

WHITE SAHIBS' UNSEEN HANDS

BEHIND CALCUTTA RIOT

Since the end of the war, the White Sahibs have been finding their position menaced in Bengal. Bosses of Bengal's industries—coal, steel, iron, electricity, gas, jute, and tea, with a total investment of over 750 crores of rupees, they were unnerved by the gigantic strike-wave that had drawn in lakhs of Bengal's workers and babus.

EQUALLY alarming was the successive wave of anti-British demonstrations beginning with the INA Release Day in November last, passing through the Rashid All Day and the R.I.N. mutiny, and reaching the climax on July 29 when forty lakhs responded to the call for a general strike and hartal in sympathy with the postal strikers—which for them made "Quit India" an approaching reality.

Panic overtook them: instructions for "self-defence" were rushed round; lightning evacuation to the Fort William in emergency was arranged, and an entirely new army unit—73 British Independent Brigade—was brought in for "internal security."

Turning The Tide

But the League call for "Direct Action" and Wavell's offer of Interim Government found the country divided against itself and the White Sahibs thought that their big chance had come for turning the tide.

August 16 was declared a public holiday with the obvious approval of Governor Burrows; and the League Ministry thought that they had a free hand so far as August 16 was concerned. On the other hand, the European members of the Council cleverly sought to please the Opposition by joining them in condemning the step.

Neatly did the Governor and the Clive Street help to fan the fire from both sides which burst into the terrible clash of August 16.

Closed Door Meeting

On August 7, Major General Bucher, G.O.C.-in-C., Eastern Command, at a closed-door meeting of his officers warned against August 16 as one of the "danger days" of the month. Full nine days after this, when actually the orgy started on August 16 you would have searched the streets in vain for Bucher's battalions, though they were being kept standing by for action ten miles away at Barrackpore.

The police also made no effort to stop the disturbances: they appeared at a number of storm-centres on August 16 only to disappear, or to watch unperturbed. For forty hours Burrows and Bucher quietly watched the carnage engulf the entire city but did not raise even a finger to save the city.

By then the leaders had got cold feet, and they begged the Governor to intervene. This was just the moment he was waiting for, since the army could now move into the city to be hailed from all quarters as the saviour of the people—the very people who had once stoned and attacked it. Forty-five thousand troops were poured into Calcutta, many even airborne from Singapore.

"Top Secret"

After having thus succeeded in tearing our people into two and having installed the British troops in their midst at their imploring, the White Sahibs pushed on to the next stage of their plan.

On August 23, Bucher sent out a letter marked "Top-Secret" directing a confidential military enquiry into Calcutta events with a view to show:

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* (a) That sufficient troops had not been kept to quell riots, and in future the forces should be increased for the purpose;

* (b) The troops rescued people and were welcomed everywhere;

* (c) The military aid was always available but civil authorities had not called for it.

At the Government Press conference, significantly enough the Chief Secretary carefully evaded any question about the mysterious misbehaviour of the police in deliberately letting the riot spread, saying that that should be answered only on the floor of the Assembly—a clear hint that the League Ministry would be forced to face the consequences of August 16.

Blackmail

Meanwhile, The Statesman from the very first day had kept up a full-blast offensive against the League Ministry calling it a "group of incompetents."

With this three-pronged offensive of the Army, the Writers' Building and the Clive Street, the Europeans are today in a position to blackmail the Ministry: either you submit to our terms or we throw you to the wolves.

At the same time, a clean bill too was offered in case the League submit to their terms: C. P. Lawson, President of the European Association, declared:

"It was, however, of little value without substantial proofs to attempt to place the blame at the door of one or the other of the major political parties."

Wavell Sets The Line

On August 25, the Viceroy flew down from Delhi and met a host of leaders, both of the Congress and the League. Governor's Raj through Section 93 was obviously not his line. Rather an Indian Ministry, properly groomed, would be just the ideal thing for Clive Street and also to face the popular unrest in the country.

With their 25 key votes inside the Assembly, holding the balance between the League Ministry and the Congress Opposition, the European Group, through Gladding, their Leader and Stark, their Chief Whip, have started backstairs intrigues for Ministry-making.

