

ALL TOGETHER FOR LAST ASSAULT ON BRITISH IMPERIALISM

A NEW PERIOD

THE Indian freedom movement has entered into its final phase. The mounting mass battles against imperialism herald a period of the struggle for power by the people and the final liquidation of imperialist rule.

This is proved by the following unprecedented features: the mass revolutionary upsurge that has gone on mounting since the 'Release INA' demonstrations and mass resistance to imperialist terror (in November 1945 and February 1946).

The masses face police and military repression with a death-defying abandon and deliver counter-attacks against the police and military (Calcutta demonstration in November 1945 and February 1946).

The RIN struggle, the strike in the RIAF and other armed forces, the strikes among the police, all these show that the idea of national resistance against imperialism is maturing in the minds of the men of the Indian armed forces.

The fraternisation between the people and the army, the country-wide protest strikes in support of the RIN mutiny, the refusal of the Indian military to shoot the people and mutineers on many occasions foreshadow new forms of mass struggle.

The huge and unprecedented strike wave is already marked by total and country-wide strikes in individual industries and can develop into a general strike of all industries which can lead to all-in militant struggles locally.

The militant hunger marches of peasants and the seizure of grain stocks warehouses by starving peasants, the taking over of fallow lands by landless peasants (in certain districts of Bengal) are the beginning of new peasant struggles against landlordism which may develop into big local battles against intolerable conditions of serfdom and zamindari rule.

The rising political mass struggles of the States' peoples against the rule and repression of Princely autocracy, exemplified by the epic struggle of the Kashmir people, are the beginning of a new round of States' peoples' struggles to end the rule of Princes.

Compromising Policy Of Leadership

This upsurge, however, is taking place when the bulk of our people is divided into two hostile camps, led by the Congress and the Muslim League, which continue to have an immense hold over the people. It is because of this hold and the compromising policy pursued by both leaderships that they are in a position to retard and disorganise the growth of the revolutionary struggles.

In pursuance of their policy of compromise the Congress and League leaderships detach their following from the growing struggles, refuse to extend and support them and thus disrupt the rising wave.

In pursuance of their policy of bringing pressure on each other through reliance on imperialism, they rouse communal feelings, set their followers against each other, leading often to communal riots. They thus create disruption and demoralisation among the people at a time when the masses themselves are spontaneously uniting for common struggle.

While all sections of the common people, throughout the country and belonging to all parties, are being drawn into common battles, the sharp division and hostility between the powers of the Congress and

the League, accentuated by the disruptive and compromising policies of their leaderships, act as a retarding force on the spread of the common battles.

While the idea of national resistance is spreading among the ranks of the army and the police, the main weapons of imperialist rule, the leaderships of the major parties are doing their very best to check and sabotage all popular struggles.

While the question of the final ending of imperialist rule by the people taking power into their own hands comes on the agenda, the leaderships of the Congress and the League are pursuing policies of compromise with imperialism and are fight-

ing them masses belonging to all the parties, and helps to bring into being a NEW joint front of the Indian people (Congress, Muslim League, Communist Party) united behind the slogans: QUIT INDIA,

All power to the people, Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise with proportional representation and self-determination of national units and the programme of democratic revolution.

alliance between the Princes and the Congress and League leaders.

POLICIES OF CONGRESS, LEAGUE LEADERSHIPS

3. The national bourgeois leadership of the Congress relying upon the tremendously increased mass backing and prestige it has won since 1942, is using the potential threat of struggle against the background of the new revolutionary upsurge to secure a compromise favourable to itself out of the imperialist plan.

It turns its back upon mass struggles. In return it hopes that the British will offer it favourable terms.

It uses its influence over the States' peoples' movement to compromise with the Princes by coming out openly against States' peoples' struggles.

It has failed to bring the common Muslims into the common movement because it has refused to recognise the right of self-determination of the people of linguistically and culturally homogeneous national units as the basis of forging lasting Indian unity.

It rightly opposes the compulsory groupings in the imperialist plan but itself wants to take advantage of the plan to impose a compulsory union denying self-determination to nationalities.

It seeks to coerce the bourgeois-feudal leadership of the Muslim League into compromise by using British pressure against the League.

Bankruptcy Of The Congress

It covers up its anti-struggle, compromising and disruptive anti-Muslim policy by its demagogic pledges about Indian independence, Indian unity and democracy.

It promises that its policy will soon bring about a free Provisional Government at the Centre and an Independent India out of the present Constitution-making Body.

Exactly the opposite is going to be the outcome of its anti-struggle and compromising policy. Its bankruptcy will be revealed to its following as events unfold.

There will be deadlock after deadlock in the Constituent Assembly if and when it meets.

The Interim Government if it comes will be one of compromise which would be unable to solve the pressing problems of the people but will time and again be faced with the task of suppressing the people's struggles.

The Muslim League leadership enjoys the support of the bulk of the freedom-loving Muslims. It has aroused and united the anti-imperialist upsurge among the Muslim masses but has misdirected the same in a separatist consolidation.

It claims to stand for the independence of India, but demands a separate Muslim State in the North-West and the North-East areas (Pakistan), containing some 40 per cent non-Muslims, without the democratic vote of the people of those areas and denying self-determination to the nationalities contained therein.

League Obstructs Building Of Joint Front

It makes this undemocratic demand a condition precedent to its joining the struggle for independence, it bargains on this basis with the Congress and puts up an opposition to imperialism, but in reality it hopes to gain its demands from imperialism.

IMPERIALIST POLICY

2. British imperialism has emerged out of the second world war weakened internally and internationally. In its desperate struggle for survival it is trying out the dangerous strategy of building a Western Bloc, in alliance with the United States, against the Soviet Union and the forces of revolutionary democratic advance in Europe, and against national liberation movements in the

the Constitution-making Body is working, it will be an instrument of diverting the attention of the masses from the issue of the real struggle for power and of creating issues to divide Hindus and Muslims, thus encouraging communal disruption.

Essential part of this imperialist plan is an Interim Government at the Centre, which is sought to be formed by bringing in both the Congress and

THE political resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, which we give here, is a document which deserves the most careful attention of all fighters for freedom.

It is a statement of policy and programme for the final phase of India's freedom struggle which opened with the new round of mass battles against imperialist rulers, expressed in the R.I.N. revolt, the unprecedented strike wave and the glorious struggle of the Kashmir people against the Princely autocracy.

It places right in the foreground this rising revolutionary upsurge of the common people of our country as the central and dominant feature of the situation in India today.

Therefore, the resolution states clearly that India is on the verge of revolution, when British Imperialism can no more rule in the old way.

But that does not mean that it is quitting by itself, or that it is going to confer freedom on India through negotiations. On the other hand, through these very negotiations, it is hatching a desperate plan to crush the mass upsurge, to create a new social base for its tottering rule, based on compromise with Princes, feudal elements and capitalists.

The resolution categorically underlines that it is the clear understanding of this central feature of the present situation which must determine the policy and strategy of the Indian people and their parties. It unmask the real nature of the Imperialist Plan and sharply criticises the compromising and disruptive policies of the Congress and League leaderships as policies that play into imperialism's hands and give it the opportunity to put through its diabolical plan of crushing the rising revolution of the Indian people.

The resolution gives a call to all freedom-loving Indians, and especially to the Left elements:

- NO COMPROMISE;
- Reject the Imperialist plan;
- With the masses to develop their struggles to new heights;
- Forge joint freedom front of the common people, uniting the main popular parties;
- Win power for the people;
- A real Constitution Assembly based on adult suffrage, ensuring self-determination to nationalities;
- Implement the programme of National Democracy, revolution guaranteeing land to the peasants, freedom and bread to all.

It is the draft resolution for the coming second Congress of the Communist Party which is at once a guide to action as well as a draft for discussion for all Party members. It is for them to forge out of it a weapon for the unification of all the fighting forces of our people in one mighty joint front to deliver the last smashing blow against the wretched imperialist feudal regime.

ing each other and seeking British alliance against each other in the division of that power.

The leaders are able to do this because they still have immense influence as the traditional leaders of their respective organisations. This is today a big obstacle to the growth of revolutionary forces, which can only be overcome by patiently disillusioning the masses about the policy of their leaderships.

The alternatives before the people are two:

EITHER imperialism is able to crush this upsurge, thanks to the compromising policies of the bourgeois leaderships of the Congress and the League;

OR, the Party of the working people is able so effectively to intervene in the situation with correct political slogans, programme and strategy, as to transform it continuously in the direction of developing, extending and unifying these expressions of mass discontent, counteracting the retarding influence of the bourgeois leadership, and thus setting the stage for the final struggle for power.

Slogans For A New

Joint Front

The new situation demands of the Party that it boldly leads all popular struggles, develops the initiative and the fighting capacity of the masses, draws into

Middle East and Asia.

India, its biggest colonial base, occupies a key place in this strategy. But in India its very rule is endangered by the growing revolutionary upheaval. Its very machinery of power is becoming unreliable.

New British Plan And Policy

That is why the new British policy and plan to consolidate its rule in India, is to placate the bourgeois leadership—both of the Congress and the League—draw it into alliance with the Princes, and thus create a new basis for its domination and a new facade from behind which to launch a crushing offensive against the rising revolutionary forces.

The Constitution-making Body it has set up is in accordance with this plan.

If it succeeds in drawing into it the Congress, the League and the Princes, and if at all this body finishes its labours, it will produce not the constitution of an independent and democratic India but one in which British domination will be based on the one hand on establishing an alliance between the Princes and patriotic parties and on the other on perpetuating the differences between these parties.

During the period in which

the League together. As conceived by imperialism, it is to be based on Congress-League conflict so that it remains permanently weak vis-a-vis imperialism—while it can be used as a convenient screen and weapon to disrupt the growing national revolutionary forces.

Imperialism hopes to carry through this plan. It hopes that the Congress and League leaderships pursuing the narrow and selfish interests of their respective vested interests will seek separately compromise with imperialism and the Princes, which can only intensify their internal differences instead of solving them.

Imperialist Game Can Be Foiled

The neatly laid plans of imperialism which are based on the bringing together of such conflicting elements will not necessarily succeed.

The growing upsurge, if properly led and united by the Communist Party, can yet build a unity of the common people in struggle which will defeat the compromising and disruptive policies of the leaderships of the Congress and the League.

The growing support by the people of British India to the struggle of the States peoples against autocracy can yet frustrate and defeat the attempted



WOMEN LEADERS MEET

Full Support To States Peoples' Struggles, Demand For Release Of Politicals

The Standing Committee of the A.I.W.C. met in Calcutta from July 26 to 28 under Smt. Hansaben Mehta's presidentship. It was a well-attended gathering, and well-represented, with the Indian States sending a good quota.

The session was historic and some of the resolutions it passed were in line with the times and were truly representative of the great awakening among women of our land.

VERY emphatically the meeting gave its fullest support to the demands of the postmen and their strike and urged that the Government should immediately take steps "to reach an amicable settlement with the representatives" of the postmen.

It was a forward step. Never before has the A.I.W.C. so emphatically come out in support of any working-class action to win their demands. And the resolution was a unanimous decision of the Standing Committee, supported enthusiastically by young and old, by the conservative and the radical alike. It showed that the AIWC had taken a step towards representing and voicing the feelings of the middle-class housewife, the workers' wife—the woman in real need.

Princely Autocracy Condemned

Uptil now, though the AIWC has stood for freedom and responsible democratic government, never in its 20 years' history has it openly condemned "the entire system whereby the autocratic rulers in the Indian States claim to rule over one fourth of India's population..." and lent "...its fullest support to the demand of the peoples of the States for full responsible and representative Government."

by
Perin Romesh Chandra

Categorically and concretely it voiced its opposition to the banning of meetings, denial of civil liberties and mass arrests of leaders.

Clearly the AIWC could not be fooled either by the Chamber of Princes' declaration, or by the British Government's propaganda about the bogus "new reforms" in the Indian States! Again from the Liberals to the Communists—every section was emphatic in its condemnation.

But while this was a great step forward, it was extremely surprising that the resolution did not even so much as mention the heroic struggle of the people of Kashmir, nor demand the immediate release of their great leader, Sheikh Abdullah.

Resolutions demanding the lifting of bans on political parties, and the immediate release of all politicals, specially the pre-reform prisoners of Bengal, the INA and RIN strikers were passed.

For Food, Cloth And Peoples' Needs

Other resolutions were passed for more hostels for women students, demanding more production of cloth and its better distribution with the help of

people's representatives (specially on the Cloth Control Board), and for a memorandum on the food situation to be sent to the Central Government demanding imports, monopoly procurement through popular committees, strong steps against hoarders, etc.

An appeal was made to the women of the world to keep their faith in non-violence and peace at this critical juncture when the world was being faced with a third world war. The AIWC joined the women of England and America in condemning the destructive use of the Atom Bomb specially as a weapon of war.

A message of greetings was sent to the brave Burmese and Malayan women who in their struggle for freedom were facing torture and prison.

