeed that the railway worker is well-paid!

In 1944, the average wage of 4,22,153 menial workers amounted to Rs. 23 including dearness allowance (D. A.). The basic wage must be anywhere between Rs. 9 and 14. In the same year the average wage of 2,29,324 daily rate and mechanical staff worked at Rs. 40 including D.A. The basic wage average could not be more than Rs. 25 or 27.

Compare this with the textile industry in Bombay where the average wage is Rs. 31-8-0 plus a D.A. of not less than Rs. 32. A doffer boy in a textile mill draws Rs. 18 as fixed wages and Rs. 32 as D.A.—a total of Rs. 50. A weaver draws Rs. 35 as wages and Rs. 32 as D.A.—a total of Rs. 67.

A municipal sweeper in Bombay now draws Rs. 30 as basic wage and Rs. 22 as D.A.—a total of Rs. 52.

Thus even if they compare the wage of the railway worker in Bombay with that of a textile or municipal worker, Government spokesmen will find reason to be more humble and less boastful about the railway wage scale.

The last argument in the Government armoury is the financial incapacity of the railways. The Federation leaders have on a number of occasions shown that the excuse of financial incapacity is untenable. They have demonstrated it by figures and statistics.

### **Govt. Is Afraid Of Impartial Tribunal**

If Government is not impressed by these arguments, let it put the matter before an impartial tribunal and demonstrate the correctness of its stand.

But the Government dare not do it. For once it goes before any court, the entire mismanagement of the Indian railways by a few British bureaucrats can be easily exposed, the hidden treasurers of hoarded money may have to be released for the benefit of workers.

By utilising a part of the Depreciation fund, by reducing the salaries of high officials, by taking away a part of the money from interest charges, by treating the losses on strategic lines as part of Defence expenditure, and by changing the present system of finance, which makes a public utility and big industrial undertaking subservient to the greedy taxation needs of a foreign autocratic State, enough money can be procured to meet the interim and final demands of railway workers.

Every year Rs. 28 crores is paid by way of interest charges. Is it not time to ask the question—who should be given priority—the man who sinks his labour every day and gets Rs. 18 monthly in return or one who has sunk some money in the railways?

Will Benthall answer the question—why should interest charges be regarded as sacrosanct and not workers' lives?

But if Benthall does not answer the question, the public must answer. Why should it allow India's railway workers to starve when parasitic investors are taking out Rs. 28 crores every year to mention but only one instance?

The railways are not a tax-collecting system—then why should there be so much insistence on the contribution to the General revenue from them, and why should people help the Government to screen its heavy taxation?

Why should first priority not be given to the railway worker and a break made with a system which swindles Indians as taxpayers and exploits railwaymen as workers?

## **AIRF REJECTS FAKE OFFER**

### **—Council Of Action's Meeting With Railway Board**

The talks between the Railway Board and the Council of Action appointed by the All-India Railwaymen's Federation broke down last week at Delhi, owing to the refusal of the Board to grant any of the demands or adopt any other reasonable course such as adjudication.

**T**HE members of the Council of Action were requested to come to Delhi by S. C. JOSHI, Chief Commissioner for Labour. All the sixteen members representing all the big unions attended the meeting.

On May 28, when the Council of Action held its first meeting, Mr. S. C. Joshi conveyed to the meeting the anxiety of the Board and of the Government to reach a settlement and requested the Council to suggest an interim settlement, pending final decision on the points of dispute.

### **AIRF'S Minimum Demands**

The Council of Action, ever ready to solve disputes by peaceful means, responded to this offer and submitted the following demands:

- \* (1) Rs. 25 as minimum wage, an ad hoc increase of Rs. 10 for every worker.
- \* (2) A bonus of Rs. 100, and other demands.

The next day it became clear that the Railway Board was not serious about maintaining industrial peace for, on the 27th, Mr. Joshi informed the Council of Action that the interim terms offered by it were totally unacceptable to the Board; that the Board was prepared to spend Rs. 33 crores only and the specific terms would be as follows: Rs. 16 will be the minimum wage and grades of subordinates getting below Rs. 80 will be amalgamated.

These terms were an insult to railway workers and showed that the Board was even prepared to risk strike on the railways rather than agree to make any concession.

### **Railway Board's Terms**

The Council of Action rejected this fake offer.

A hurried message for meeting the Board was conveyed to the Council on May 29. The Council of Action showed its willingness to meet the Board and the Conference took place at 3 p.m. on May 28.

At the meeting, Mr. EMERSON, Chief Commissioner for Railways, offered only the following two terms:

- (1) Amalgamation of two grades of subordinate staff and,
- (2) Introduction of a minimum wage of Rs. 16.

Mr. Emerson flatly refused to refer any other points including retrenchment to adjudication.

In their counter-offer the Federation leadership put forward 12 demands including a minimum wage of Rs. 25. The Council rejected the Board's offer and pressed for its demands.

When Mr. Emerson found that the break was unavoidable he came forward with another proposal, which seemed to agree on the point of adjudication.

That this was a ruse to court public opinion was seen from the fact that the Board had categorically refused to refer the questions of retrenchment and wage-scale to adjudication.