Europeans' Terms

The terms to the League included reshuffling for an All-Parties' Ministry with a fair share of Nazimuddin's men, whom Clive Street could safely trust; secondly, a strong Government with police and the military reinforced; thirdly, a bold Labour policy to stamp out industrial unrest.

To the Congress Opposition, the Europeans sent similar terms, it is understood, through D. P. Khaitan, Birla's man in Bengal: All-Parties' Ministry with Nazimuddin's men; retention of a strong administration which means more police and military; and as for Labour policy, the Europeans in the House had already urged the Bengal Ministry to emulate the Labour policy of the Congress Minist-

ries in Bombay and Madras.

Throughout the war, it was the Clive Street and the Governor who sabotaged every effort at United Ministry, for they knew they would be hit most by such a Ministry. Today they have so placed themselves at a vantage point that they themselves are trying their hardest to get it. They know that any Ministry, whether a Coalition or one-party dependent on them cannot but serve their interest.

But while the Europeans are thus trying to fish in troubled waters, our leaders, instead of exposing them, are themselves getting caught in their net.

Leaders Fall In Line

The League started its "Direct Action" with an elaborate fanfare of fighting the British. But the most militant of Bengal's "Direct Actioners," Nazimuddin, shamelessly thundered at the mass rally on August 16, "The real enemy of Pakistan is Congress, and the British are today being intimidated by Congress."

Suhrawardy, while issuing joint peace appeals and touring the city in joint peace squads, had no scruple in almost simultaneously telling the foreign Press correspondents that the Calcutta carnage was the work of the Hindu Congress forgetting all the blood and thunder that was kept in store for British Government on the "Direct Action" day.

Suhrawardy's men today whisper that the Governor rejected his call for armed help to stop the disturbances, Maulana Akram Khan, Bengal League President, complains in his paper Azad about inadequate police and military arrangements on the 16th and the 17th. But as yet not one single League leader has had the guts to throw the blame openly on the Governor.

Sarat Bose is equally obliging. In the first four days he saw the Governor "four times on my own initiative." Repeated visits were paid to Government House where he begged for more troops. He complimented the notorious ICS Governor of Sind for "he did take a strong attitude." He rang up the Viceroy over and over again imploring him to come down to Calcutta, and when Wavell actually arrived Sarat Babu was there at the aerodrome to greet him.

And yet in the joint "peace squad," Sarat Babu objected to the Red flag being taken and thereby did not care to recognize that it alone, of all the three flags, helped to keep Calcutta's fifteen lakhs of workers away from the embers of the civil war.

Road To Disaster

No warning voice has yet been raised in Bengal either from the League or from the Congress against the secret European intrigues for Ministry-making. For the people of Bengal, a Ministry so formed with Clive Street backing will spell a disaster worse than the welter of blood through which they have just passed.

C. P. Lawson in a speech on August 26 demanded the arrest of "all goondas" whatever their creed or politics. No one should be permitted to use the plea of 'patriotic intentions' to screen actions which were no more than brutal banditry." The word used is 'goonda' but the meaning is plain: it is the declaration of war upon all political workers.

"Bold" Labour Policy

With more police and military on the plea of quelling disturbances will come the smashing up of all popular demonstrations that have stirred Bengal in recent months. Capital, the organ of Clive Street, called for a strong administration "to prevent political or communal exuberance again degenerating into anarchy."

For the bosses of Bengal's industries, a "bold" Labour policy executed at their bidding means the ruthless suppression of the rising strike-wave in which lakhs of workers and babus are participating today; the fight against victimisation and wage-outs, for dearness allowance and trade-union rights, which, as it has grown in volume and tempo, has built a mighty unity of Hindu and Muslim toiling masses, is today threatened to be steam-rolled.

Ruining The Kisans

The fate of millions of East Bengal kisans is linked up with the fight for a rise in raw jute prices for which many Muslim MLAs from East Bengal are fighting and against which are ranged the jute kings with the whole host of middlemen.

Now with a Ministry of their choice these blood-suckers, bent upon maximum profit, will have their own way, keeping the jute price as low as possible, and thus threatening Bengal's jute-growing kisans with total ruin.