The struggle of the Indians in South Africa was fully supported and all help was promised.

For The Working Men And Women

A fairly good report (to be published soon) was given after an enquiry into the conditions of labour in the tea-plantations. Apart from demanding better conditions of work, etc., the AIWC demanded for the tea-labourers the right to form their independent unions and the free entry of all persons into the tea gardens.

The report when published will expose the intolerable conditions existing under the White sahebs who own not only the gardens, but the men and women who work in them.

The Committee is now to prepare another report on the condition of work of those in the teaching and nursing professions.

FRONTIER CONGRESS MINISTRY ARRESTS COMMUNIST LEADERS

Protest From Leaguers And Congressmen

On July 9, a prominent Communist worker, Sher Ali Khan, of Abbottabad (N.W.F.P.), was arrested under Section 108 of the C.P.C. and placed in jail as an ordinary criminal.

SHER ALI KHAN is a well-known political worker of the district of long standing; his record as a Congressman is one of a militant fighter for the cause of the poor and of Indian freedom. As a Congressman he went to jail in the August movement of 1942.

Released after two years, he joined the newly formed Communist Party in the Frontier together with many other Hazara Congressmen. He was in the forefront of the fight against corrupt district officials and took a leading part in organising the Tonga Workers' Union, the Tailors' Union and the Sweepers' Union.

Sher Ali's arrest was a signal for the complete popular unity in Abbottabad. Everyone was shocked that under a Congress Ministry the bureaucrats could commit such a crime against the people. There was a three hours strike of the tongawallas the day after Sher Ali's arrest and a long procession with tongas with Red flags flying, went round the town shouting:

"Release Sher Ali! Workers Unite!"

"Police Raj - Murdabad. Black-market Murdabad!"

Protest Meeting

Two days after a protest meeting was held under the Presidentship of Maulana ABDUL GHANI, President of the Abbottabad Muslim League. The main resolution demanding Sher Ali's release was moved by MALIK GHULAM HAIDER, President of the Hazara District Congress Committee, who said:

"The arrest of Comrade Sher Ali is an attack on our civil and democratic liberties. This attack is all the more to be condemned because it has taken place at a time when a Congress Ministry is in office. I demand from the Ministry that it puts a stop immediately to this police highhandedness.

"Perhaps the police officials and bureaucrats think that we are opposed to the Communists. But they are mistaken. We are all one against bureaucracy. And I declare that if Comra Sher Ali is not released soon, we Congressmen shall unite with the Communists and break open the jail gates. We do not want Police Raj in any part of our country."

This resolution was seconded by Mr. ABDUL AZIZ CHISTI, Secretary of the local Muslim League, who said:

"What is Comrade Sher Ali's crime? He organised the people against corruption, blackmarketing and profiteering. The officials cannot tolerate it."

MOHAMMED TAHIR KHAN KHAILI, a prominent lawyer, also spoke and said that the whole case was a frame-up. The arrest had been effected through a conspiracy between the police and the local officials.

Apparently, the district officials have been given a long-rope by the



Mohammed Hussain Ata

Ministry, for a week later (July 18), they went one step further, and effected the arrest of MOHAMMED HUSSAIN ATA, Secretary of the Provincial Organising Committee of the Frontier Branch of the Communist Party.

Like Sher Ali, Ata is also an ex-Congressman. He was the Secretary of the Hazara District Congress Committee. In fact, it was in jail after his arrest as a result of satyagraha during the August 1942 movement that he became a Communist.

It seems that his arrest was made as a "precautionary measure" in connection with postal strike—Ata being the President of the newly organised Postal Union of the district.

Such is the shameful behaviour of the Frontier Congress Ministry! Actually, the Union being weak in the district, the postal hartal was not effective. Nevertheless the Congress Ministry's police officials did their bit to help the Government of India by arresting the President of the Postal Workers' Union, M. H. Ata.

Officials Scared

Indignant protest meetings joined by local Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Kisan Sabhaites and Ahrars are being held by the Communist Party all over the district demanding the immediate release of the arrested leaders.

The officials were so scared by the united meeting of all parties held at Abbottabad on July 21, under the Presidentship of MALIK AMIR ALAM, President of the Hazara District Kisan Committee, that they surrounded the jail where Sher Ali and Ata are lodged with strong police guards.

But no jail walls are strong enough to withstand the assault of a united people. And in Abbottabad, at any rate, they are fast uniting—Congressmen, Leaguers, Ahrars, Communists, and the organised workers and kisans.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

The Jam Sahib's Letter

THE Jam Sahib of Nawanganar is an old friend of the British. And among the White Sahibs up in New Delhi, he has many PERSONAL "connections". One of these "connections," it seems, is with Sir Eric Conran Smith, the now notorious Posts and Air Caretaker.

One of our readers has sent us a copy of a very confidential and personal letter which the Jam Sahib wrote to Sir Eric on December 9, 1945. Sir Eric was plain Mr. Conran Smith then and, of course, NOT a Caretaker, but just a common or garden Secretary to the Government of India.

This is what the Jam Sahib wrote: "For some time past, I had in mind the development of our port facilities...The paucity of modern port facilities on this side for NAVAL AND COMMERCIAL PURPOSES was greatly felt during this war and resulted in undue congestion in Bombay and Karachi."

Made In England

And so...here are all the plans, laid at your feet, White Master; a report by a British engineer (by name Bennett), who made a survey; an index map showing the exact location of the site and the project, the construction of which is in the hands of another White man (by name Dunbar), just released from the Royal Engineers. And finally the Jam Sahib assures Conran Smith:

"Responsible British firms have been consulted for the design of jetty; and negotiations are in progress with an English firm for its construction." (My emphasis—R.C.) All these assurances must have warmed Conran Smith's heart. The Jam Sahib's project was obviously quite thoroughly white.

"Britannia Rules Waves"

But what of the future? The Jam Sahib gave more assurances—THE

assurances which the Sahibs wanted more than anything else:

"I am thoroughly convinced that this port will not only be in the interests of my State, but in the best interests of the development of Indo-British trade, and NOT LEAST OF ALL, IN THE INTERESTS OF THE EMPIRE IN TIMES OF EMERGENCY, which, God forbid, may not arise." (My emphasis—R.C.)

It couldn't be put any plainer. This letter is just one of the many documents which are the blue-prints for the future treaties the British plan to make direct with the Indian States.

The Jam Sahib is simply laying down in this letter his part of the bargain:

● My port is at your service—to pour your British goods into India, to invest your British capital. Bring your new plants and factories here and build them on my land. The Indian States are the new nest for imperialism.

● My port is at your service—to pour your British troops into India whenever you want—"God forbid!"—When the Empire is in danger, Nawanganar is your base.

It was not very many days after this letter was sent that the Jam Sahib was given permission to buy twenty Dakota planes for his personal use. That was PART of the British side of the bargain—planes to protect the Jam Sahib from the rising wrath of his people, to keep him sitting firm on his gaddi.

Invitation For Christmas

Look out, India. This is only a whiff of the dirty deal cooking between their Highnesses and the White Lords. But it's enough to put us wise and on our guard.

There's a postscript to the Jam Sahib's letter—a lovely little postscript:

"Shall be delighted if Mrs. Conran Smith and yourself can come and spend Christmas with us or come any other time that suits you".

Maybe you'll be needing that invitation, all you White Sahibs. And soon too. For your "Quit Orders" are marching on you with the speed of a whirlwind. New Delhi won't be safe for you much longer. Then run—run fast—to their Highnesses' castles.

But maybe the whirlwind will get you there too—you and your princely slaves.

And then it will be OUR feast of joy—OUR Christmas—not yours.

Rice And The British Army

A BRITISH soldier, who wants India to be free, has written to tell me of an interesting conversation he had with his officers "somewhere in India" last week.

My correspondent was seriously worried that their mess was being served with rice three or four times a week, when they could easily do without it, and there was need for rice in the deficit Province for the Indian hungry. So he went straight up to the two officers in charge of the mess and told them what he thought.

This is the rest of the conversation, almost word for word, put down for us by our British soldier-friend:

First Officer: I say I never thought of that, did you?

Second Officer: No...but dash it all, if you had been in an Indian Regiment, you wouldn't be bothering. Why, they use ata to clean the guns!

Soldier: But that is scarcely the point. I am talking about OUR mess.

First Officer: But many British soldiers like rice.

Soldier: But they are not starving, the Indian people are.

Second Officer: It's quite impossible to make such a drastic change in our diet. It will mean perhaps our having jam-rolls every day instead. How would you like that? Quite impossible.

First Officer: Anyhow, why don't these wretched Indians learn to eat something else instead of rice—eggs or something like that?

Cakes And Eggs

Eggs or something like that? Officer, did you ever read of a woman called Marie Antoinette? She was

Queen of France. When the people of her country clamoured for BREAD, she asked them to eat CAKE.

A few days later, a revolution swept the body and the head of Marie Antoinette into the gutter-heap where they belonged.

And maybe, Officer of the Army of Occupation, your glib talk about eggs is also just your last mad insult to the Indian people before you and your herd of leeches are made to pack up and go home.

Romesh Chandra

BOMBAY GOANS MARCH ON PORTUGUESE CONSULATE

Historic Demonstration And Procession

BOMBAY, August 12.

Bombay's Goans were on the streets today demonstrating against Portuguese Fascism and for the liberation of Goa. Never in their whole history have the Goans of Bombay participated in such large numbers in any political demonstration. And yet, here they were today—sailors, stewards, waiters, clerks, students, dock and factory workers, musicians and artists—all together in the battle for a Free Goa.

THE 12th is an important date in Goa's history, for, on the 12th of last month the leader of Goa's liberation movement, Lokmanya Tristao Braganza-Cunha, was arrested on a charge of sedition. It was to protest against the savage sentence of eight years' transportation passed on him, to build the "Quit Goa" movement among Bombay's one lakh Goans, that today's procession was called.

Thousands of handbills in Konkani, Marathi and English were distributed in all Goan clubs and areas. A propaganda van decorated with "Quit Goa" posters toured the city calling on Goans to join the demonstration.

Hamari Larai

The Goan Youth League invited Bombay's citizens—particularly students—to join the procession and demonstrate their solidarity with Goa's people.

Nearly a hundred students—under the banner of the All-India Students' Federation—responded to the call. Their stirring solidarity slogans were one of the highlights of the demonstration:

Goan-Hindi: Bhai Bhai.
Goa ki Larai: Hamari Larai.
Goa ki Azadi: Hamari Azadi.
When Students' Federation representatives Sushila Maddi-

by
Our Correspondent

man and Ravi Sinha spoke at the meetings, their assurances of support from India's youth drew stormy applause.

The presence of non-Goan students was the living symbol of the unity of India's freedom struggle with Goa's.

But the demonstration was great because of Goans themselves.

For The First Time

Here they were—the vast majority participating in a procession, shouting slogans for the first time in their lives—and they were doing it with an indescribable zest and determination:

"Braganza-Cunha ko: Chorh Do."

"Portuguese Fascists: Quit Goa."

"Salazar Murdabad."

"Braganza-Cunha kare pukar: Chalo Goa Ek Sath."

"Agoada Qila Tor Do."

They held aloft proudly scores of beautiful posters in Konkani and English, which flashed in blue and red, the slogans of the Goa Revolt. Two giant portraits of Braganza-Cunha were carried at the head of the procession.



A section of the demonstration of Goans in front of the Portuguese Consulate.

George Vaz, the artist-Secretary of the Goan Youth League, had himself made most of the posters, and in his bold upright lettering was all the wrath of Goa's fighters.

The procession swelled itself to nearly two thousand as it passed through the Chira Bazaar and other Goan areas, while thousands of Goan men, women and children watched and applauded, as they crowded the windows and doors, and said,

"All these years, we have sat and looked at others marching with the Flag of Freedom. At last we are seeing our people in a procession."

Passers-by—Marathis, Gujaratis and others—would stop and cheer. They would say:

"We thought till now that the Goan Christians would never join the freedom battle. But here there seem to be a majority of Christians."

Yes, here they were—many in their hats and coats and ties—but these were no longer signs of support for imperialism.

I saw the hats going up in the air as their owners shouted vociferously:

"Quit Goa"
"Down with Salazar."

Veterans And Girls

A veteran Goan Christian—he must have been seventy—walked with us carrying high above him a Tricolour. I think he was deaf and could not hear the slogans. But to every slogan he replied, firmly: "Quit Goa".

There were goan girls—a mere handful, it is true—but they were there and they were shouting with all the fervour of the men. And the light in the eyes of Goan mothers and grandmothers who stood in the windows of their homes as we marched past, was enough to make one certain that in the next procession they would be there.

"We Shall Not Rest"

The procession terminated at the Azad Maidan, where a meeting was held amidst tremendous enthusiasm.