All that it proposed was adjudication in the question of whether any ad-interim increase, pending recommendations of the Pay Commission, in the pays of the lower subordinate and inferior staff was necessary and practicable compared with the emolument of other Government servants.

### **Attempt To Mislead Public**

The Council of Action categorically rejected this offer as it meant indefinite postponement of the issue. It was impossible for the Council to accept this fraudulent offer and cheat the workers.

This means that on the midnight of June 27 railway workers all over India will go on strike, thanks to the irresponsible and arrogant attitude of the Railway Board.

The refusal of the Board to make any concessions showed that the Board had called the Federation representatives to Delhi only to show to the people that they were negotiating though they were not at all serious about a settlement.

They made no fair offer to the workers; they are only spreading rumours that the workers' representatives have refused peaceful settlement, and are attempting to prejudice public opinion against the workers.

But their game will not succeed. The railway workers hold the Board responsible for making the strike necessary; it is the Board that has broken all negotiations forcing the railway workers to resort to strike.

And in this strike the people certainly will be behind the workers, foiling the authorities' game of 'divide and rule.'

—From Our Correspondent

M. KALININ

● Morrison's Bogus Food Mission  
● Democratic Set-Back In France

THE much-publicised 'Food Mission' of the British Minister HERBERT MORRISON to Washington is now over. Morrison was reported to be going to negotiate "increased shipments" to India and the British-occupied zone in Germany.

What have been the results of this mission?

Originally India had asked the Anglo-American Combined Food Board (CFB) for five lakh tons of grain for May. The CFB made an allotment, on paper only, of course, of 2,65,000 tons, but the U. S. Government which controls the major part of grain available for export, virtually reduced this to 20,000 tons—and that too of secondary grains—i.e., India got nothing of any use.

On May 18, Morrison triumphantly announced that he had achieved success in getting increased shipments of food for India, and immediately his Indian agent, the Food Member, shifted the 'deadline' for breakdown of Indian rationing from the end of June (the previous estimate) to the end of August.

Yet the fact is that all he had achieved was an increase from 20,000 tons to 59,000 tons of which 26,000 tons alone is wheat, which is merely enough to keep going India's scale of ration, covering one-seventh of India's population, for one and a half days!

And even this is by no means certain.

When questioned about Morrison's statement, MICHAEL MCDERMOTT, special Assistant to U.S. Secretary of State BYRNES, immediately replied:

"On India we have no commitments. We are going to do the best we can."

Thus, as far as immediate imports are concerned, Morrison's visit to the U.S. was a total failure.

What about future imports?

**No Imports Certain**  
Morrison has claimed that the CFB has promised 11,65,000 tons of food grain for India from the months of May to September. (Times of India, June 13). Even this if it comes at all, will only meet about half the present deficit (23-lakh tons), and already it appears that it is unlikely to come.

For an Associated Press message of June 3, reports the following:

"Mr. Herbert Morrison's statement suggesting the pos-

sibility of increased imports of food grains into India is treated with a good deal of reserve in New Delhi, where it is pointed out that Mr. Morrison's figures are no more than recommendations...."

We have had experience of these promises. Our May allotment by the CFB, originally reported to be 2,65,000 tons, was later whittled down to virtually nothing; then came Morrison's promise of 59,500 tons, once more repudiated by the U.S. authorities.

Now comes this latest promise, but already Morrison's own men at New Delhi are preparing the way for another scaling-down or rejection of the promised allotment.

The fact is that the CFB, an Anglo-American Imperial food board, will do nothing for India—so long as India is represented by the British and is not strong enough to shout out its own demands and back them up with the strength of a united people.

This is the plain lesson of the much-boasted Morrison mission to Washington.

**Socialist Mistakes**

THE bitterest elections seen in France since liberation were held last Sunday resulting in a definite set-back for the Left. The Right-Centre Party, the MRP, gained heavily from the Socialists and emerged as the first party; the Communists have lost ground somewhat, while the Socialists have suffered a big set-back.

Here are the figures that have come in till now:

	Last elect. (Oct. 1945)	Present elect. (June 1946)
MRP (Catholic Right-Centre)	150	166
Communists	160	150
Socialists	143	125
Radicals	28	45
Conservatives (P.R.L.)		36
Right groups	72	23

The main reason for the set-back for the two working-class parties is the hostile attitude of the Socialists to working-class unity and their joining up in the anti-Communist witch-hunt, launched by the newly-formed party of the extreme-Right, the Republican Party of Liberty (P.R.L.), and the M.R.P.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika's special correspondent reported on May 21st that "of the five principal parties, (the P.R.L., M.R.P., Radicals, Socialists and Communists), the first four are all (my emphasis—M.K.) devoting a great deal of their energy to attacking the fifth."

**Anti-Communism**

The Paris correspondent of the Tory Observer also emphasised that the Socialist Party Executive Committee had "agreed to lead the electoral campaign with full accent on anti-Communism," while he describes the P.R.L. as "articulate" only "in its passionate anti-Communism."

The extent to which the anti-Communist witch-hunt dominated the campaign is shown by this same correspondent's comment that:

"The election has resolved itself into a battle for and against Communism in general and against the Communist Party of France in particular."