For the 7000 dead in Calcutta we are apt to indict our own brothers, both Hindus and Muslims, and miss the White Sahibs whose unseen hands prepared the way to this carnage and who are now trying to reap a rich harvest out of it.

And in this fiendish conspiracy, they have abettors from among the leaders in our own camps who—not blindly but openly—preach hatred against each other and ally themselves with the White Sahibs, deserting the mighty battle for bread and freedom that our great people—Hindus and Muslims—are jointly fighting.

September 2.

Reckless Police Firing In Amalner

(Continued from Page 1)

through the city (total number of workers in the mill is only 3,200).

It terminated in a mass rally near the office of the Communist Party. Barbers, scavengers, school students, agricultural women labourers—all attended the meeting. Immediately the people sat down, armed and lathi police cut off their escape routes on all sides.

Narvane, Secretary of the District Communist Party, got up to speak. He had hardly spoken for four minutes when the D.S.P. pulled him down and arrested him. The workers were indignant at this outrage and Shripat Patil got up on the table to address them.

This was a signal for the D. S.P. Shouting, "This is our enemy," he rushed at Patil and attacked him. Workers rushed to save their leader from police lathis. The D.S.P. fell on the ground, and at once he ordered firing.

Immediately constables pounced on Patil and firmly held him by the hands while their cowardly boss took aim and fired two shots at Patil's breast at point-blank range.

With murder in his eyes, the brute now levelled his pistol at Mrs. Vijaya Bhagwat, a local Communist leader. He even pulled the trigger but could not

kill HER. A worker who saw this dastardly act just managed to push her aside. Vijaya was saved by a split second. But her heroic saviour paid too dearly for it. The murderer's bullet claimed his life instead!

Meanwhile his 20 armed police fired for the kill, of course, without any previous warning. When their thirst for blood was somewhat quenched, they stopped firing and cordoned off the area.

For 20 minutes they would neither attend to the wounded themselves nor allow the workers to do this elementary duty by humanity. By the time they left, the bleeding had very nearly done a number of the wounded to death.

At the hospital the iron frame of Patil's battled against death for 12 hours. But the bullets which had burst inside in the end claimed their victim.

People's Homage

Next morning, 15,000 people defied the ban and marched in the funeral procession. As Patil's body lay there, over 25,000 citizens of Amalner (total population about 45,000), men and women, came to pay their last homage to this great son of the city. There was complete hartal in the city. Twelve thousand including about 4,000 women—Muslims, Untouchables, workers of every profes-

sion, teachers, marchants, college students—listened to the leaders of all parties, Congress, League, Communist, Congress Socialist, paying their tributes to the dead hero. Everyone of them sharply condemned this massacre and demanded immediate enquiry.

Madhav Gotu, Congress MLA from Chopra, assured the citizens that he would do his best to get an enquiry ordered into this carnage.

No New Clothes

As a token of their sharing the grief of their worker brothers, Mirza Sahob, President of the local League, called on Amalner's Muslim population not to put on new clothes on 'Id Day' but wear their old ones.

Significantly enough, four hours after Patil and his co-workers were murdered, the Labour Commissioner wired to the Union asking them if they "were prepared for arbitration in the dispute." There could not have been a more cruel case of adding insult to injury. The Union all along had been asking only for arbitration.

If only Nanda had ordered the Labour Commissioner to send this wire a few hours earlier, it would have saved all the butchery that has tarnished in deepest black the Ministry's record of "Labour service!"

BIGGEST YET MOVEMENT FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT.

State Handed Over To Military: Savage Repression

News has just come from Alwar that over 300 Prajamandal workers have been thrown into jail. Section 144 has been extended to five miles round about the capital. Newspapers—their printers, publishers and editors—have been warned not to print any news of the Prajamandal movement for one month. Presses in the State have been ordered not to print any leaflet, etc., for the Prajamandal. Alwar Patrika has been asked to furnish a security of Rs. 2,500 for printing news of the movement. Belongings of the Prajamandal—such as motor-car, loud-speaker, etc., costing several thousands—have been confiscated.

THE State Army having point-blank refused to fire on the people, brutal lathi-charges are taking place dozens of times every day and in every centre of the movement.