The Konkani speeches of the Youth League leaders—Joachim Dias, Sanehiz De Souza and Chandrakant Kakodkar, hit out at the butcher-rule of the Portuguese, at the savage sentence on Tristao Braganza-Cunha, and firmly demanded the release of all patriots:

"We shall not rest till we

have driven the Portuguese from our shores."

After this meeting was to come the real climax of the day's events: a demonstration outside the Portuguese Consulate. There is a ban in Bombay on processions in the Fort area, and special permission for a Goan procession to the Consulate on Cuffe Parade had been refused.

The Goan Youth League, therefore, decided that the procession should terminate at the Azad Maidan and from there in small groups the whole assembly should move to the Consulate.

March On Consulate

Like a disciplined army, the demonstrators broke up and marched in batches on the Consulate.

Here was an unforgettable scene. The police lined up to protect the Fascist den and a

crowd of nearly a thousand demonstrating outside.

One thousand fists raised in anger and in hate are a powerful sight and the Consul and his staff must have been trembling inside.

Goans Are Up In Arms

"Tell your boss Salazar," spoke Joachim Dias, "that Bombay's Goans are up in arms, getting ready to throw his henchmen in India back into the sea whence they came four hundred years ago."

The demonstration dispersed. A new period had dawned for Bombay's Goans. They went back confident in their own strength. From today's procession will grow men who will go back to Goa and plunge into the freedom movement there. From today's procession will grow the Braganza-Cunhas of tomorrow.

Will Bengal's Imprisoned Heroes Be Forced To Go On Hunger Strike?

From August 16, Bengal's long-term political prisoners will stake their lives by going on hunger-strike.

ON July 24, Premier Suhrawardy gave a solemn promise to a huge public demonstration outside the Legislative Assembly that he would take a final decision on the question of the release of political prisoners by August 15.

But no progress seems to have been made till now. Why?

Because Bengal's ICS are opposing the release tooth and nail. And the ex-trade unionist Governor, Burrows (who used to take deputations to Amery in London for the release of Indian political two years ago), is completely in the hands of the top-knotch civil servants like Stevens and P. D. Martyn.

The ICS bureaucrats are planning to release SOME of the prisoners and keep others in. Thus they hope to save Suhrawardy's "face."

They are spreading the stupid slander that the released detenus will create communal trouble!

In fact, a few League MLAs have swallowed this nonsense although no less than 81 of them have signed a demand for the release of all prisoners.

At one of their Parliamentary Committee meetings, one Mrs. Anwari Khatun, a young MLA from Dacca, argued against release.

She said that on the occasion of Sjt. Purna Das's (released F. B. leader) visit to Dacca there was communal rioting there with ex-political prisoners participating in them. She did not bother to substantiate her al-

"Rally To Their Cause"

Syt. J. C. Gupta, President, and Syt. Niranjana Sen, Secretary, Political Prisoners' Release Campaign Committee, in a statement to the Press, on the proposed hunger-strike, say—

MANY of these long-term prisoners are in a very precarious condition of health. Hunger-strike on their part is surely fraught with very grave danger to their lives. It would be a great calamity for our people if these prisoners were forced to take this grim and desperate step.

"We appeal to our people—Hindus and Muslims—to all our political and patriotic organisations, to rally to the cause of these prisoners at this critical moment to ensure their release and avoid the terrible catastrophe."

legations by any cogent evidence.

The damage was, however, all the same done. Her speech stirred up communal passions in some MLAs and they seemed to question the advisability of releasing such prisoners.

But this move was at once challenged by the League Secretary, Abul Hashem, and Mr. Habibullah Bahar, who made strong speeches demanding immediate release.

The vast majority of the Muslim League rank-and-file and Muslim masses are solidly behind the demand for release.

Bengal must fight Burrows and his bureaucrats and win back its heroes before August 16, before they risk their lives by going on hunger strike.

Nation's Leaders Greet Goa Keep Fascist Portugal Out Of UNO

RECENT events in Goa have compelled attention and brought to light the extremely backward state of these Portuguese possessions—economically the people of these possessions have been reduced to poverty and degradation, politically they have practically no rights, even the most elementary civil liberties are denied.

"The Fascist administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this very small colony which once was rich and prosperous and a centre of commercial activity and now is deserted with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living.

"The nature of the present administration of Goa is exhibited by the sentence of eight years transportation to Africa passed by a court martial on Mr. TRISTAO BRAGANZA-CUNHA, a well-known citizen and public worker of Goa, for the offence of challenging the ban on public meetings."

"...Goa has always been and must inevitably continue to be a part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people. What its future position and status will be in a free India can only be determined in consultation with the people of Goa and not by any external authority...."

"The Working Committee understand that Portugal has applied for membership of the United Nations Organisation."

"The Committee are of opinion that it will be improper and against the basic principles of U.N.O. to admit to their membership a country which has an authoritarian and reactionary administration and denies democracy and civil liberties and which in its colonies carries on the worst form of colonial rule."

"They trust, therefore, that Portugal will not be admitted to the U.N.O."

"The Committee send their greetings to the people of Goa and express

their sympathy in their struggle for the establishment of civil liberties." (From the Congress Working Committee's Resolution on Goa—August 11, 1946).

Withdraw African Police

THAT the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the Rule of Terror.

"You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few maledcontents."

"Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view. I suppose the report of the sentence by your court martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far off Portuguese settlement is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa...."

"You have talked of the abolition of caste distinction. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system of caste, has been added by the Portuguese rulers."

"I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberties and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself wholeheartedly for civil liberty and if possible even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own Government and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such Government."

—From Gandhi's letter to the Governor-General of Portuguese India.

★ Stage Set For Fresh Negotiations
★ Congress Stoops - League Stiffens
★ For Another Trial For Compromise

The Viceroy's invitation to the Congress to form the Interim Government is being hailed as a great victory by Congressmen. It is nothing of the kind. On the other hand, the resolution of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha, which has evoked the Viceroy's offer, represents a surrender on the part of the Congress to imperialism.

THE Muslim League's total rejection of the Cabinet Mission's plan at Bombay had completely upset imperialism's game. The Muslim League had rejected the plan not because it opposed the various undemocratic provisions of the State Paper of May 16, nor because it opposed the award of June 16 regarding the Interim Government given by the Cabinet Mission. On the other hand, it had declared its non-cooperation just because it wanted that the plan be strictly adhered to by the Congress. Its threat of non-cooperation and "direct action" was in the main directed against the Congress which was talking of doing away with the compulsory groups and of seeking to expand the powers of the Union Centre.

League Threat Of Direct Action

The imperialists did not like the "direct action" threat of the Muslim League, but they certainly appreciated "the grievances of the League" against the Congress. After all the League was insisting on nothing more than the strict adherence by the Congress to the letter and spirit of the State Paper of May 16. This suited the imperialists fine, for that was an essential condition to ensure that the Constituent Assembly produces the prescribed Constitution of British domination and Indian division. Immediately after the League's Bombay decision had thrown the spanner in the works, the mouthpieces of imperialism and the spokesman of the Labour Government gave a broad hint to the Congress. Both the London Times as well as Mr. Wyatt, M.P., who was attached to the Cabinet Mission, had made it quite clear

to the Congress that they must make their acceptance of the State Paper of May 16 quite explicit, so as to allay the fears of the Muslim League, and then they would be called upon to form the Government. (quoted in the Review last week—G.A.). They had asked the Congress to pipe down, to drop its opposition to the groupings and its claim that the Constituent Assembly was sovereign while in reality it was not.

The Wardha resolution of the Working Committee is a response on behalf of the Congress leadership to this imperialist demand. It reiterated that the Congress accepted the scheme of May 16 in its entirety. The resolution made it clear that the Congress view on groupings was "a question of interpretation", which "will be decided by the procedure laid down in the statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives in the Constituent Assembly to function accordingly."

Regarding the claim of sovereignty the resolution admitted: "The assembly will naturally function within the internal limitations which are inherent in its task."

Congress Leadership Eats Own Words

In short in this resolution of the Working Committee, the Congress leadership is eating its own words. The Congress leadership tried to mask its acceptance of the Cabinet statement of May 16, its compromise with the undemocratic principles contained therein, by flamboyant declarations. They said that they had accepted nothing except to go into the Constituent Assembly. They said that groups were voluntary, they would smash them; they would function the Constituent Assembly as a sove-

reign body; they would widen the powers of the Centre; they would bring in the States in the Indian Union on the same democratic basis as the Provinces by negotiating with the Princes. The Congress leadership promised this performance out of the imperialist scheme relying upon the aid of imperialism and its legal authorities like the Federal Court!

They promised to produce Indian independence, Indian unity, and Indian democracy out of a scheme based upon perpetuation of Hindu-Muslim division and of the Princes, out of a scheme based on a compromise between imperialism and bourgeois and feudal elements, and designed to crush the growing mass upsurge of the people!

Going Deeper Into The British Net

Every attempt by the leaderships of the Congress and the League to solve their differences on the basis of this imperialist scheme will only lead to the accentuation of these differences, to their going deeper and deeper into the toils of imperialism.

If the Congress tries to shape Indian Federation with Provincial Autonomy out of the scheme by relying upon the compulsory Union it decrees, the League would push in the direction of Pakistan by relying upon the compulsory groups which it sanctions.

It is no use deluding oneself that it is a free or sovereign Constituent Assembly. It is so cribbed and cabbined with limitations and vetoes that it can only produce a slave Constitution based on two pillars—Hindu-Muslim disunity and Princely autocracy.

Mr. Jinnah's statement issued this week in reply to the resolution of the Working Committee is proof of this. He is not at all satisfied by the clarification given in the resolution. He demands that there must be no tampering with compulsory groupings.

Things like the Assam Assembly passing a resolution giving a mandate to all its delegates to the Constituent Assembly not to participate in the group must not be. He wants all talk of sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly to cease. The British are anyway not going to interfere.

But the main point is that the Congress must guarantee not to use its "brute majority" to upset any of the limitations laid down in the scheme.

He clinches his argument by saying that there is no question of ever joining hands for winning independence. The British have already granted it. The point is to stick rigidly to the internal limitations of the statement of May 16. Mr. Jinnah is determined to use the limitations of the scheme to the fullest advantage to strengthen the group Pakistan vis-a-vis the Union Centre.

This means that a Nehru-Jinnah meeting if it comes about would not lead to any agreement except on the above-mentioned basis.

Like Shylock, Mr. Jinnah is going to say: I stand on my bond—the State Paper of May 16. Nothing more; nothing less!

The Congress cannot counteract the undemocratic stand of the League on compulsory groupings by itself taking its stand on an equally undemocratic compulsory Union which denies self-determination to nationalities.

On the basis of the imperialist scheme the only Congress-League unity possible is one which accepts the scheme in

(Continued on page 8)

Aftermath Of Postal Strike

THE all-India post and telegraph workers' strike which ended recently was no doubt a big victory for the workers. Though the major demands of the workers regarding new scales of pay, etc., were not immediately settled, the workers did succeed in forcing an interim relief out of a bureaucratic Government which expected the strike to collapse in three days.

This initial victory of postmen, however, has not yet cleared the way for final success. The Government is using the intervening period to hit back, to disorganise the ranks of the workers, to break their solidarity and disrupt their union.

As on the railways, it has started its game of victimisation. Immediately after the withdrawal of the post and telegraph strike, the authorities have struck a perfidious blow at the post and telegraph workers by withdrawing recognition from a number of unions.

This no doubt is an attempt to force the workers to leave their unions. It is a warning that unless the workers are solidly united, further victimisation of individuals and active workers might start as on the railways.

The strategy of the bosses, both on the railways and in the postal department, is clear. It is to crush the strength of the trade unions before the recommendations of the Pay Commission are out—so that the workers have left no strength to resist when the time for the real battle arrives.

That is why the railway administration is shamelessly victimising trade union leaders and forcing the workers to resort to direct action in defence of their organisation.

That is also going to be the immediate policy in connection with postal workers.

How can postal workers meet this offensive? First and foremost, by removing all the weaknesses in their own ranks.

During the period of the strike, the Government relied on treacherous leaders like Diwan Chamanlal who split the ranks of the workers and kept the clerical section away from the strike. It is a shame that this man still continues to be the President of the Postal Federation.

The unions which are affiliated to the Federation must see that men like Chamanlal are given no quarter—for they will once more betray the workers when the Government starts hitting back.

The workers must also demand from the Congress Assembly Party and the Congress High Command the expulsion of Dewan Chamanlal for his strike-breaking activities.

It is equally obvious that those who led the strike proved to be a weak and vacillating leadership, having no experience of organising a strike. They had made no preparations either locally or nationally to conduct the strike. That the strike did come off was because of the spontaneous enthusiasm and the militancy of the workers.

The leaders behaved like bosses, conducting negotiations without even consulting the workers. They withdrew the strike without even informing the workers and in the bargain sacrificed workers' strike-wages to satisfy Sardar Patel.

This very nearly led to disruption, workers in many places quite justifiably refusing to accept the terms of the settlement.

Workers in far off places were not even informed of the terms of settlement. The strike was very nearly disrupted by the leadership.