In the face of this united barrage the Communists have lost little ground; in fact they are reported to have polled more votes than in the last

election. In contrast the Socialists, who were fondly "expected to make slight gains at the expense of the Communists" (Reuter — June 2), have fallen back considerably. Thus their anti-Communism hit them the most and led principally to THEIR losing seats to Right-wing parties.

**Future Prospects**

What happens in the immediate future in France also depends very much on whether the Socialists have learnt the lesson of the election and move towards co-operation with the Communists, or whether they are pulled by their extreme Right-wing into an anti-Communist position.

It is this that will decide whether France's new Government is firmly based on the working-class and follows a democratic policy, or moves to the Right, inevitably becoming externally a tail of the Anglo-American anti-Soviet bloc, and internally the instrument of the men who dream of re-establishing a 'mighty' French Empire.

MOSCOW Radio announced the death, at the age of 71, on June 3, 1946, of M. I. KALININ, outstanding elder statesman of the Soviet Union, and one of the oldest members of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of the Soviet Union.



Kalinin recently relinquished the post of President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (Parliament) of the U.S.S.R., the highest organ of the Soviet State.

Born in a poor peasant household, like millions of other young peasant sons in the days when the landlords, capitalists, and Imperialists ruled Russia, he had to go to work at the age of 14 in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) and educate himself by attending evening classes.

There in his teens he was drawn into revolutionary work for a better life for the people and became one of the most active members of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working-Class formed by Lenin.

He joined the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party in 1895. From that time through intensive service of the people, among the Petersburg workers—he was either in jail or underground (the Bolshevik Party was illegal)—he grew to revolutionary prominence. From 1911-17 he was on the staff of the Bolshevik paper Pravda.

Kalinin was one of the most active leaders of the armed insurrection in the days of the October Socialist Revolution. Since 1919, he had been a member of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks).

In the same year, after the death of SVERDLOV, Kalinin was elected to the post of President, which he held until his retirement due to ill-health.

In 1926 he was elected to the Political Bureau of the Central Committee (the highest directive body) of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Outstanding characteristic of this

veteran Bolshevik was his accessibility to the ordinary people, hundreds of thousands used to write to him; many more met and talked to him on his numerous tours throughout the countryside and towns of the Soviet Union.

And those who had not personally met him, knew and loved him for his simple direct writings in which he expounded the principles and policy of the Party and the State to which he had devoted the whole of his revolutionary life.

The entire 200 million Soviet people mourn his loss—for his death removes from their ranks a real people's leader, one of the principal founders and builders of the Soviet State.

HOW SOVIET VIEWS BRITISH PLAN FOR INDIA

THE well-known Soviet writer on Indian affairs, DYAKOV, in a recent talk over the Moscow Radio said:

"Last Thursday Mr. Attlee acquainted the House of Commons with the White Paper setting forth the measures which the Government has mapped out in connection with the drafting of the Indian Constitution."

"On Friday, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, head of the British Cabinet Mission to India, described these measures in a broadcast, and on Sunday, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, spoke to the people of India."

"Lord Pethick-Lawrence admitted in his broadcast that India wanted to be independent, and declared that the Government of Great Britain was prepared to grant it independence, either within the British Commonwealth or outside it. He also stressed that it was the Indians' own business and responsibility to work out their future Constitution."

**Proposals Belie Pious Statements**

"However, the concrete proposals put forward in the White Paper and in his talk do not accord very well with these statements."

"After stating that the Cabinet Mission's talk with the leaders of the Indian political parties and organisations had failed, Lord Pethick-Lawrence said that the reason was the refusal of India's major political bodies—the National Congress and the Muslim League—to make any concession."

"He went on to say that the Government could not comply with the Muslim demand for Pakistan, a separate Muslim State in a divided India. The motives he gave were that this would not solve the Hindu-Muslim problem for there would still be many Hindus left in Pakistan, as many as 40 per cent of the population, and that, moreover, it would weaken the country's defence."

"The head of the British Cabinet Mission then set forth the Government's proposals.

"Briefly, there is to be a Union of India, the Government of which will have executive and legislative bodies and whose function will be limited solely to defence, foreign relations and communication services."

"The Provinces of India are to get broad autonomy and group together in two blocs, the bloc of Muslim Provinces and that of Hindu Provinces. Governments of these blocs may be formed if desired."

"The Constitution is to be drafted on this basis by a Constituent Body elected by the new Provincial legislatures, provision being made for the principal religious communities to be adequately represented."

**Illogical And Inconsistent**

"I think that even a superficial examination brings out the illogicality of this proposal."

"In the FIRST place it is a rehash of the proposal on the basis of which the Simla Conference was called, and which, as I do not have to tell you, was turned down both by the National Congress and the Muslim League."

"SECONDLY, there is this, Lord Pethick-Lawrence said Pakistan could not be accepted. On the other hand, the Mission to all intents and purposes includes it in the proposals, without asking the people of the Provinces to be incorporated what they think about the scheme."

"THIRDLY, and this is particularly important, while it is being proclaimed that the Indians are themselves to work out their Constitution, a previously-prepared plan and procedure is imposed on the Constituent Body through its division into sections."

"The authors of the proposals themselves seem to realise that they are illogical. The Viceroy said, when he recommended adoption of this scheme, that given goodwill even an outwardly illogical settlement might be effective."