On the 27th alone 60 persons were wounded in Alwar, 25 of whom had to be removed to hospital in serious condition.

In Rajgarh—the arm of an important worker, Sjt. Phool Chand, was broken; Sjt. Roshanlal, another leader, had his head split and the fingers of Sjt. Ramesh Chand were crushed.

Hundreds of women and children are being thrown into lorries and taken to from five to 50 miles in the jungles and left there. On the 26th alone, this treatment was meted out to about 200 persons.

What little rule of law existed has ceased. Police and army officials have the run of the State with unfettered freedom to deal with the movement just as they like.

Now it is reported that the State has sent for armies from British India to suppress the movement, and the Prajamandal is going to be declared illegal.

This is the third time in the recent past that popular revolt has flared up in Alwar

Previous Revolts

● In February last, on the eve of a big Kisan Conference at Khera Mandal (in Alwar), the authorities scared by the vast awakening of the people, struck at the leaders in a bid to nip the movement in the bud. Ten hours before the Conference, on February 2, 43 leaders of the kisans and the Prajamandal all over Alwar were rounded up.

Yet the Kisan Conference was held. Fifteen thousand kisans under the presidency of Pandit Prithwinath defied the armed police, and held their Conference.

Apart from the kisans, students, women, members of the Bar Association, teachers and I.N.A. men, had also joined in to protest against the autocratic rule. There was complete hartal in the whole State for two days.

The leaders had to be released.

● In April, the authorities tried to crush the renewed awakening of the Meo peasants—a large Muslim tribe of kisans having extremely militant traditions of struggle. (In 1932, they had cost the then Raja Jai Singh his throne).

Twelve of their leaders were arrested. Martial Law was declared in scores of villages and machine-guns were mounted on the hills guarding the capital against any attack.

These leaders too were released.

● In the same month, the State decided to launch yet another attack on the people.

This time the unanimously-elected President of the Alwar Municipal Board, Sjt. Kashi Ram, a prominent leader of the Prajamandal, was removed from office by the Army Minister because Sjt. Kashi Ram had not attended the Birthday

It was discontent against these provocative action of the authorities as well as against the demand for Responsible Government in the State that burst out on August 24.

Two weeks earlier, the students and people of Alwar had taken out processions and observed hartal to celebrate the 9th of August.

The State attacked the people by a large number of arrests. Three leading workers of the Prajamandal, Messrs. Ram Swarup, Ramjilal and Bala Prasad, were also thrown into jail. Police and military were posted in several Government high schools.

Movement Starts

The Prajamandal decided to observe August 24 as "Responsible Government Day." A programme of hartal, processions, meetings, burning of effigies of the "Irresponsible Government," was announced. It was further decided to launch a "Civil-Disobedience" movement after some time.

The response to this announcement among the people was tremendous. Hund-

reds of men and women of all classes began to enrol as satyagrahis. Students all over the State declared their intention to throw in their lot with the struggle. Hundreds of policemen and teachers of the Government high schools announced that they would resign their jobs and join the movement. Jathas began to be prepared in the villages far and near.

Authorities Attack

The authorities tried to forestall the movement. So on the 21st—three days before the "Responsible Government Day"—they struck. All the important leaders of the Prajamandal, including its Vice-President, Sjt. Bhawan Sahai, were arrested. Section 144 was declared in Alwar and the army was called into the capital.

Officials went round the bazars threatening shopkeepers that their licenses would be cancelled if they took part in the hartal.

Yet on the 24th there was complete cessation of activities and unprecedented demonstrations took place throughout the

State. Twenty-five people were arrested in Alwar alone on that day and in the course of half a day, there were six lathi charges on the crowds. But the people were defiant and undaunted.

By the 25th the flames of the movement spread far and wide.

Three days have passed since then. Most wanton repression has been let loose throughout the State and into distant countryside, where there is no ban, yet the police is beating up people, breaking their meetings and demonstrations.

But the people are far from cowed down.

Entire People Rise Up

To fill in the place of the arrested leaders and workers, women, students and others are marching in from the mofussil centres (like Tiraja, Rajgarh, Khairthal, Maudhan, Harsauli etc.,) and villages in an unending chain. Some of the important leaders like Sjt. Shobha Ram, President of the Prajamandal, are guiding the movement from underground. And the news has come in that the 300 clerks of the State Secretariat have decided to join the struggle.