Workers Must Prepare For Coming Battle

Obviously, this type of vacillating leadership which sacrifices workers' interests so easily, and which does not respect the opinion of the workers themselves, will not be able to lead them to victory in the coming battle.

For victory in the coming battle, therefore, it is essential that the workers take the affairs of their union in their own hands and tell the old leadership to respect the opinion of the majority.

It is essential that new leaders from the ranks of the workers come forward and shoulder the burden of leadership along with the old ones.

And finally, it is essential that the present chaos in the organisation of post and telegraph workers is removed.

At present there are a number of unions, each working in isolation from the others. The real unity of the post and telegraph workers cannot be achieved unless they bring all the workers in a single union or a single federation working democratically under a firm and united leadership. That alone will give them the required strength to meet the Government's offensive.

Let there be no more bitterness between postal clerks and postmen. What has happened has happened. But now unless the two join together, the Government will triumph.

Also let not the telegraph workers be bitter over the sudden withdrawal of postmen's strike. If they continue apart, the Government will crush both.

Every honest worker in these unions must agitate and work for a single organisation of postal and telegraph workers. That alone is a fitting reply to the contemplated offensive.

All unions must unitedly demand that recognition be restored to the unions from which it has been withdrawn and agitate for payment of strike wages. All must join hands in fighting victimisation and keep the public informed of the policy of the authorities.

The public also must keep a vigilant eye, and warn the Government that it will resist every attempt to balk the postal workers of their victory.

ONE YEAR OF FREEDOM

WE greet the heroic people of Indonesia and their patriotic parties on August 17, the first anniversary of the foundation of the free Indonesian Republic.

They are the first people in South-east Asia, land of the down-trodden and oppressed colonial peoples, to raise the banner of armed revolt against imperialist rule, blazing the trail of a new and mighty round of post-war revolutions in Asia.

Their bravery is an example to all Asia—for it is the bravery of a people who never bent their knees to the Japanese invader but revolted against him and then turned their guns against the Anglo-Dutch imperialists when they tried to enslave them anew.

We salute too their leaders, President Soekarno and Premier Sjahrir, who in the fire of their freedom struggle have forged an unbreakable unity of the entire Indonesian people, Buddhists, Muslims, Christians, and roused them all to fight their hardest and bravest in their holy war of liberation.

On this day too we condemn imperialist Britain and Holland, who claimed to fight against Japanese fascism and for freedom and democracy, but who today are using the same fascist methods of rapine, pillage and war in attempts to drown the just freedom struggle of our Indonesian brothers.

Imperialism had thought it could crush this "backward Asiatic race"—but all its tricks of disruption, use of bombers and guns have failed.

One year of heroic resistance has passed by and the Republic, born out of the blood and bravery of Indonesia's people, still stands proud and triumphant, a shining example to all the peoples of Asia, to our own people, calling out to them to tread the same glorious path of uncompromising battle for national freedom.

Finally on this day—INDONESIA DAY—we pledge once more our solidarity with the people and leaders of Indonesia; we pledge we shall afford them all the aid we can, and most vital of all, we pledge that we shall not rest till Indian troops are brought back from Indonesia, from fighting in imperialism's battle against our own colonial brothers, who have fought so well and bravely for freedom.

People's Age Correspondent Refused Passport

OVER seven months ago, People's Age decided to send Sharaf Athar Ali as its Special Correspondent in London to cover for it the latest events in Britain and Europe. He immediately applied for a passport, stating clearly that his purpose in going to Europe was to act as our Correspondent.

After more than seven months of delay, the 'Caretaker' Government officials in New Delhi have refused to allow Sharaf Athar Ali to go to London and have asked the Bombay Government not to grant him passport facilities.

This is the first time as far as we are aware that any newspaper correspondent has been refused passport facilities since the end of the war. The New Delhi White Sahibs have given us no reason whatsoever for their refusal. But enquiries in the Government of India Secretariat have revealed that the Home Department specially intervened in the matter as they "did not want to give any facilities to Communists."

Sharaf Athar Ali's passport application was sent by the Bombay Government to the Government of India, who in turn referred the matter to the Bri-

tish Government!

Mr. Phil Piratin, the Communist M.P., then wrote and asked the Secretary of State for India specifically why they were holding up Sharaf's application.

In reply, in a letter dated June 17, the Under Secretary of State for India informed Mr. Piratin that the British Government had wired to the Government of India that there was no objection to the grant of passport facilities to the People's Age Correspondent.

But the New Delhi Sahibs were unperturbed. If His Majesty's Government had no objection, THEY had.

Till the end of July, despite repeated reminders, they were silent. At last, our Correspondent himself went down to New Delhi, to be told that his application had been rejected. No reasons given.

This scandalous interference in the rights of the Press must be answered by a flood of protest from all sections of Indian opinion, by the newspapers, by all patriotic organisations, by trade unions and kisan sabhas.

New Delhi must be made to learn that it cannot in 1946 interfere so flagrantly with the rights of the Press, and get away with it.

ANOTHER ROUND OF KISAN BATTLES OPENS

ALL KISANS, HINDUS, MUSLIMS, SIKHS BEHIND PUNJAB MORCHA

Workers of Every Party Amongst 384 Arrested

(From Our Correspondent)

This report comes straight from the hub of the biggest Kisan movement the Punjab has seen for many years—the Amritsar district morcha for the re-arranging of canal outlets (the story of which was reported in the People's Age a fortnight ago). Here the Chhina—the spirit of this village-hub—will go down in the annals of history as a major battlefield in the Indian struggle for independence.

In the Punjab there have been great peasant struggles before also. There were the great Akali struggles of the 'twenties for the possession of the Gurdwaras. The Civil Disobedience movements of the 'thirties brought Punjab's kisans again to their feet. In the early war years, there were kisan marches in Lahore district against the increase in land revenue rates.

They were in many ways greater struggles than this one. But here the Chhina's morcha is bigger than them all, because it is not confined to any one section of the kisans, to the following of any one political party. It is a united struggle of ALL Amritsar's kisans. It is backed by the united might of all Punjab's kisans. The movement grows bigger every day. Watch it closely. It heralds a new round of freedom battles in the Punjab's villages.

come to pledge his support and for that of the entire Punjab Communist Party to the morcha. He brought news of jathas which are getting ready in other districts.

As he watched the women's jatha marching down to the meigs, he received what was perhaps the greatest and the most happy surprise of his life.

From the procession came a woman straight up to him. It was his wife, Mrs. KARAM KAUR, old village schooler, who has all her life looked after Joga's home while he has been in and out of jail.

But today it was Bibbi's turn to go to jail.

She had made up her mind and had given Mrs. Bibbi Singh's name to fight her first kisan battle.

Quickly she handed over the keys of her home to her two hands and rejoined the procession shouting:

"Kisan Morcha Hindustan!" This was a moment of which Joga must have often dreamed. His sons are members of his Party—good strong fighters for the workers and the kisans. Now, after all these years, he can hold up his head proud and say:

"My whole family is a family of fighters."

And Joga was not alone that day. There were many other kisans, whose hearts almost broke with pride as they saw their mothers, wives, sisters, marching with banners and flags waving.

51 Punjabi Heroines
Fifty-one kisan women were put under arrest that day—51 Punjabi heroines. They were taken in a lorry to Amritsar and released at midnight at the jail gate.

Promptly they concentrated at midnight itself outside the Irrigation Department Office. Then alone, tired but proud, they went home to get ready for their next morning marching orders.

This is Punjab's new kisan woman.



A Punjab Kisan Protest

TANJORE KISANS TAKE POSSESSION OF MIRASDARS' LANDS

Congress Ministers Throw Their Weight On Landlords' Side

By Our Special Correspondent

The kisans of Tanjore district in Tamilnad are on the war-path against the selfish oppression of the mirasdars (landlords).

THIRTY THOUSAND ACRES OF LAND IN THIRTY-TWO VILLAGES ARE BEING taken over by the kisans because of the refusal of the mirasdars to agree to give their tenants an adequate share of the produce. For years the tenants have received only one-third of the crop, the produce. They now demand more, "half the produce for the man who sows" is their slogan. Years of impoverishment have made this a matter of life-and-death for them today.

FOUR HUNDRED KISAN cultivators and **THREE HUNDRED** agricultural labourers have been turned out of their ancestral homes and land by the mirasdars in one village alone. Their crime was that they demanded better terms from their lords.

Thousands of families face starvation as the sowing season rapidly comes to an end and land remains fallow.

Ministers Visit Tanjore

The kisans had expected that the Congress Ministry would support them against the rapacious mirasdars but they lost all hope on July 27, when Mr. Bhaskaran and Mr. Sankaran visited Tanjore.

They came at the request of the mirasdars who objected to the Award if an arbitrator (the Sessions Judge of Tanjore) appointed earlier by the Ministry itself is to settle the dispute between the peasants and the mirasdars.

This Award, though it falling short of the kisans' demands, was accepted by them as they felt it was the result of a long struggle and it would be wrong to challenge it. The mirasdars also signed an undertaking to abide by the Award.

But they changed their mind justly soon and prevailed on the Ministry to scrap the Award.

Welcoming The Ministers

Privately the mirasdars arranged for the visit of the two Ministers. But the kisans got to know about it. And three thousand kisans gathered to welcome the Ministers with the slogan:

"We want land for cultivation."
"We will grow food."
"We will drive away the cesses cesses."
"We demand an equal share in the crop we grow."
"Congress Ministry Zindabad!"

The mirasdars, enemies of the Congress all their lives, today appeared in spotless khadi, carrying national flags, to show that they had acquired their land by the means of the exploitation of the kisans.

The Ministers were very much impressed. Still more when the mirasdars begged them, breaking all caste rules at a cost of **TWO THOUSAND RUPEES**.

Kisans' Demand "Aburd"
Minister Bhaskaran Minnaman was asked by the kisans:

"You must look on the mirasdars as your fathers."
Mirsadars solemnly nodded their heads at this "excellent" piece of advice.

As for the kisans' demand that they should get an equal share in the crop, the Minister characterized it as absurd, be-

cause they had not even seen. "Let Them Die"
They refused to lift a finger to have the ejected tenants reinstated.

"I don't care if they die of starvation," yelled Mr. Bhaskaran. "I will not interfere in the rights of the mirasdars to eject their tenants until the law is changed."

As regards the increase in the share of the crop demanded by the kisans, Mr. Bhaskaran sarcastically asked, to the applause of the mirasdars:

"How is it that you have managed all these years with one-third share? How has it suddenly become inadequate?"

"At no time was one-third enough. We have been steadily impoverished all these years. Now we can't bear it any longer."

"Crush The Communists"
Finally at the end of the Conference, when the kisans declared that they could not possibly accept Mr. Bhaskaran's new award which meant starvation for them, the Minister jumped up from his seat and began to fume against the leaders of the kisans.

"They are Communists, who betrayed in 1942. You must take measures to root them from among the kisans."
Up sprang the mirasdars leader:

"Give us protection and we will crush these Communists." "We will certainly give you protection," was the assurance given by the Minister for Food. "I am the Minister for Law," said Mr. Bhaskaran. "I will see you get protection."
That was the end of the Conference.

The kisan's last hope—the Popular Ministry—had crashed.

Into Their Own Hands
In the meanwhile the very last days of the sowing had passed. More delay meant starvation for the whole of the sowing year.

And as early this month, the kisans gave the slogan:

"WE REFUSE TO STARVE TO DEATH! LET US FIGHT FOR FOOD AND LIFE!"

And the struggle began. Kisan after kisan entered the land and began to dig up the earth, plough it in order to make it yield food for his family.

The mirasdars have requested the services of the police to prevent the kisans from cultivating the land. By August 4, sixty-seven kisans including the kisan leader, Dr. Jaganram, had been arrested in Kallaripalayam area alone on a charge of trespass. In Mannargudi area, the mirasdars have employed gangs of goondas and rowdies to beat up the peasants as they enter the land.

The kisans will win. They will fight. Not all the police and the goondas can crush them. Their cause is just. There is strength in their arms.



At the plough in Tamilnad

GOVT. ATTEMPT TO DISRUPT MORCHA FAILS

Kisans Foil Akali Minister's Game

The Punjab Government does not like this morcha. They know full well that this morcha is the harbinger of the new kisan wave of struggles for a decent life and against the rapacity of the corrupt Panjabi oligarchy. The Unionist landlords are scared stiff that the germ of this morcha will spread to their zamindaris and their tenants will be up in arms against their barbaric rule.

THAT is why they are determined to crush it. But they know full well that repression will not work. So they have not dared yet to bring out their police and soldiers to ravage the villages round Harsha Chhina, as is their wont and they were advised by the local bureaucrats.

Of course, they are doing their best to make jail life hell for the outyagrashans. Not even food refusal of permission to sleep outside (when it is a furnace inside the cells in these terrible hot days), are already driving the prisoners to contemplate the possibility of a hunger strike.