"It is symptomatic too, I think, that though the British Government has declared itself ready to make India independent, the proposals do not proclaim even Dominion Status for India, let alone independence."

"At the same time, the police in India have been reinforced; the prisons are being enlarged; the enormous British Army maintained. This does not seem to indicate that the Provisional Government of India will have even a shred of real sovereignty."

**Will Weaken India's National Movement**

On May 29, Ivestia said that the British Cabinet Mission's plan for India's future Constitution gave Britain "new possibilities for weakening India's national liberation movement."

"Progressive quarters point out that the whole programme is not intended to promote independence, but to stop its coming. They also fear that the plan will increase strife between communities and increase the strength of such bulwarks of reaction as the Indian Princes in the life of India."

**Britain's Sovereignty Remains**

On May 31, in a long article describing the situation in India, the Soviet army newspaper Red Star said:

"In spite of repeated statements on their readiness to give India her independence, the British Government plainly emphasises her sovereignty on the question of the fate of India."

"At present, Lord Wavell is forming an Indian Government which is made up completely of Indians, but it will be headed by an English Governor-General."

"Events in India arouse great interest in the whole world. It is clear that the international situation and the situation in India, push British Government circles to some changes in the methods of their colonial policy."

**No Further Than The Tories**

On June 1, Moscow Radio quoted an article from Pravda, which charged British policy in India with being only a new formula of Imperial rule destined to preserve the political and economic positions of Great Britain.

The broadcast claimed that the solution of the Indian problem actually was not advanced beyond the stage in which it was left by the Labour Government's predecessors, the Conservatives.

Indian Armed Forces' Memorandum

(Continued from page 4.)

the worker, the student and all freedom loving people will wholeheartedly back us in this struggle for the final overthrow of British Imperialism from India.

"Our last activities were only a dress rehearsal and at the same time a blue-print of our unity and solidarity. The breach of promise on the part of the authorities and the victimisation (of the RIN Strike Committee) that followed did not in the least frighten us; on the contrary, it further strengthened our unity and morale."

All lovers of freedom will see the full revolutionary significance of this memorandum. India's patriotic sons in the Armed Forces are building their unity for the final struggle, with a clear conception of the goal, the nature of the opposing forces and faith in the might of a united people.

# A RECORD OF ANGLO-AMERICAN "DEFENCE" OF LITTLE POWERS

**M**ARCH 30, 1946—only two months ago, the issue of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Iran was on the frontpage of every paper in the world.

"Honest Ernie", as his admirers often call Mr. ERNEST BEVIN, was speaking at Bristol—and here is what he said:

"It is improper for a great power to negotiate or attempt to obtain concessions out of a little power by means of occupying that country with force."

An excellent sentiment—but it is worth examining which are the "great powers" doing this and which are the "little powers" to whom it is being done.

## Black List

● **INDIA:** We can begin with India. There are British troops, hundreds of thousands, British officers, British planes and equipment, and there is no sign of their withdrawal. Yet negotiations for India's 'independence' are going on!

● **INDONESIA:** There are British troops, now being slowly replaced by Dutch troops; yet there again we hear of negotiations about Indonesia's future and, of course, with due regard for legitimate Dutch interests!

● **IRAQ:** Again negotiations are reported to be going on between the British and Iraq Governments to amend the treaty of 1930 by which Iraq became 'independent' but Britain retained the right to use the territory of Iraq for military bases, movements of British troops, etc., while Iraq's army was to be organised by British instructors. These new negotiations are going on with British troops (over a lakh in number) still in Iraq.

● **TRANSJORDAN:** Negotiations were conducted while British troops were still there; they ended with Transjordan being recognised as 'independent' but Britain is to have the right to have bases, train troops, etc.

● **ICELAND:** Another 'independent' country, this is not Britain's, but America's virtual colony. U.S. troops still remain there (for what purpose, the great defender of the rights of small nations, the U.S. Secretary of State, BYRNES, has not yet explained).

Here again according to the Washington correspondent of the New York Daily News, secret negotiations for at least two permanent U.S. military bases and six meteorological stations are going on, and all this is taking place despite the original U.S. pledge to leave Iceland immediately after the end of the war.

● **THE PHILIPPINES:** The U.S. is due to "recognise" the independence of the Philippines in July 1946; yet U.S. troops remain comfortably in the Philippines; last month they brought to power as President the former agent of the Japanese, MANUEL ROXAS.

Today through him and regardless of the presence of their troops, they are now negotiating new economic and military agreements which will effectively safeguard U.S. control of the islands—both economic and military.

● **PACIFIC:** It has been estimated that at present the U.S. is negotiating for military bases in fifty-six countries (including many Pacific islands belonging to Great Britain and Australia) where American troops still remain!

## Story Of The Nail

● **EGYPT:** And as a last piece, I come to Egypt, where the classic game of military pressure is being played. To quote a revealing story from the Free Press of India's Washington correspondent,

"Whether or not Indian opinion recognises the pattern of the new British Imperialism, the Egyptians certainly do, according to the New York Post's Cairo correspondent.

"The Egyptian favourite story, he says, concerns the celebrated Arab Philosopher Guha and his nail.

"One day Guha sold his house on condition one particular nail inside the house should remain his property.

"Every day thereafter Guha gained admittance to the house to check up his nail, so much so the house became as accessible to Guha as if he had not sold it.