The entire States people are rising in revolt and now the decrepit butchers are planning to bring in reinforcements from British India.

The people of British India must prevent the Alwar people from being stabbed from behind.

by
Our Correspondent

Durbar of the Ruler and did not cooperate with the Government on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit to the State! The local District Magistrate was nominated in his place.

Soon, however, the authorities had to remove the nominated District Magistrate and assure the Prajamandal that Sjt. Kashi Ram, who was in jail, would be released. Another Prajamandal leader was elected as the President of the Municipal Board.

SIR C. P.'S HOAX BEING CALLED OFF

Hungry And Suffering People Of Travancore Rise Up

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, these days calls himself a big reformer, a progressive and a nationalist.

In January last, under his aegis, Travancore State announced new reforms.

THE most outstanding features of these reforms are that;

● The Legislature cannot touch or interfere with "the status and property of the sovereign and members of his family," "external and political relations" of the State, "and the management and control of... armed forces."

● "The executive administration of the State will be conducted by the Dewan.... Neither the Dewan nor any member of the Executive Government will be removable by a vote of the Legislature."

The Dewan will be the sole and unquestioned arbiter of the fate of the sixty lakhs of people.

"It will be open to him as the head of the administration to address or send messages (which the members will have no right to question) to the Legislature or to advise the Legislature and initiate particular items of legislation or financial measures. He will be further entitled" to veto "any decision or legislation made or passed by either of, or both, the Houses."

Bogus Reforms

These "reforms" were trumpeted about in columnfuls by the API which is reported to be paid Rs. 25,000/- every year from the State for such services.

The Legislature, strangely enough, was not allowed to discuss the tall claims made in these reforms.

"As it was a matter affecting Royal Prerogative, discussion on which was beyond the competence of... the House!" (sic!)

Amendments proposed by the members of the State Congress were summarily ruled out and the State Congress had to stage a walk-out.

Now, following on the heels of these reforms, Sir C. P. Ramaswami has made a few

more pronouncements for the benefit of his gullible friends!

He was presenting the tenth budget of his regime. Commenting on that, on July 20, he declared that the progress made by Travancore had no parallel in India.

"The only parallel," he said, "to the progress made by the Travancore State during the last ten years is to be found in the USSR."

The important features of this "unparalleled progress," which has increased the income of the State from two crores to eight crores during Sir. C. P.'s regime, are:

*The "excise" duty wrung from the "sale of intoxicants" to the poorest sections of the people in the State, has grown to 157 lakhs from 23 lakhs in the last ten years!

*The land revenue has been increased from rupees 41 lakhs to two crores, i.e., by 400 per cent. The kisan has been sucked dry by the State. The result is that there has not been even the slightest increase in the productivity of land in the last ten years. In 1936 the State produced 40 per cent of its food. Today also it produces only 40 per cent of its needs!

Selling The State

*The forest revenue of the State has been increased from rupees 13 lakhs in 1936 to one crore in 1946, by allowing the British masters to entrench themselves perpetually in the State. The entire valuable forest reserves of the State have been sold off to them, depriving the kisans even of their ordinary needs of wood to make huts, etc.

*Apart from the forest, almost everything else of importance has been sold off to British imperialists. Monopoly of tea plantations is in the hands of Kannan Devan & Co.; major part of the coir industry—the most important industry of the

State—is controlled by Pierce Leslie, Goodacre William, and other English concerns. The aluminium factory is owned by the Canadians and the newly-started fertiliser plant is also foreign-owned.

*On the expenditure side, one of the most important items is the building of a huge aerodrome in the State as a part of the imperialist plan for the States! The initial layout of this aerodrome is alone going to cost 12 lakhs!

Behind the facade of Sir C. P.'s brave and pompous "reforms" and pronouncements is the attempt to hide the reality of the mounting wave of people's struggles in the State and the ugly reign of undiluted autocracy that has been installed there by him.

Is This Democracy?