Disruption
But terror is not their main weapon.

The Unionist landlords and the bureaucrats place their greatest reliance on another weapon: disruption. They worked out their tactics in consultation with the Akali Minister, Sardar Bahadur Singh.

On July 24, the Government proudly announced that it had decided to set up an enquiry committee to investigate into the grievances of the kisans.

On the basis of this announcement the Akali leaders gave public assurance that the morcha was to end and the jathas would stop.

But who were they to give assurances?

On July 25, the Morcha Committee held an urgent meeting and rejected the suggestions of the Press Communiqué. The kisans had already suffered a setback last of some lakh rupees, because 5,000 bighas of land had had to remain fallow. And to-

ment declaring that "All others have withdrawn their support from the morcha and it is the Communists alone who are creating trouble to disrupt the Coalition Ministry!"

Minister's Lies
Next the Akali Minister, Sardar Bahadur Singh, called a Press Conference and made the following statements:

1. "The Communists are carrying on this agitation to regain their popularity."
2. "The Morcha Committee is satisfied with the Government's compromise and its President and Secretary have promised me that no more jathas will be sent."
3. "It is not the Morcha Committee that is conducting the campaign now but only the Communists who are misleading the masses and keeping up the show."

Subsequent events proved each one of these statements to be lies—clearly concocted by this "popular" Minister.

The whole Morcha Committee was put under arrest within a few days of his Press conference. The President of the Morcha Committee, himself an Akali leader, Jathedar Bur Singh, was arrested while leading a jatha. The Secretary, Sardar Bahadur Singh Chhina, was arrested at his home.

Negotiate With Morcha Committee
The Government Enquiry Committee is to start its work at Amritsar on August 12. The attitude of the kisans to this Committee is summed up in a Press statement by Mardar Hari Singh, General Secretary of the Punjab Kisan Committee, in which he declares:

"It should be clearly understood that the Morcha Committee has demanded the restoration of the status quo before opening further negotiations with the Government. Let the Coalition Government immediately order the restoration of the status quo to their original state and open direct negotiations with the Morcha Committee to discuss means to end the re-arranging scheme."

The daily Prastan, one of the bilingual anti-Communist papers, which supports the Congress, editorially wrote:

"The speeches and statements of Sardar Bahadur Singh Majhi leave us cold. Neither the kisans' demands are just nor is it an inspired movement to disregard the Government. Majhi Bahadur stands Red in

Harsha Chhina, 3-3-46.

TODAY is the nineteenth day of the morcha. Three hundred and eighty-four arrests have so far been made. These three hundred and eighty-four include workers of all parties—the Congress, the League, the Communist Party, the Akali Dal, the Kisan Sabha. They include all the six members of the officially-recognized elected Panchayat and five out of the eight baradaris (village officials) of the village.

Jathas Pouring In

The enthusiasm of the kisans for the morcha is increasing everyday. Jathas are pouring in from all over the district—from Harsha Chhina, Kandi, Chaurpur, Kala and other places many miles from Chhina. From other districts, such as Iyazpur, Wazirpur, Ludhiana and Jalandhar have come announcements that they would be sending jathas to offer support at Harsha Chhina if the Government does not change its policy by August 12.

Every day jathas of kisans—men and women—carrying flags of all parties, march towards the meigs. Thousands of them have formed. Thousands of threats stand aloof the determination of the kisans to restore the meigs to their original state to ensure adequate water supply for their own green fields. Lorryloads of police who stand nearby with loaded rifles, lathis and tear gas equipment make their arrests and take the heroic jathas to their vans to Amritsar jail.

Jathas are coming from every village—even from those which are not directly affected by the Irrigation Department's canal scheme.

From Kandi, fifteen jathas are coming to participate in the morcha. Five of them are composed of Muslim peasants. Carrying with them the League flag they are coming to join the kisan struggle.

Not A Step Back

"It is a struggle of kisans for their existence and every kisan must participate in it whatever party he may own allegiance"—this is what they say.

At the head of the jathas was **MR. RAGHUBAR KAUR**, Communist woman leader and M.L.A. There has been no kisan movement in the Punjab which has not found Rishi at her post leading the struggle.

Sardar **SOHAN SINGH JONEH**, leader of the Punjab Communist, was here also. He had

● Anglo-American Hypocrisy At Paris ● British Assault Iranian Democracy ● Popular Advance In Poland

AFTER the most shameful exhibition of imperialist intrigue, the Anglo-American power bloc won the battle over voting procedure at the Paris Peace Conference.

The issue was a simple one. At the Foreign Ministers' Conference, it was agreed to recommend that the voting procedure at the Peace Conference of 21 nations should be as follows: propositions passed by a two-thirds majority vote would have the force of a recommendation of the Conference as a whole.

This procedure was agreed to because two-thirds majority would ensure that a broadly representative decision would be arrived at; in contrast, if voting was by simple majority, the Anglo-American bloc plus its immediate satellites (U.S., Great Britain, Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, Holland, Greece, India, Belgium and Brazil, altogether eleven votes out of twenty-one) would be able to parade their decision as the decision of the Conference as a whole.

Evatt—Imperial Agent

But although the British and Americans had agreed to this at the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Paris, they went back on their agreement. To begin with, they did not do it openly. In the words of the Free Press correspondent, George Padmore, they "pushed Dr. Evatt to the front to do so, giving the impression that it is the free sentiment of the small powers." (Free Press Journal, July 8.)

This Evatt, of course, has been boosted as a real fighter for rights of small powers. That in fact he is nothing of the sort, but a stooge of Anglo-American power bloc, was shown clearly last June.

"Australia's fate," reported the Sydney Sun on June 19, "is dependent on the future of the Pacific and on the maintenance of the interests and leadership of the United States in that region. This opinion was expressed today by Australia's Minister for External Affairs (Dr. H. V. Evatt), who said also that Australia's destiny would always be interwoven with that of Great Britain and that, therefore, she could not contract out of Europe."

True to his real role as Anglo-America's stooge, Evatt started the battle. But later his sponsors themselves came out in the open and both U. S. Secretary of State, Byrnes, and British delegate, Alexander (one of the infamous three of the Cabinet Mission to India), spoke up in Evatt's favour, Alexander even stating:

"I am not ashamed that we joined hands in defending small nations and the principles of democracy."

And the real nature of Alexander's love for small nations can be seen from the fact that on the same page on which the Hindustan Times carried this account of his speech in Paris, there was a report of Alexander's Government giving the Dutch permission to use British aerodromes in Java to bomb troops of the Indonesian Republic!

Battle Not Ended

The real truth is that the Anglo-Americans are yet pursuing their old game, by which they hope to put through their own imperial decisions as the decisions of the Peace Conference.

Of course, the battle is not ended. The Soviet and the new democratic republics of Eastern Europe will fight hard. And the

Anglo-American bloc, as Padmore commented, has no positive position "except so far as opposition to Soviet influence goes."

On the other hand, he goes on, "their unity is merely negative which would not be able to maintain its friendly facade as the Conference develops and controversial issues in the draft treaties come up for discussion." (Free Press Journal, August 10).

Thus the outcome of the Paris Conference is as yet by no means settled; the Anglo-Americans will try their hardest to keep their unity, but at each stage the battle will be hard and long, and it is yet to be seen whether they will push through to the last their warmongering imperialist policy, in the teeth of Soviet and democratic opposition.

Troops For What?

ON August 3, the Indian Government coolly announced that Indian troops were going to Basra in Iraq to "safeguard Indian and British interests."

The fact is that these troops were sent for two reasons:

FIRST, on August 1, a new Government was formed in Iran, based on the Democratic Party of Premier Ghassem Sultaneh and the Left-wing Tudeh Party.

The latter was for the first

time represented in the Government by three of its leaders, Iraq Eskendari (Minister for Commerce and Industry), Dr. Feridun Kishavarz (Education), and Dr. Morteza Jazdi (Health).

The British are afraid this new Government will strengthen the democratic movement, particularly the growing trade unions, and thus put an end to the unbridled exploitation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

SECONDLY, in June and July mighty strikes took place all over the oil area (in particular at Agha Jari and Abadan), and the British are afraid that this too will endanger the future of this monopolist oil concern.

And it is important to note that sending troops to Basra is not all that the British are doing.

Arming Feudal Chiefs

In July, the Teheran newspapers, Rahbar, Irane Ma and Zafar all gave reports of the arming by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company of the backward feudal tribes of Southern Iran. According to Rahbar, Arab Sheikhs held a conference on June 28 in the presence of eleven leading officials of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company; the Conference discussed the question of organising a "Union of Sou-

thern Tribes", aimed to disrupt the Iranian Central Government's authority in southern Persia.

It is not surprising in view of all this that the British decision to send troops to Iran was sharply condemned by all Iranian papers. The Left-wing paper, Daria, said: "We will fight to the last drop of our blood to defend our country inch by inch."

Rahbar even more forcefully asked the simple question: "Has Attlee's and Bevin's Government been brought to power by that group of British individuals who wear a crown of oil on their heads and sit on a throne constructed from the pounded bones of colonies?"

The British, of course, hope that this intrigue with the backward Sheikhs and the threat of using armed forces will cow down the Iranian Government. But, as even a British weekly that is a supporter of Bevin, wrote:

"Britain's position is strategically untenable as long as she is regarded throughout the Middle East as the patron of corrupt politicians." (New Statesman and Nation, July 27).

Iran's people are awake today—and they will no longer allow their country to be treated as a colony in which Arab Sheikhs and British oil capitalists rule; it is for India to see that Indian troops are not used for this evil purpose but are brought back to India.

Referendum Results

THE results of the Polish referendum held at the end of June, which never appeared in the Indian Press, reached me last week—and they mark a considerable triumph for Polish people's Government.

The Polish electorate were asked to answer yes or no on three questions:

FIRST, should the new constitution be a one-chamber constitution where there was no Upper Chamber or Senate?

SECONDLY, were the new agrarian and social reforms, including nationalisation of key industries, to become a permanent part of Poland's social and economic structure?

THIRDLY, was the fixing of Poland's Western frontiers on the rivers Oder and Neisse correct?

The four main Government parties asked the electorate to answer 'yes' to all three questions; and out of nearly twelve million who voted, nearly 70 per cent answered 'yes' to the first question; over 75 per cent answered 'yes' to the second; and over 90 per cent answered 'yes' to the third.

The result, therefore, was a triumph for the Government parties and a big set-back for the British-supported Peasant Party of Mikolajczyk (one time Premier of the emigre Polish Government in Britain), which asked voters to answer 'no' to the first question.

Reconstruction

This triumph was a direct result of the achievements of the Polish Government. At the end of June, Konstanty Dabrowski, Finance Minister, claimed that Poland had established her financial position by efficient organisation of state banks and internal loans, as well as through "the very considerable increases in industrial production and transport and the sincere endeavours of the Polish people."

This successful reconstruction of Poland's economy has been acknowledged even by so hostile a paper as the British Tory London Times.

Its Warsaw Correspondent on June 29 wrote:

"In the eighteen months since the liberation of Warsaw much has been accomplished.

"The 80 Polish coal mines are nearly all in working order, and production and export are higher than before the war. The textile industries... have shown remarkable progress... Electrification is proceeding; transport, almost non-existent a year ago, is gradually improving, and the ports, devastated by war, are being rebuilt..."

The results of the referendum bear out the truth of this and show that the democratic Government in Poland has consolidated its position and beaten back all the intrigues of the British - sponsored opponents like Mikolajczyk.

August 13.

★ ★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★ ★

FOOD

CASTLE Barracks is in the news again. Under a new Commanding Officer, the old conditions are still continuing; bad food is a standing complaint.

On August 7, all the 40 ratings of the Shipwright Barracks refused to take their mid-day meals. They reported to the Duty Officer that the food was bad. "If the food is bad," came the reply, "you can starve. I can't do anything."

They then took the matter up with the Officer-in-Charge of their School. He could not be bothered about these complaints, and so the ratings went to their classes without food.

This scared the authorities. So all the various officers—the Executive Officer, the Senior Medical Officer, the Victualling Officer, the Officer-in-Charge of the School—came together to inspect the food. The Medical Officer was of the opinion that the food was eatable.

The ratings still refused to take the food.

In the evening the same incident was repeated. The ratings took the meat to the Duty Officer and showed him the worms in it. The complaint was noted down but no action taken.

Next morning, after having starved for a whole day, they requested the authorities to look into their grievances. The authorities have assured them that conditions will improve.

The ratings with their previous experience of broken promises, are resentfully waiting to see what steps the authorities take to provide them with better food.

JUSTICE IN THE NAVY

MANY barracks in the HMIS Cheetah, employ civilian boys as mess messengers. The "C" barrack ratings decided to do the same. They obtained the necessary permission, "through proper channels," of course, and engaged a civilian mess messenger.

On August 6, a Regulating Petty Officer came to "C" barracks and asked the ratings to dismiss their mess messenger. "I shall get you another," he said.