"John Bull is playing Guha's part in the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, says the Egyptian newspaper Al Musawwar. "Only John Bull is leaving behind him many nails—(1) air pact, (2) military alliance, (3) imminent threat of war, and (4) commercial treaty."

(F.P.J.—May 31).

## Hypocrisy

This is the KNOWN game of the British and U.S. Imperialisms. Of course, there must be plenty they are doing which is unknown, but the known is bad enough.

Now after all this I have only one question to ask: the Security Council of UNO has busied itself very vigorously over the issue of Soviet troops in Iran; and it was in this connection, Honest Ernie made his very commendable statement.

But then why does not the Security Council—so interested in foreign troops on another country's soil—take up these questions? Or is it a fact that the Bevin-Byrnes caucus is interested in UNO not for preserving peace or the rights of small nations, but merely for organising an anti-Soviet and anti-democratic front?

It would be good to get an answer

from the apologists of Imperialism, say the Times of India!

## Whither Ranga?

**P**ROFESSOR RANGA is in London nowadays. First he spoke up on India's demand for food imports and criticised the British for insufficient attention to India's demands—very good.

But later he seems to have been infected by Bevinism. For he changed the object of his attack.

First came a charge that Generalissimo STALIN was "less than just to the starving masses of the world." How, and why, the Professor did not explain.

But he hit the headlines in London all right, for anything anti-Soviet is grist to the Imperialist mill, which is doing its best to keep the Soviet and India far apart: "American officials", we were told by the Times of India on May 28, "are reported to be opposed to India receiving help from Soviet Russia."

Next came a real BIG sensation—again headlined vigorously and widely by the Imperialist Press.

India, he said, "would have nothing to do with the new Imperialism from the north" and challenged that if Stalin organised "a big army with all modern equipment," India would do the same (Hindustan Times, May 22).

The Bevinites were pleased, naturally, and Professor Ranga was duly rewarded.

The same Hindustan Times report tells us just how.

"Photographs", it reports, "of Professor Ranga appeared in the Bri-

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ish Sunday Press showing him in a Royal family group shaking hands with Princess Elizabeth as a Windsor Royal Farm!

I wonder if Professor Ranga will tell us that he was negotiating with the Princes for food exports to India from the Windsor Royal Farm!

But it is certainly a tragedy that when Kings are vanishing over all Europe and India is speaking up for the King vanishing here too, the Secretary of the Congress Assembly Party (for this is what Professor Ranga is) should be welcomed as a "friend of the family" of India's foreign ruler.

Of course, the Professor claims he is "neither pro-Russian nor pro-Anglo-American," but has an "independent" line based on "anti-Imperialism."

Every honest Indian will welcome his desire to be anti-Imperialist, but does that involve either echoing abuse of the Soviet that is the customary and traditional stock-in-trade of Imperialists or shaking hands with Princes Elizabeth, a privilege reserved for the bluest of true-blue Tory aristocrats?

—M. Kumaramangalam

# "A People Struggling To Be Free Has No Common Interest With Its Oppressors"

## Left Egyptian Journal Denounces Bevin - Sidky Negotiations

[The negotiations going on at present between the Sidky Government of Egypt and the British Government have been wrongly assumed in certain quarters in India as an indication of Britain's desire to confer freedom on Egypt and evacuate British troops unconditionally.]

The following extracts from an article by AHMED RUSHDY SALEH published in the progressive Left-wing journal Fagr El Guedid of May 15th, show clearly what the Egyptian people themselves think of the negotiations, as being an attempt to yoke Egypt to British Imperialist policies and continue the domination of the country in a new form—EDITOR].

**T**HE development of our people and of the colonial liberation movements scared the enemies of freedom, making Imperialism to modify its methods of political domination.

## Changed Methods Of Domination

It is in this spirit that Great Britain, which attacked Indonesia in order to compel the latter to remain under the Imperialist yoke, has granted "independence" to Transjordan; is placing her armies in Northern Iraq, Palestine, Cyprus and Greece; is pursuing a friendly policy towards the Fascist Governments she is protecting.

She is renovating her methods of administration and changing the bases for her troops.

She is revising her foreign policy with a view to forming an international front directed against all the national liberation movements and against the popular democracies—the Soviet Union in particular, and is preparing for a third world war.

Imperialism has suffered a setback through the defeat of Fascism, but it is not yet dead. It is now lifting up its head and is trying to undermine the gains

of the peoples, the fruit of their blood and sacrifice.

....The British Government has declared that (in regard to Egypt) what caused it to take the initiative was its hope "to find a basis of agreement concerning the clauses of common defence which would ensure the Empire's security," and that in order to reach this end "the British Government will do the needful to amend the treaty of 1936, so that both parties are satisfied". And this has been said in the midst of negotiations!

## They Want Us As "Servants Of Empire"

....They want our people to become the servants of the Empire. Yes, through this evident confusion, through this burdensome alliance, they want to tie our destiny to that of Imperialism.

● They call it "alliance"; we call it "slavery".

● They want to keep us in the track of Imperialism, which is mainly responsible for all our misfortunes; we want to get away from it.