Today throughout Travancore, meetings are banned, processions and demonstrations have been outlawed, shouting of slogans is illegal, and the cry of "Inquilab Zindabad" is punishable under the Criminal Procedure Code. The Communists as the most consistent fighters against the Dewan's autocracy are the special butt of Sir. C. P.'s attack. Half a dozen of their leaders are in jail; 12 are under trial; the Secretary of the Travancore State Committee of the Communist Party is being prosecuted for a speech; the Conference of the Party has been banned; classes—study classes—conducted by the Party have been prohibited.

The Communists throughout the State are shadowed by special police day and night, they have no freedom of movement.

Today there are 30 political and trade union workers in jail. They are not regarded as political. Answering a question in the Legislature, Sir C. P.—who is the irremovable President—said, they had been punished under Indian Penal Code and were therefore criminals!

Last month there were big hunger-marches in Sir C. P.'s "model state."

On July 2, five hundred poor hungry peasants—men, women

and children—from neighbouring villages marched on Trivandrum—the capital of the State, with the slogans: "Give us rice," "We do not want Dewan's rule," and "Inquilab Zindabad."

Sir C. P. has been boasting and his hiring agencies have broadcast the news—that Travancore has given a lead to the whole of India by introducing total rationing.

The fact is that for months no one in the State has received more than 40 per cent of the allotted ration. Recently this quota was further reduced—instead of five measures of rice, the people were to get only two measures!

Workers, Kisans Revolt

It was against this that the kisans were demonstrating.

The procession was unsuccessfully tried to be stopped. Later six of their leaders were arrested and are being prosecuted for taking out an "illegal" procession!

On July 22, there was a still bigger hunger march, when over 2,000 working people from the coir factories paraded the streets of Alleppy and Vaikam.

And now over 2½ lakhs of workers from Parur to Allepy on the Western Coast are on strike against the food and industrial (retrenchment and wage-cut) policy of the State. Symptomatic perhaps of what is happening in the whole of the State, is the following incident which took place in Trivandrum on August 16.

Punalur (a place 60 miles north-east of Trivandrum) Paper Mill workers have been on strike for some time. They sent batches to Trivandrum to put their demands before the representatives in the Legislature. Four such batches were arrested.

To protest against this, a meeting was called. In spite of the ban and prohibitory orders thousands of workers and townspeople gathered. Police cordoned off the whole maidan. Yet a huge meeting was held.

C. S. George Domms, the Communist leader of Trivandrum, opened the meeting with the slogan "Down with the Dewanship." The police pounced upon him and dragged him to their van. The huge mass of people surged forward towards the van. The police turned round and a most brutal lathi-charge followed. Scores of people were injured, including Unni, a boy of thirteen, whose arm was seriously wounded.

Instead of frightening the people, the incident has only steeled them more. And now the whole of the State is resounding with the demands of food, employment, civil liberties, United Kerala and "Quit Travancore."

COMMUNAL RIOT BURSTS OUT IN BOMBAY

Curfew, Troops Called In

(By A. S. R. Chari.)

Riots broke out in Bombay on Sunday, September 1, at 4 p.m. A quiet Direct Action Day and a peaceful Id, had led people to believe that immediate trouble had been averted, though rabid elements on both sides were busy for several days making preparations and flinging challenges for a show-down.

It came when in response to the League leader Liaquat Ali's statement, Muslims in Golpitha, a mixed locality, hoisted black flags in the afternoon of September 1, and exhibited shoes and brooms, to show their contempt for the new Interim Government. Big tricolours came out triumphantly, defiantly and before long the followers of both had come to a clash.

Who struck the first blow was a question that lost all meaning in a situation where each crowd was wanting to vent its wrath on the other.

News spread like wild fire, and frenzied crowds of Hindus and Muslims, each in their area, set upon stray unsuspecting passersby of the other community and brutally beat or stabbed them to death.

On Falkland Road, a Muslim area, I saw two Hindus who had been stabbed lying on the road writhing in agony and on Sandhurst Road, six stray Muslims were set upon and beaten or stabbed to death.

In both cases, the acts were done in full sight of the people residing in the neighbourhood who stood in the balconies and looked on without disapproval or disgust. At street corners there were gangs full of lust for blood.

Police came on the scene without much delay but within the first two hours the death roll was above 30 and the number of injured over 150.