As the R.P.O. would give no rea-

son for this strange order, they refused to dismiss the boy. "We pay the wages from our own pockets," they said, "Why should we engage your men to work for us?"

So the next morning the R.P.O. came back to find the boy at his place. He took the poor lad to the Regulating Officer and ordered him to remain there till further orders.

When this news reached the ratings, they were furious. Thirty of them went to the officer and reported the matter to the Duty Officer. He tried to pass them on to the Officer-in-Charge of the barracks.

Ultimately the Duty Commandant was called on and disposed of the matter. He talked to the individuals and ordered the release of the boy.

He then sent five of the ratings to report to the Executive Officer. He dismissed the case but asked the ratings not to employ similar messengers in future.

The ratings were surprised. Other barracks could have similar messengers, yet they were asked not to employ them.

Aye, aye, sir, the Navy has its own laws of justice!

BETTER FOOD?

IT is not the Navy alone that gives bad food to its men. At the IAOC Depot at Jubbulpore the men are being given half-baked chappatis and badly cooked rice full of stones.

Repeated requests were made to the Officer-in-Charge of the camp, but nothing happened. The discontent of the sepoys increased. Finally, sometime last month, about 35 sepoys decided not to go on parade until they were given better food.

A Lieutenant then came to the barracks and assured them that their food would be improved and so they came on parade. Everything seemed all right.

On the parade ground, however, one or two sepoys were picked up as ring-leaders. A Court of Enquiry is proceeding against them.

The sepoys are discontented. All that they had asked for was better food. All they got was a Court of Enquiry on some of their comrades.

SICK MEN MUST WORK

THE officers of the IAOC Depot at Jubbulpore not only give bad food to their men they also deny them medical attention.

It is usual for a sick sepoy to report to his officer first before going to the medical inspection room. Here, however, his officer just sends him back to work. If he grumbles the Officer threatens to put him on a charge—refused to obey the order of a superior officer.

For a long time the men have suffered in silence. Bad food and lack of medical treatment have affected their health considerably. Some of them have become so exasperated that they are seriously thinking of refusing to work unless they are given proper medical attention.

Some people do not learn their lessons quickly enough. These officers forget that the Indian soldier has learnt how to get his grievances redressed.

DEMOBILISATION

WHEN the military authorities were busy recruiting men for the Armed Forces, they painted a rosy picture of their life after the war. Now that the war is over these men are being literally kicked out of the army.

Here is a picture of life in a demobilisation centre, the IAMC Depot, Deolali.

The men are facing unbearable hardships. The food, of course, is rotten. What is more, there is no proper arrangement for eating. They have to queue up for hours before they get something. There is no dining room. So they have to sit out in the sun and swallow their food.

Even drinking water is not readily available. There are only a few taps and hundreds of sepoys. After their meals again they have to wait for a long time before they can have a little water to drink.

Deep discontent is spreading rapidly among the sepoys waiting for their demobilisation here. The authorities may forget but the sepoys certainly know that though they are waiting to be demobilised, they still can claim all the privileges of a soldier.

—(From Our Forces Correspondent)

PEOPLE'S AGE

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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TEHRI-GARHWAL MILITARY REFUSES TO FIRE ON PEOPLE

Martyr's Anniversary Demonstrations

The twenty-fifth of July is written in letters of red for the people of Tehri-Garhwal for ever. It is the anniversary of the death in jail of their heroic leader SHRI DEO SUMAN. On this day the people come out on the streets and pledge to smash the Bastille that is the present State of the Maharaja and to hoist the flag of people's freedom in their beautiful Himalayan homeland.

THE State authorities prepared in advance for the anniversary demonstrations this year. A police force of 600 was concentrated in the Tehri capital on the eve of July 25 together with 200 fully armed soldiers.

The Praja Mandal was well aware of these secret preparations, it warned the people and went ahead with its own plans. Leaflets calling for meetings and demonstrations were carried from hand to hand. The people knew and were ready.

They turned out, men, women and children, in thousands on Suman Day, took the pledge anew and hoisted the people's flag.

At Saklana, where a stubborn fight had been successfully waged against the new settlement, a mass meeting of over 400 kisans from all surrounding villages assembled.

In the Chamma Sub-division in the village of Suman's birth, 100 people gathered.

At Mussoorie where the Raja himself was staying, a monster procession of 1000 shook the fashionable summer resort.

At Dehra Dun there was another huge meeting, addressed by prominent Praja Mandal leaders, Congressmen and Communists.

Reports are still trickling in of meetings in the remote interior of the State.

But the biggest trial of strength was at Tehri itself, the capital. The Praja Mandal had called a meeting. A public meeting was held on the eve of Suman Day.

Workers Arrested

Immediately after the meeting, the leading workers were arrested, all with the exception of N. D. Saklani. Shri Daulat Ram was led hand-cuffed through bazars in an attempt to terrorise the people. The I.N.A. hero Lieut Himmat Singh was also put behind the bars but the authorities did not dare touch Col. Ratauri of the I.N.A. They publicly banned the meeting on the 25th announcing that even two people walking together were liable to be shot. On July 23, the INA Col. Ratauri announced that INA men would participate in the celebrations and a new wave of enthusiasm swept the people.

On the morning of the 25th the town was cordoned off and no one was allowed to enter. Shops were forcibly opened and police constables were posted at each shop. The local college which normally closes at 11 a.m. was kept open from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. to prevent the students from joining the procession, sweets were distributed. The Superintendent of Police, Mr. Lalita Prasad, and the Dy. S. P., Mr. Brijendra Singh Bist, went to the residence of Col. Ratauri and asked him to haul down the Tri-Colour and not to take out a procession or hold a meeting.

Col. Ratauri gave them a hot reception and promptly told them that he would defend the flag with his blood. They retreated disappointed and irritated. They contented themselves with cordoning off the INA Officer.

Then the authorities played their last hand. They collected a band of toadies and goondas and paraded the streets, shouting loyalist slogans. But the people greeted this procession with grim and sullen silence.

They gave their answer at the appointed time, in a mass procession led by the Praja Mandal workers, the INA and the students.

The procession was immediately set upon by the waiting police force and belaboured. Five of the INA men received serious injuries. But the procession continued amidst frequent lathi charges. Arrests began and 147 people were taken into custody. There was a scuffle at one place and the Dy. S.P. and the Sub-Inspector who were abusing the people would have been beaten up but for the intervention of Ratauri.

"Give Them Arms First"

Firing was expected any moment, but it never came and the troops were withdrawn. Later on the people came to know the reason for this. When the soldiers were asked to fire they refused point blank, saying:

"Give them arms and then only we shall fight, we cannot fire on defenceless people."

By the evening the people's calm determination had sobered the authorities and they released all the arrested people except four.

And so passed one more

memorable anniversary of Shri Deo Suman.

The news of the events of Suman Day has spread like wild-fire and further roused the people.

Protest Day

On July 29, the Praja Mandal workers at Mussoorie organised a Protest Day. Over 2000 people joined the procession. In the meeting release of all those arrested was demanded and the people were asked to prepare themselves for satyagraha. Fifty people promptly handed in their name in the meeting and Rs 75 were collected. After the meeting when some of the people were returning they encountered the young Raja himself, outside the cinema house, Picture Palace. Immediately slogans rent the air.

"Abolish the Toll-tax"
"Release our comrades"
"Long live Shri Deo Suman."
The Raja was eventually 'rescued' by the City Kotwal.

At Dehra Dun a meeting of the Praja Mandal workers was held on July 31 under the presidency of Master Ram Swaroop, a Tehri worker and Congressman. Resolutions were passed protesting against the arrests which constitute a breach of the promises given to Shri Jal Narain Vyas regarding civil liberties. It was decided to send a deputation to the Prime Minister at once to secure the release of the arrested persons and to bring about a settlement. The State authorities were warned of the consequences of delay and the Praja Mandal de-

Responsible Govt. Day In Cochin

State-Wide Hartals And Demonstrations

Political Deadlock Following Two Ministers' Resignation

From C. Achutha Menon Trichur, 8th August.

July 29 was a red letter day in the annals of Cochin. On that day Cochin witnessed scenes of tremendous enthusiasm reminiscent of the April 6th hartal of the first non-cooperation days. All shops were closed. There was a complete and universal hartal throughout the State. All workers downed tools, and students, even little urchins in the Primary schools, took out processions. In the remote corners of the State also there were mammoth processions, public meetings and hartals.

THIS was in answer to the call of the Cochin State Prajamandal to observe that day as "Responsible Government Day." That day the Cochin Legislative Council was to begin its budget session. The Prajamandal Party had decided to boycott the Council on that day. In this decision they were joined by the Socialist Party led by K. Ayyappan, the Ezhava leader, and also the Progressive Party, led by the ex-Minister Rao Bahadur T. K. Nayar.

Twelve members of the Ministerial Party alone attended the Council on that day out of the total of 48 members.

In Trichur, workers of the Sitarum Spinning & Weaving Mills struck work and a procession, two-thousand strong, started from the mill gate in the morning. They were joined by the Municipal press and other workers, and went round the town.

In the evening a huge public meeting was held at Manjeri attended by 30,000 under the presidency of Balakrishna Marar. In Ernakulam also workers of Tatas, Burmah Shell and others struck work.

But the event of the day was a militant procession of two thousand harbour workers under the Red flag who marched from the island to Huzur Jetty.

In the evening a meeting of ten thousand took place and it was addressed by the leaders of all organisations.

It was a feature of the day's demonstrations that they were observed with the fullest co-operation of all people's organisations such as the S.N. D.P. Yogam (Ezhavas), Pulaya Mahasabha, Vettuva Mahasabha, the Communist Party, etc.

Only the State Muslim League Secretary had issued a statement warning Muslims against participation in the celebrations. But even in Mattancherry, a Muslim centre, it was unheeded and thousands of Muslim workers took part and 50 per cent of Muslim shops were closed.

Mr. K. H. Sulaiman, a progressive Muslim Leaguer, who presided over a public meeting in Mattancherry severely castigated the reactionary leadership of the State Muslim League.

The whole day's demonstrations passed off peacefully, and the police dared not interfere.

Each Village Will Rise

Following these celebrations, stirring events were also witnessed inside the Legislative Council. As a severe protest against the policy of the Government, the Council threw out the general administration budget by a non-official majority.

Government was again censured for not ordering a non-official inquiry into the Azhikkode incident which had aroused keen apprehension in the minds of the public, and the police budget was thrown out. In reply to flaming indictment by several members against the State police for their excesses against public worker like Chadayammuri, a Communist, who was subjected to inhuman torture inside police lock-up as a result of which some of his bones were fractured, the Diwan was forced to promise fresh enquiry.

The latest news is that the motion of no confidence against the two Ministers in office was carried and they have resigned. A political deadlock has arisen as a result.

The Prajamandal is not prepared to accept office under the present constitution which grants insufficient power. So also the Socialist and Progressive Parties. These three parties together with K. H. Sulaiman have submitted a memorandum to the Diwan asking for immediate transfer of full power to an Interim Coalition Government responsible to the Legislature.

Badgaum In Flames

Tehsil Badgaum, with a population of about three lakhs and a part of the Srinagar National Conference, has also been affected by the "Quit Kashmir" movement.

IT began in a mela at Khan Sabib, a village in Badgaum, where 13 National Conference workers, all belonging to the same village, addressed the peasants—a thousand in number—who had come there not on a pleasure trip but to perform an age-old ceremony. They had come from almost all the villages of this Tehsil.

To look at them loitering aimlessly was to come face to face with the hundred year old miseries and suppression to which the Dogra rule has subjected the Kashmiris. Beautiful massive structures of human architecture, but with no flesh on their bodies. Ill fed, rickety and half-naked mothers and children. To look at them was to look at the ruined splendour of the human race.

A Stir In The Crowd

"Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad", cried a village youth from a raised platform. The mere mention of this name created a stir in this aimless crowd, which made one feel that the dead were coming to life. Their eyes began to glitter and they moved with firm determined steps towards the youth on the platform.

Thirteen speakers, one after the other, came on the platform. For hours and hours together they explained to them the significance of the 'Quit Kashmir' slogans. With intent ears they heard the story that their forefathers had been sold for a paltry sum of fifty lakh rupees to the present Dogra House. Sold by the White Sahab lock, stock and barrel. And hence this misery and poverty.

"Dogra Raj Murdabad!"
"Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad!"
"Kashmir ko chor do!"
came the unanimous verdict from the gathering.

The speakers offered themselves for arrest to the police on duty. But seeing the angry ga-

by
GHULAM MOHIUDDIN
Kashmir's Underground Leader

thering the police dared not arrest them.

Three days after this meeting, there was a big mobilisation at Badgaum, the Tehsil headquarters; three hundred troops, hundreds of police and a big gang of numberdars and chowkidars. Like an army of occupation, this gang of dacoits began to move from village to village plundering everything that came their way.