● They want our cotton to continue to make up 75% of our production and our peasants to work for Lancashire factories; we want our peasants

to produce food for our people. ● They want our economic structure to remain in its present backward state; we want to free it from monopolies and from the gang of Imperialist oppressors.

Every Egyptian has an average of four illnesses; 90 % of the population suffers from eye-diseases; 70% are illiterate; 70% of our people earn an average income of £E. 4 per annum, as against the relative figure of £84 in England; half of our land is owned by 0.5% of the population; 60% of our cultivated land belongs to banks, to foreigners and to foreign companies as mortgages or to private owners....

These are the "advantages" of Imperialism from which we want to free ourselves.

## No Truck With Imperialism

You, struggling people of Egypt, whose back Imperialism sits, we your faithful sons, cannot bargain with your rights. Struggling people who have suffered so much from the contact of British Imperialism, we do not want to see you turned into slaves or shadows.

A people that is struggling for independence and has suffered during the conquest of its liberties has no common interest with its oppressors.

We have common interests with the enemies of Imperialism, common links with those who resist Imperialism, and a common way with those people who are determined to destroy it.

Any condition which Imperialism and its footmen want to impose upon us, any attempt to make our country the foothold of reaction for its future wars, is a weapon directed against our people and against its struggling sons.

Our attitude and that of real patriots is to support any agreement which tends towards the liberation of our country from Imperialism, to achieve a total evacuation (of British troops) not in the Sidky fashion, but complete and real, an evacuation free from any hindrance and reserve.

We refuse the present negotiations, the results of which we can already perceive and we appeal to the Deputies of the nation and to its Senators, to its writers and thinkers, to its workers and peasants, to resist any attempt which will make Egypt the base of British Imperialism.

We call upon patriots to watch out carefully during this delicate phase which we are going through and to work for complete freedom of our people and for real democracy.

Long live Egypt, the ally of other peoples fighting Imperialism!

Down with the attempts made to draw her against other peoples, her allies and brothers!

## PEOPLE'S AGE

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# Britain's Imperial Stranglehold Strengthened Over Country

INCREASED COMMUNAL TENSION, GROWING ECONOMIC CRISIS

Ceylon's new Soulbury Constitution and its aftermath are a powerful blow against the peoples of Ceylon and India in their common efforts for freedom and friendship.

ON May 17th, 1946, the new Constitution was made law by an Order in Council from Britain. It was ushered in with a barrage of propaganda designed to convince the world of the British Government's bona fides towards the colonial peoples and its great desire to grant them the freedom they demand.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies described the event as a "significant landmark" in British colonial history. The Tory Press hailed it as an example which other colonial peoples, particularly those of India, could usefully follow.

## Slavery In New Form

In actual fact, the Soulbury Constitution neither grants nor takes the people of Ceylon any nearer freedom.

It merely continues their slavery in a new form. It creates further divisions among them and prejudices their relations with the neighbour peoples of India. It enables the British Imperialists to develop Ceylon as a major base from which to "defend" the Empire from the independence movements of South East Asia.

The details of the new constitution have already been described in People's Age (Vol. IV, No. 43). As far as questions of power vis-a-vis Britain are concerned, the new Constitution is in no way fundamentally different from the present Donoughmore Constitution.

Britain retains in her hands Defence, External Affairs and Currency. Through her continued control of external trade and shipping, she retains her stranglehold on Ceylon's economy, which has been reduced to absolute dependence on exports of her primary products and on imports for her essential requirements.

Legislation affecting "the rights and property of His Majesty's subjects not resident in the Island" (i.e., British and Indian vested interests) is also a reserve subject.

What is left has been described as "full internal self-government" and handed to the people of Ceylon in the form of the new Constitution.

## Aim - Dominion Status

Dominion Status is piously described as the British Government's eventual goal for Ceylon. Its people are urged to work the new Constitution in such a manner that they will "evolve" to this state at some future, unspecified date. In case they do not behave themselves Britain retains the right to amend or revoke the Constitution.

Even the "full internal self-government" is heavily weighted against the mass of the people.

Such power as the people wielded through universal adult franchise has been curtailed by the introduction of a Senate or Upper Chamber, half of which will be nominated by the Governor and the other half indirectly elected by the Lower House.

Indian labour, which comprises the largest section of the working-class in Ceylon, is denied the right to vote.

Persons convicted for political offences during the past seven years are debarred from being candidates for elections.

## Model Strategy

The strategy which the British Government used to foist this "freedom" on the people of Ceylon has become its model for dealing with other colonial peoples.

Through the Commission on Reforms under the chairmanship of Lord Soulbury (Ceylon's equivalent to the Cabinet Mission), the British successfully played upon the divisions in the national forces, between the Sinhalese, who looked upon the claims of the minorities as "obstacles" to national progress and freedom, and the organisations of the minorities, who feared that freedom would lead to "Sinhalese domination."

As Mr. S. W. R. D. BANDARANAIRKE, leader of the Sinhala Maha Sabha and a minister in the present Government, ruefully admitted:

"Neither the majority nor the minorities have got what they want; the British Government alone has proved the victor as all the power that they need remains in their

hands... clever use has been made of our own differences for the British Government to get its own way."

## Military Base

"Ceylon has been vastly developed as a military base, and it is claimed that this area of 25,000 square miles and with a population of over 6,000,000 could become in ten years a tremendously strong link in any Commonwealth chain." (Hindu, May 27).