Joshi's Statement

P. C. Joshi was the first to issue a statement reminding the people of the glorious traditions of the united struggle of the R.I.N. mutiny, that freedom had yet to be won and that by such mutual killing only the common enemy benefitted and the common people suffered and died for no purpose. (See box).

Most of the nationalist papers did not publish the statement. Some who did cut off the vital portions.

Immediate steps were taken by the Party to set squads in motion and prevent the riot fever from spreading to the working-class areas.

Through a common friend, our Party tried to get S. K. Patil, President of the B.P.C.C., and Chundrigar, President of the Provincial League, to bring out jointly a van, with both Congress and League flags, calling on the people to check this rioting. But our efforts proved fruitless.

League and Congress volunteers functioned in their areas, but confined themselves to escorting marooned Muslims and Hindus to safe areas.

Curfew was imposed from 7 p.m. to 6-30 a.m., but it was already clear that the riots had broken out in a big way and that police and military action could at best prevent only mass murders as in Calcutta.

The Second Day

The second day, after withdrawal of curfew, tension mounted higher.

In the working-class areas, however, things were normal and mills worked as usual, only the trams were running at long intervals of two or three hours. The mills in the Madanpura area, Mulmul, Hindustan, Bradbury, Khatau and Simplex were closed.

In the morning the Free Press published a report that Morarji Desai had directed the police to take 'stern steps'.

It was the day of assumption of the Interim Government, and

in border areas, a battle of flags and slogans had begun, accompanied by stone-throwing.

On the Hindu side the main slogan was 'Rashtriya Sarkar Amar Ho', (Long Live the National Government), on the Muslim side it was 'Fateh Pakistan, Bate Hindustan' (To Pakistan, Victory! To Hindustan — Division!).

Stray lootings of Hindu and Muslim shops, clashes between rival mobs and even firing took place. The tempo of attacks had been maintained and by 4 p.m. the total number of injured was reported to be over 300.

P. C. Joshi issued an appeal to all Party members and sympathisers to immediately come forward to donate their blood for transfusion because the hospitals were running short of their blood reserves.

48-Hour Curfew

By evening the Government decided to impose a 48-hour curfew. The areas thus put under the most rigorous conditions were mainly Muslim and just a few patches of mixed border areas. Military was posted everywhere, and armed police enforced the curfew.

These iron conditions, the show of police and military might, and the keen resentment that Hindu areas were free from such humiliating conditions, were in the main responsible for the trouble spreading to other areas, and for the first

time to the working-class areas.

Firing was resorted to twice in the night which embittered Muslims all the more.

The Third Day

The third day did not bring in any easing of the tension. No joint efforts were made by the Congress and the League to check the riot situation. The League leaders kept mum. The Congress leaders believed that the riots would continue for some time but would ultimately quieten down under stronger police and military measures.

But far from quietening, the situation worsened. Throughout the day, the Muslims, who were now led to believe that all these measures were 'Hindu Congress oppression' over Muslims, tried repeatedly to break the curfew ring and carry the war into Hindu areas. The Hindus were seen as the main enemy and the police and military as forces that hindered them from getting at the enemy.

Pitched Battles

Pitched battles between Hindus and Muslims, mainly with soda-water bottles, stones and brickbats, were fought at Juma Masjid, Umerkhadi and Kalachowki. The police was also attacked at Pinjara Lane and Zakariah Masjid.

At Zakariah Masjid, a big crowd of Muslims attempted to break the military cordon and rush into the Hindu area of Mandvi. The police van was stoned heavily and there was military firing.

An idea of the way things were developing could be had from the fact that firing was resorted to in more than 15 places and 103 rounds are admitted to have been fired. The police headquarters radioed all heads of police stations to take

A BLACK DAY FOR BOMBAY

P. C. Joshi On Outbreak Of Riot In City

Bombay, Sept. 1

P. C. Joshi, General Secretary, Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement to the Press:

It is a black day for Bombay. Stray stabbings have begun, and tension is increasing. Bombay must not become another Calcutta on any account. Whatever our differences, only our common enemy, British imperialism, will gain out of it, our common people alone will suffer. Which way Bombay goes depends upon the action of every one of us.