Band Of Freebooters

"This whole gang must be fed by the villagers," were the orders of the Tehsildar. The free-booters took away by force whatever they could lay their hands on: eggs and hens, ghee, rice and flour, were snatched away from the starving villagers; orchards were looted. Those who resisted were arrested and ruthlessly beaten.

Even the numberdars and men on whom the Government thought it could rely, were disgusted by the inhuman behaviour of the Dogra military. Some of them openly sided with the people.

Ghulam Mohammad Raina, numberdar of Husipora village, made several speeches at Durgall and various places in Badgaum, in which he spoke against the tyrannical Dogra rule. Warrants of arrest have been issued in his name.

The numberdars of Aregaum and Parnawa on refusing to supply the Dogra military with rations and horses free of charge, were ruthlessly beaten. They have submitted their resignations to the Tehsildar who has refused to accept them.

Fifty-one arrests have so far been made. Badgaum has a

small police station without any lock-up. The people arrested were brought to the military camp in Aregaum and were tied to the pegs of the camps. On one of them, Ahmed Najjar by name, while thus tied, the passers-by were made to spit.

It is thus that the Dogra military is moving like a swarm of locusts looting, beating and arresting. Even women have not been spared. They think that by such brutal methods they will be able to crush this movement and silence the slogan of "Kashmir Ko Chor Do."

Each Village Will Rise

But Kak, with all his Dogra military might, cannot still this voice. It will rise louder and yet louder, for it is the verdict of the whole nation against one hundred years of Dogra rule—a hundred years of repression and misery—a verdict which shall be enforced!

Within six weeks, as soon as the harvest is over, Kak will have to face many more Badgaums, every village will rise up in revolt. The worst Dogra terror cannot suppress the people. It will only harden us and make 'Quit Kashmir' a reality.

Even now Badgaum is not an isolated case. In Srinagar, even after two months of savage repression, cries of 'Dogra Raj Murdabad' can be heard from every nook and corner of the city during the day and from the house tops during the night. Friday meetings, attended by thousands, are also going on. And we will continue with the cries of:

"Kashmir Ko Chor Do."
"Dogra Raj Murdabad."
"Sher-i-Kashmir Zindabad!"

till we have made these slogans a reality.

Not only this, but by the sacrifice and heroic action of our people, we shall help the hundred million peoples of the Indian States, groaning under similar despotic rule, to break their shackles and build a new life of freedom and prosperity for themselves.

ALL SUPPORT TO WORKERS, KISANS AND STATES PEOPLES' STRUGGLES

(Continued from page 2)

Only the policy of National Self-determination will ensure freedom, democracy and independence to all peoples including the common Mus-

lims and will be the basis for building the joint front for the struggle for winning an independent INDIAN UNION, guaranteeing full and free development to the peoples of all nationalities.

It talks of resisting the Imperialist Plan, in practice follows the plans of the Right.

They outbid the Right in its anti-Communism and thus help the compromising bourgeoisie to split the forces of anti-compromise.

They join hands with the Congress leadership in starting rival unions, which oppose strikes, and thus help the Right to disrupt the growing struggles of the working-class.

They take an opportunist attitude towards strikes and hinder the growth of mass action.

On the working-class front, their aim is not so much to rally the workers against the capitalists, against compromise, but to join hands with all to fight the Communists.

They follow the same policy on the kisan front.

This policy thus disrupts the growing struggles of the people and disorganises the struggle against the new Imperialist Plan.

On the vital question of national unity also the leaderships of both the CSP and the Forward Bloc follow in the wake of the compromising bourgeois leadership and deny self-determination to the national units. They denounce the League as pro-imperialist and will have nothing to do with it. Here again, their policy disrupts the joint front, makes joint struggle impossible and strengthens the hands of the compromisers and British imperialism.

While both the leaderships of the CSP and the Forward Bloc claim allegiance to the principles of Socialism, their anti-Communism leads them to the open support of the rival trade-unions of the bourgeois leadership and to splitting of the unity of the working-class.

In their international policy,

they follow in the wake of the agents of British imperialism and international reaction in their denunciation of the Soviet Union and of the achievements of revolutionary democracy in the countries of Eastern Europe and Asia.

The Left elements must see the wide gap that separates the outlook of the CSP and Forward Bloc leaderships and their own aspirations to fight compromise. So long as that outlook persists, joint action as proposed by us will be rendered difficult.

Nonetheless, the Communist Party puts forward this proposal for joint action before the Left parties and all Left elements opposed to compromise, because such action will facilitate the task of rallying the entire people for the joint freedom front, for the defeat of the British plan and for the final struggle for power.

At the same time the Party wants to make it quite clear that compromise cannot be fought by formation of a bloc of Left parties.

Such a bloc, on the other hand, would be a definite hindrance in the path of rallying the entire Congress for the policy of the joint-front.

It would lead to the illusion that the Right-wing leadership can be replaced by the factional manoeuvres of the Left bloc within the Congress.

This, again, would lead to the underestimation of the role of the independent working-class and peasant movements and of the Communist Party in the task of winning the masses for the programme of democratic revolution and joint front.

It is for joint action to fulfil these tasks that we invite all Left elements, for that is how the fight against compromise can be led forward.

and living conditions has spread to all sections of workers including bank employees, clerks, primary teachers, police and Government employees.

The tremendous response to the preparation of the all-India railway general strike, as well as the experience of the all-India postal strike prove this.

Growing Class-Solidarity Among Workers

Further the readiness with which the workers come out on sympathetic strikes (e.g., to support postal strike) and respond to the call of political protest strikes (e.g., RIN and arrest of Pandit Nehru in Kashmir) is a proof of the tremendous spontaneous growth of their class solidarity and political awareness.

The Party has been lagging behind this spontaneous development and has hesitated to give a bold and courageous lead to develop the spontaneous strike wave.

The Communist Party recognises that the situation is rapidly leading to general strikes in industrial centres in whole industries and seeks to lead them in developing the militant initiative of the working-class to resist their suppression.

The Party realises that an all-in strike action of all industries for basic demands will bring the working-class activity to the highest pitch and unite the entire class in the common fight.

The Party organises political protest strikes against repression and in support of the States peoples' struggles, etc., and prepares the working-class for the political general strike as part of the popular struggle for power.

In organising and leading the strike wave from stage to stage in this way, the Party must actively build mass unions and extend and consolidate the base of the Party among the workers. This will end the influence of the bourgeoisie over the working-class and consolidate the main fighting force of the Indian people in the final phase of the Indian Revolution.

Kisan Struggles - New Direction

The peasantry is lagging behind the working-class in this phase of mass upheavals. But even the peasantry is beginning to take to militant actions against landlords, hoarders, money-lenders, etc., as has been shown in Midnapore, Basti, etc.

Such mass actions of the kisans are bound to grow in militancy. The very intensity of food crisis, the shortage and high prices of essential commodities, official atrocities in the villages and landlord oppression will force them to take to more and more militant actions.

The Communist Party supports these mass actions and will organise the kisans to withstand the severe repression that they will have to face; it will mobilise the non-kisan elements in the villages and in towns in support of these kisan struggles and help to link up the kisan, working-class and other people's struggles; it will do its best to make the Kisan Sabha a powerful instrument against the Imperialist Plan and for building free, democratic villages.

Party Will Back Resistance To Anti-Kisan Measures

Thus, while demanding that prompt agrarian legislation be enacted by the Ministries, the Party will support peasants' resistance to eviction, peasant initiative to get landlords' fallow lands for cultivation, no-rent struggles when the peasant cannot pay the rent, etc.

While supporting every measure of equitable distribution of food, just procurement and rationing, and while using Food Committees, Co-operative So-

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STRATEGY OF JOINT FREEDOM FRONT

7. The Communist Party realises that the present revolutionary upsurge can be developed into the all-in final struggle for power and the carrying through of the democratic revolution only when the majority of our people are rallied for the revolution.

The National Congress represents the main stream of the independence movement of the country.

The Muslim League has behind it the bulk of the anti-imperialist freedom-loving Muslim masses.

And the Communist Party leads the bulk of the organised workers and peasants.

A joint front of the three main patriotic parties Congress, League, Communist Party, and other popular patriotic parties is thus essential for developing such a final struggle and guaranteeing its success.

To build such a front is the key task of the period. Failure to achieve it will lead to the petering out of the revolutionary upsurge, ending in demoralisation and disruption.

The Communist Party, therefore, measures its success in partial struggles also by how far these struggles teach the Congress and League masses to reject the compromising policies of their leaderships and to work for the common aim, by bringing pressure on their own leaderships to build a joint front.

The Party seeks to achieve this by boldly leading partial struggles and uniting all sections through them, by exposing the compromising policy of the two leaderships and by popular-

The Party realises that the visible demonstration of joint front in every local and partial struggle is the most powerful appeal for building it on a national scale and hence the Party tirelessly works for it in every struggle.

In directing the struggles, in its agitation and propaganda, while the Party ruthlessly exposes the policy of division and hostility pursued by Congress-League leaderships towards each other, while it fights against their plans of compromise, at each stage it advances such slogans, gives such directives as will accentuate the process of disillusionment with the compromising policies of the leaderships, and thus enable the masses under the influence of these two organisations to take the next step forward.

The Party has no illusions that the joint front can be built by merely appealing to the bourgeois leaderships. The joint front will be achieved by making the masses move for it in spite of the leaderships.

It is built in the measure that the Party is able to establish and extend its political leadership in the ever-widening sweep of common mass struggles, in the measure that the Party is able to disillusion the masses about the sectarian, disruptive and compromising policy of the leaderships, and rouse in them the will to fight against the British Imperialist Plan and for the realisation of the essential tasks of the programme of National Democratic Revolution.

LEFT JOINT ACTION

The radicalisation of the Congress ranks and the growing disillusionment with the compromising policy of the Congress Right leadership is seen in the enormous growth of Left elements who honestly want to fight compromise and stand for struggle. Quite a large number of these are being attracted to Marxism.

From the ranks of the Left elements comes the proposal for Left unity which expresses the desire for a common front action of Left elements, including the Communist Party, against the compromise that is being hatched.

The Communist Party attaches great importance to the proposal because it displays that Left elements are getting disillusioned about the Right-wing bourgeois leadership and because they are also releasing themselves from the grip of disruptive anti-Communist propaganda.

In the conditions of today when both sets of leaderships are pursuing a path of compromise, it is essential that all Left elements who are opposed to the Imperialist Plan must come together to rouse the people to the danger ahead.

Basis For Left Joint Action

The Communist Party appreciates the desire of Left elements to bring about the joint action of all those who want to fight compromise and proposes that the basis for joint action should be as follows:

- Support to all partial struggles of workers, peasants, employees and students.
- Support to States' peoples' struggles.

- Reject the Imperialist Plan.
- Forward to the joint struggle of the Indian people for power.

The central slogan of rallying the entire people for the joint front must be Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage with proportional representation and self-determination of nationalities.

The Communist Party knows that the main Left parties do not yet accept the slogan of self-determination of nationalities. The Communist Party is, however, prepared to have joint action with the Left elements on anyone or all of the above points.

At the same time the Party will continue to persuade them to join hands with it in campaigning for self-determination for nationalities, for this is the only democratic basis on which the unity of Hindu and Muslim masses can be forged for the final struggle.

The Communist Party makes this proposal for joint action because it wants all those who today fight compromise to join hands to rouse the entire people against the Imperialist Plan and speed up the building of a joint freedom front that will rally the entire Indian people and unite their major parties for the final struggle for power and independence.

But the policies pursued by the leaderships of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) and the Forward Bloc constitute today the main obstacle for the realisation of such joint action.

Disruptive Policies Of CSP, FB Leaderships

The CSP as well as the Forward Bloc leadership, though

LEFT IN MUSLIM LEAGUE

The Communist Party realises that the position of the Left inside the Muslim League is very weak. There is, of course, a rapidly growing number of consistent anti-imperialists who are dissatisfied with the feudal-bourgeois compromising leadership of the League and want to lead the Muslim masses in the fight against British imperialism.

But these Left elements within the League cannot make headway against the compromising policy of the bourgeois-feudal leadership of the League unless they accept and popularise the following principles and policies as the rallying slogans of the Muslim masses.

The policy of the leadership of relying upon imperialism and of bargaining with the Congress leadership for gaining the Muslim demands, is totally abandoned and repudiated. The question of Pakistan and unity of India must be decided by the democratic vote of the people on the basis of self-determination of nationalities without the intervention of British imperialism.

LEADERSHIP OF MASS ACTIONS

8. The main lever of the Party for preparing for the struggle for power, for strengthening the Party and mass organisations, for bringing the Party forward as the builder of joint front struggles on all sectors, counteracting the disruptive influence of the bourgeois leadership, is the correct developing of struggles of the working-class, peasantry and States peoples, and the advancing of correct slogans for these struggles.

The leaderships of both the Congress and the League either sabotage these struggles or disrupt them from within. In either case their policy leads to division of the masses.

The Communist Party by giving bold and militant leadership to the mass struggle counteracts disruption and builds unity.