As the same report reveals, the whole concept of Empire "defence" strategy has been revised to make Ceylon one of the main points in the Imperial military plan.

While the British Government utters pious platitudes about the independence of India, it is in practice building bases in Ceylon which will be used against India.

SECONDLY, an economic crisis is rapidly developing, which cannot be met within the powers granted to Ceylon by the Soulbury Constitution.

The national income which rose from 600 million rupees per year before the war to 1,600 million rupees is expected to fall to Rs. 800 million by the end of the year.

depend on the "goodwill" of the British Government and on Ceylon continuing to "co-operate."

THIRDLY, unable to tackle the developing crisis within the framework of their policy, Mr. Senanayake and his supporters are trying to place the main burdens of the crisis on the backs of the people.

They have refused to sanction the payment of unemployment relief, while frankly admitting that they have no plan to provide the people with jobs.

## Measures Against Workers

They are resisting the demands of the trade unions for higher wages and decent conditions of life and employment.

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The Times of Ceylon, the or-

Ceylonese and Indian workers in Ceylon. Nor do they object to Indian capital exploiting the resources and labour of Ceylon, provided that Ceylonese capitalists are excluded.

Their real objection is to the demand of particularly Indian labour for franchise (which is already available to British and Indian capitalists in Ceylon) and for citizenship rights in order to ensure their economic security.

At the moment, a communal campaign against Indian labour is being developed over an incident in Knavesmire Estate.

The Ceylon Government has purchased this estate for village expansion and states that it will be divided into lots for distribution to landless villagers.

The Indian workers on the estate have been ordered to quit by May 31st, 1946. They have refused to do so and have demanded that those families among them who have been over five years on the estate should be included in the scheme of allotments.

This would mean that of 275 such allotments, about 80 would have to be given to Indian families, some of whom have been over 40 years in Ceylon.

## Lying Propaganda

The Senanayake-supporting Press has played up the incident as an attempt by Indian labour to deny land to Sinhalese villagers.

This is nonsense as there is sufficient land available, both in this specific case and in general, for setting both landless villagers and Indian workers who wish to participate in such schemes, provided that a large-scale planned policy of scientific and cooperative production is adopted in these village development schemes.

Mr. Senanayake has threatened the Knavesmire workers with the full rigours of the law if they do not quit on the due date. The communal propaganda in connection with this incident has already led to an attack on the nearby trade union office of the workers.

The Ceylon Indian Congress Labour Union, to whom the Knavesmire workers belong, has declared a one-day protest strike on the estates on June 4th and is planning a series of strikes on the estates in support of the Knavesmire workers and the general demands for citizenship and franchise.

The leadership of the Ceylon Indian Congress, however, has been reluctant to join with Ceylonese organisations in a general programme of demands which will include a settlement of the Indian question. By confining the fight for Indian rights to the Indians alone, they are playing into the hands of Mr. Senanayake.

These events are not only undermining relations between Ceylonese and Indians in Ceylon; they are also prejudicing Indo-Ceylon relations.

PANDIT NEHRU has already wired Mr. Senanayake protesting against such incidents. Mr. Senanayake has replied accusing the Indians in Ceylon of creating an "artificial agitation" and stating that there has been no change in the policy or administrative practice towards Indians in Ceylon.

This ambiguous statement conceals a real discrimination against Indian labour.

The Soulbury Constitution leaves the settlement of questions of immigration, franchise and citizenship to the new Ceylon Parliament.

Under the new delimitation scheme, constituencies are to be so divided as to give weightage to the Indian population and other minorities.

But the registration of voters will take place under the existing rules, which will deny the vote to a large section of Indian labour and thereby nullify the whole effect of weightage for the protection of minorities.

As an immediate step towards settling their problem, the restrictions preventing resident Indian labour from voting should be withdrawn before registration takes place.

Disunity among Ceylon's people and acceptance of Imperialism's award have not taken the people nearer freedom.

On the contrary, they have led to the use of the country as a base against the freedom movements of Asia, to growing economic crisis and increased burdens upon the people to the sharpening of communal tension and the prejudicialness of Ceylon's relations with its neighbours.

## Ceylon Being Developed As Military Base Against Freedom Movements of S. E. Asia

Unemployment is mounting rapidly and will reach the figure of 200,000 (i.e., one out of every 16 of the adult population) by September 1946.

Prolonged drought and the breakdown of the Government's system of internal purchase of rice has made Ceylon even more dependent upon imports for her existence (two-thirds of our basic food requirements are imported).

Economic Dependence? Mr. Senanayake and those who support his policy of agreement and collaboration with Britain are trying to face the crisis by plunging the country into further dependence upon Britain.

They are trying to stabilise the export market for Ceylon's primary products of tea, rubber, coconut and plumbago through long-term trade agreements with Britain, with whom alone Ceylon is permitted to trade without the prior sanction of Whitehall.

Britain is using its dominant position to dictate terms favourable to herself.

A five-year agreement was recently concluded between the Ceylon and British Governments for the sale of copra and other coconut products. The price fixed was only half of what can be obtained in the open market.