The Strike Strategy For Today

Strike strategy today is determined by the new situation on the working-class front. Under the present worsening conditions of life and labour and of great and spontaneous political awareness among the working-class all over the country, even a spontaneous local strike gets the support of the other workers and the common people, and thus tends to develop into a battle of the local tolling and common people against the vested interests and bureaucracy.

Workers fight the strikes today with such totality of united support and such abandon as have not been seen before.

This spirit of organisation, class solidarity, and determined and united fight for decent wage

Bengal Communist MLA Arrested, Assaulted

All Sections Demand Dismissal Of Guilty Police Official

On August 7, one of Bengal's senior police officers dared to arrest and assault a member of the Legislative Assembly at the very gates of the Assembly Chamber. This scandalous incident has developed into one of the key issues by which Bengal's public—both Hindus and Muslims—will test the guts of the Suhrawardy Ministry: will it carry out Bengal's unanimous demand and dismiss the insolent police officer, or will it surrender to the pressure of the bureaucracy, as it is wont to do, and hush up the whole affair?

It happened like this:

On August 7, a demonstration of jute workers from Budge Budge, numbering several thousands came to the Bengal Legislative Assembly to represent to the M.L.A.s against the enforcement of 'Hours of Work Amendment Act' by which thousands of women workers are thrown out of employment in jute mills.

As the issue is one in which White Sahibs (the owners of the Jute Mills) are very much concerned, naturally the bureaucrats saw to it that a large contingent of police were posted at the Assembly gates to obstruct the path of peaceful demonstrators.

But the police barred the ways of M.L.A.s also who were arriving for the session of the Assembly.

Syt. Kiron Shanker Roy, Leader of the Opposition, together with a number of M.L.A.s, both Congress and League, found the gates closed. The police, under Deputy Commissioner A. S. Doha, had the cheek to say that the gates were closed even to M.L.A.s "under orders of the Speaker."

At this, JYOTI BASU, Communist M.L.A., strongly protested, and demanded the gate be opened. Doha immediately arrested Jyoti Basu and assaulted him and Ratanlal, another Communist M.L.A., and there were angry protests from all those who were present.

Protest From All Over Assembly

Eventually Premier Suhrawardy came and took Jyoti inside the House.

When the House met, Kiron Babu indignantly demanded immediate redress, and members from both sides of the House joined in a loud chorus of protest against Jyoti's arrest and assault. The Speaker adjourned the House and immediately the party leaders met the Speaker and then held a discussion in the Premier's room, in which the Chief Secretary, R. L. Walker, was also brought in.

By now a large number of Muslim student leaders had gathered outside and were clamouring for the immediate dismissal of Doha, who had taken shelter in the Premier's room. The League M.L.A.s readily testified to Doha's misbehaviour in Press statements.

Such a scene of united condemnation, in which the Ministerialists and Opposition joined together, had never before been seen in the precincts of the Assembly.

In Suhrawardy's room, Doha had to apologise to Jyoti because it was evident that the League and Congress M.L.A.s, together with Muslim students, would not have allowed Doha, to go without doing so.

When the House reassembled, Suhrawardy reported that Doha had apologised to Jyoti and that he was going to hold an enquiry "to take suitable action" in the matter. Jyoti intervening added that Doha's past conduct must also be taken into account within the terms of the enquiry.

The Speaker categorically condemned the police action saying that they had no authority to prevent the Members from coming into the Assembly and that if anybody had said that this was done on his orders, he was a liar.

The next day, the Muslim Students' League together with the Students' Federation held a public meeting demanding

Doha's dismissal. A number of Muslim League leaders from the districts of Faridpur, Noakhali, Dacca, Burdwan and Jessore in a statement demanded Doha's punishment adding "If bureaucratic intervention can prevent the Ministry from punishing him, then there is no meaning in having a popular Ministry."

There was remarkable unanimity in the Calcutta Press demanding action against Doha and the Nationalist Press did not fail to notice the angry reaction among the Leaguers.

The Hindustan Standard, editorially wrote:

"What is significant in the chorus of condemnation of the police is that, the Ministerialists were louder and more indignant than the members of the Opposition."

The Basumati greeted "the League members in particular that they had been able to judge the whole matter from the stand of principle and had not made it a

WHO IS THIS DOHA?

A. S. Doha is the Deputy Commissioner of South Calcutta. He made himself conspicuous during the police assault and shooting on the I.N.A. release demonstration last November and Rashid Ali release demonstration in February.

The whole of Calcutta, both Hindus and Muslims, demanded the blood of such murderers, and it was Suhrawardy who at that time declared that until an enquiry was instituted into these atrocities, Calcutta's public, would not cease their united movement.

It is because of Suhrawardy's failure to keep that pledge that Doha and his tribe have become so insolent and daring.

Doha has also made himself notorious in terrorising strikers in Birla's mills at Metiabruz and other mills in Calcutta's suburbs. Today, those thousands of workers will anxiously wait for his punishment.

party issue." Suhrawardy Sahib, your police has over-reached itself. Bengal is watching you. Will you stand up to the White Sahibs and dismiss Doha or will you collapse at their feet and try to forget the whole misdeed? Bengal is determined to see this business through.

—by NIKHIL CHAKRAVARTY

IN U.P.

FREE REIN TO POLICE TO ARREST COMMUNISTS

(From Girish Mathur)

The U.P. Congress Ministry has given free rein to the U.P. police to launch a Province-wide arrest campaign against all active political workers. Prominent among those are Communists and Trade Union and Kisan Sabha workers.

In Allahabad two workers of the Cheeki Depot, Ahmed and Suraj Narain, are being tried. The former on a charge of "inciting the people to attack police," and the latter under Section 397.

During the postal strike Panchanan Pathak and Chaube were arrested along with fifty employees, while picketing at the railway station to stop the loading of mail.

More than 15 bidi workers have also been arrested for stopping black-legs from bringing bidis from the villages.

News has just come from Meerut that Shanti Tyagi, Secretary of the District Communist Party, and Indramani, only recently released after about six years' detention, have been arrested.

Sometime ago, Husna Begum, Miss Syeda Yahya and Kulbhushan had been arrested along with some workers of the Modi Mills.

On July 26, a workers' and peasants' rally was held at Meerut. The employers of the Modi Mills prevented their workers to join the rally. When the news reached, the meeting place, a procession marched from there to take the workers to the rally and they succeeded in forcing the employers to open the mill-gates and let the workers go to the rally. It

was in this connection that the above Proceedings for trespass, breaking open all gates and dacoity have been launched against them.

In Basti, Sheetal and some others are being prosecuted in connection with the kisan struggle in the district. The case against them is also not considered as a political case.

In Lucknow Sohan and one mill-worker were arrested for defying Section 144 during the Cotton Mill strike and are still being prosecuted.

And now I learn that efforts are being made to implicate no less a person than Dr. Z. A. Ahmed, Provincial Communist leader, and President of the U. P. Kisan Sabha, along with some other leading Communists of Allahabad, in some frame-up case. I learnt that the Inspector-General of Police has sent a report against them to Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and sought his permission to prosecute them.

It seems that so far this permission has not been given to him, but he has been asked to keep an eye on the Communists, particularly on Dr. Ahmed.

This is the way the Ministry is carrying out its pledges to restore civil liberties in the Province.

TASKS BEFORE THE COMMUNIST PARTY

(Continued from page 11)

Local self-government institutions, etc., to make them of utmost use to the people, the Party will support resistance to unjust anti-kisan measures like excessive procurement from poor peasants.

In areas where people are starving, it will demand that the hoarders' and Government's stocks be handed over to the people for distribution.

While agitating for legislative and administrative action for irrigation facilities, seeds, manure, etc., the Party will also support kisans' initiative in getting possession of and in using sources of irrigation owned by the landlords and the Government and stocks of seed, manure, etc., owned by hoarders.

In leading and organising the kisan struggles the Party will see to it that the edge of these struggles is directed against landlords, usurers and bureaucracy, and that they bring about the greatest possible unity of the village people against the enemies of the people.

Wherever possible the Party must organise fraternal solidarity actions between workers and peasants in localities, peasants supporting workers with grain donation, workers supporting kisan actions by strikes, etc.

States Peoples' Struggles

Despite the anti-struggle policy of the dominant leadership of the Praja Mandal and even the sabotaging endeavours of the Congress High Command from outside, spontaneous struggles are breaking out in the Indian States.

Great dissatisfaction prevails in the ranks of the Praja Mandals over the compromising policy of their leaderships and over the moves of the Congress High Command to negotiate with the Princes, while simultaneously forcing the All-India States Peoples' Conference itself to lower its demands.

The central slogan which the Communists must raise and popularise within and without the Praja Mandals and among the masses is:

"Quit Autocracy"—Constituent Assembly for each State based on adult suffrage to decide the future of the Ruler, the constitution of the State, and the question of its union with India.

It is wrong to consider that this slogan would isolate us from the Praja Mandals. On the other hand refusal to popularise this slogan among the middle leaders and rank and file of the Praja Mandals, and among the masses through our independent kisan and working-class work, will be refusal to fight compromise with imperialism and with the Imperialist Plan.

The Communists in the States must raise a broad-based movement for civil liberties, agitate against the bogus constitutions which the Princes are foisting upon the people; protest against any nominated representative being sent even to this Constitution-making Body, raise the demand for a Constituent Assembly for each State based on adult suffrage to frame the Constitution of the State and to join in the real All-India Constituent Assembly.

The Communists in the States must concentrate their main attention on organising the struggle of workers and peasants for their urgent demands and for the civil liberties of the people and develop a joint front with the local Praja Mandals and other popular organisations.

It is through these struggles and by popularising the central political slogan among the masses, participating and supporting them, that we win over the rank and file and middle cadre of the Praja Mandal to these slogans.

Our aim is to remove the stranglehold of the compromising leadership of the Praja Mandal and to create conditions for the launching of broad-based struggles in every State as in Kashmir.

STUDENTS' UNITY AND STRUGGLE

Students took the initiative on an India-wide scale in the first post-war demonstrations for the release of the men of the INA and in solidarity with the naval mutiny. Even young school students and girl students have displayed unprecedented mass heroism in clashes with the imperialist

police and military. Hindu and Muslim students ranged behind the Students' Congress, the Students' Federation and the Muslim Students' Federation fought side by side in these great actions.

For the first time in our history, mass labour-student solidarity is being built up through students' strikes of solidarity with working-class struggles. Side by side with this, the mass of students are increasingly taking up the fight to solve the burning problems of students' life and education.

The Communist Party welcomes this unity in action of our fighting youth. It welcomes united political strikes by students, and strikes and demonstrations of solidarity with workers, peasants' and States peoples' struggles.

It attaches great importance to mass fraternisation between workers, peasants and students which heightens revolutionary consciousness and opens a new chapter in our national movement. The Communist Party firmly believes that the intolerably

restricted facilities for education and for a full cultural and social development; reactionary, outmoded and often anti-national teaching in schools and colleges; and the prospect of unemployment facing every educated youth have made the crisis in students' life so acute that only militant mass action can bring about any real change.

The Communist Party, therefore, supports the mass students' struggle for a better education with the following main slogans:

- Democratise our educational system! Ban anti-national imperialist indoctrination in schools and colleges in any form!

- Immediate expansion of both college and school education—with adequate wages and decent living conditions for teachers—for speedy advance to universal education and to provide trained cadre for national reconstruction.

- Immediate steps must be taken to bring education within the reach of all with special facilities in the shape of grants and scholarships, etc., provided to poor students drawn from backward communities and nationalities.

- Guaranteed employment for all educated youth.

ROLE OF THE PARTY

9. A mighty historical responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Party and its 50,000 members. The revolutionary phase into which India's freedom struggle has entered demands of them that they throw in every ounce of their strength to ensure that imperialism's evil plan of crushing the Indian Revolution is frustrated and instead the mighty post-war revolutionary upsurge is led forward to forge the joint front of the Indian people for the decisive struggle for power.

FIRST and foremost, the Party must prove and improve its capacity of leadership of mass struggles, developing in them to the fullest the fighting initiative of the masses while maintaining the unity of the mass. It must use these struggles to build united mass organisations—T.U.s and Kisan Sabha Units, defeating the moves of the disruptors.

SECONDLY, the Party must make special effort to draw inside the Party hundreds and thousands of politically awakened militant fighters from all sections of the masses, but especially from workers and peasants, who participate in these struggles and to transform the Party into a mass party of the working people.

THIRDLY, the Party must come forward as the political leader of the masses—making mass political education of the fighting masses, especially round the central political slogan and the programme of democratic revolution, its key job. (Mass pamphlets for all sections of the people on the burning problems of the day.)

FOURTHLY, the Party must undertake the mass political education of the entire Party membership, in the programme and policy of the Party, in the basic principles of Marxism and Leninism, in the practical organizational work in the mass organizations and in the Party organizations, through graded schools for different strata of Party members.