A sharp reduction in the output of certain products like desiccated coconut (which India needs and Ceylon can easily supply) is made necessary by the agreement, which will also cost Ceylon a loss of 100 million rupees.

Ceylon's dependence upon Britain is also being increased in case of food. A special Government Mission had to be sent to Britain to bargain with Whitehall to obtain an allocation of 30,000 tons of rice per month for the next three months in order temporarily to avoid a major food crisis.

Whether or not supplies will be resumed after the three-month period has elapsed will

depend on the "goodwill" of the British Government and on Ceylon continuing to "co-operate."

THIRDLY, unable to tackle the developing crisis within the framework of their policy, Mr. Senanayake and his supporters are trying to place the main burdens of the crisis on the backs of the people.

They have refused to sanction the payment of unemployment relief, while frankly admitting that they have no plan to provide the people with jobs.

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The Times of Ceylon, the or-

by Pieter Keuneman

(General Secretary, Ceylon Communist Party)

# FARIDKOT'S RAJA: CHAMPION LEECH

## People Win One Battle, Prepare For Another

Faridkot's first battle is over. PANDIT NEHRU'S visit was the climax to a heroic battle fought for nearly a month by the Punjab States.

PANDITJI in his statement on Faridkot "congratulates" the ruler and says that:

"The Faridkot affair would never have assumed the importance and significance that it did but for the extreme incompetence of the State officials. The ruler was away at this time in Malaya."

His statement appears to exonerate the Raja almost entirely. Panditji has obviously not been able to study the Faridkot question fully. But the Indian people must know the truth about this petty prince.

Everybody here in Faridkot believes that the whole dirty terror was directly sanctioned by him.

In fact, only a few days before the end, the Raja is reported to have sought the permission of the Political Department to arrest even Pandit Nehru.

### Similar Terror In 1940

And who in Faridkot does not

remember how exactly the same sort of repression was launched by the Raja in the summer of 1940? Then too the Praja Mandal had planned a one-day Conference. Lala ACHINT RAM of the Punjab Congress, who was to have presided, was met at the station by a crowd of State-paid goondas and asked to go back—exactly as this time goondas met the President of the Conference planned for April 28.

The whole affair is an exact repetition of the tactics of 1940 only in a far more intensified form. The same beating up, arrests, torture, the use of paid toady organisations, city and village bad characters.

### Blood-Sucking Always

I suppose the Maharaja was "in Honolulu" in 1940, and was quite innocent of the terror then—just as he was "in Malaya" now.

Raja Sahib resorts to this sort of open terror only periodical-

ly. But a veiled terror goes on all the time. Its two lakh inhabitants give the State an annual income of 50 lakhs, an average of Rs. 25/- per head.

Compare this with the average in British Punjab—Rs. 7-8, and even in blood-sucking Patiala—Rs. 12-8 and you will understand what life is like in Faridkot.

Where does Faridkot's 50 lakhs come from? The biggest item—eight lakhs or an average of nine rupees per head—is from excise dues. There is said to be a wine shop in every village.

### Raja's Private Income

The Raja Sahib's official civil list is Rs. 4,75,000, besides what he gets for his household expenses, gardens, etc. The Raja has a number of part-time occupations.

(a) He owns a glass factory which manufactures bottles for the State distillery. Raja Sahib has ordered that no bottle should be used twice—and he

has fixed the price of each bottle at seven annas!

(b) He levies a Taluqdari tax from all occupancy tenants.

(c) He himself deals in all sorts of commodities earning huge trade-profits. It is alleged that he bought thousands of maunds of grain at five rupees per maund, hoarded them and sold at nine rupees. This year he has bought wheat in the State at Rs. 9-14 and has contracted to sell it to a nearby State at Rs. 12-8 per maund!

### His Policy Carried Out

No, Raja Sahib is not the angelic figure he is trying to make himself out to be. "In Malaya" or not—it was his policy and the policy of the Princely herd which was carried out in Faridkot.

Maybe, some people still want to retain "the Princely order"—but Faridkot's people are preparing now for their second battle: To end for ever the blood sucking of this champion leech—the Raja Sahib of Faridkot.

## UNDER PRINGES' RAJ

### Rampur

On May 2, the police killed four kisans and injured several others, when they fired on a procession which was marching to seek an interview with the Nawab. It was a completely peaceful procession, held to protest against the grain levy, but it was stopped and fired upon by armed State police.

### Bikaner

Two processions were taken out at Bikaner and Rajgarh on May 9 and 10 respectively to protest against the recent arrests and detentions of Praja Mandal leaders. The police with arms and lathis, surrounded the processionists and without giving any warning lathi-charged.

One hundred men, women and children were injured, many fell down unconscious. The condition of three is serious.

The police rules Rajgarh. Kisans are called in batches to the police station, thrashed and then carried off and thrown in the jungles. In their absence, their houses are ransacked, their women insulted.

### Gwalior

On May 13, Shri Narendra Kumar Dhir, Editor of the Neerav, a Hindi weekly, was arrested without a warrant.

He was handcuffed and dragged tied with a rope, to the lock-up.

## INDIA'S PRINCES -- BRITAIN'S WATCH-DOGS



"In the British Cabinet Mission's bogus plan of Indian freedom, only the Princes have been assured independence, and their subjects severely ignored."  
—P. C. JOSHI.