The Communist Party appeals to all Bombay citizens to keep their heads cool and high and in no case yield to provocation however great. We appeal to all political parties and above all, to local Congress and League leaders to themselves lead 'joint peace squads,' ally panic among the people and appeal for brotherly peace at all costs. It will immediately tone up morale and scotch the mischief.

We appeal to the Press to refrain from recrimination and help to educate their readers to fight rumour-mongering, resist panic and go in for rescue work.

We are doing our best in the working-class areas not to let the flames of fratricidal war invade and divide the workers. But everyone of us can do his bit and best wherever one lives and works.

Let Bombay citizens, both Hindus and Muslims, derive their self-confidence in this hour of gloom from the united glory of the R.I.N. mutiny in our great city and get our strength and will from the realisation that the final struggle for independence has yet to be fought and together.

'stringent measures'

At 9 in the night, I and other Pressmen went in a bus arranged by the Director of Information with a police guard, with rifles outpointed menacingly. We could only see evidence of past battles. At Umerkhadi, 80 persons were rounded up and sat huddled there but the officer-in-charge, Deputy Commissioner Lyons, would not allow us even to have a word with the men.

Fire-Balls

At Kalachowki, we were able to see a stone battle in progress. From the Hindu houses, a shower of stones would come, replied by the Muslims, who are in a very small minority here. A new feature in the riots is the throwing of fire-balls, a bundle of cloth dipped in oil set on fire and thrown on roof-tops of rival houses. I saw one such thrown by Hindus on Muslim houses at Kalachowki and another thrown by Muslims at Golpitha.

That police measures and the 24-hour curfew had not solved the problem was clear from the day's casualties. There were

more killed and less injured on the third day than on the first, though the firing by the police and military accounted for quite a few deaths.

By the third day, the riot was spreading. Ghodapdeo, Victoria Gardens, saw pitched battles, and at Parel there was a stabbing case.

At the time of writing, the fourth day has dawned, after a disturbed night. In the night there were frequent shouts of Allah-Ho-Akbar and screams from Hindu houses nearby. It was a war of nerves. There were also sounds of gunfire heard.

Reactions

The reaction of the people generally is that such things are not desirable but are inevitable.

There has been a case reported of Muslims using an ambulance for carrying missiles of warfare, knives and stones. There have been two cases of Congress volunteers who had stored up stones and brickbats in their homes in Mandvi area.

But the general popular reaction is that of a Bohri trader who had to get off the bus at Bori Bunder and walk to Crawford Market. He said in evident disgust and fright, "What fine leaders we have! They have made all life impossible. An honest man can't walk on the streets in peace."

Blood-Donations

The squad of 13 which went from our Party headquarters to the J. J. Hospital to donate their blood on Tuesday was the first batch to respond to P. C. Joshi's call.

After that 12 girls of the Bombay Students' Union (affiliated to the A.I.S.F.) went this morning, and the quiet brave way in which they gave their blood won loud praises from the J. J. Hospital authorities. The second batch from the Party headquarters went today.

As we gave our blood and were waiting for the ambulance to take us back, another batch arrived from the F.S.U.

Despite repeated appeals by the Congress House and frequent visits of the van there, the doctors complained no donors had come. The League also had promised to send donors but none came.

The Congress House has called on the people to organise themselves for self-defence, because the police might not be promptly available for protection. There is, however, no appeal to stop all individual killing.

Mr. Jinnah is reported to have told a foreign correspondent that Calcutta and Bombay are the 'consequences' of the bypassing of the League in the formation of the Interim Government. Congress leaders say that only 'stern measures' will put it down. Meanwhile, the common people suffer, the common enemy has a free hand, and the situation worsens.

— N. K. Krishnan

September 4.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

New Delhi Blimps Panicky

OUR exposures in this column of the G.H.Q.'s behind-the-scenes preparations to meet "Indian unrest" have rattled the Blimps of New Delhi. A reader has sent me the latest G.H.Q. secret news circular. The first item is headed "Security of Documents and Information" and under it is the following tell-tale confession:

"Recent publications in some of the Bombay papers point towards a grave leakage from security documents. The Communist weekly paper People's Age has published a series of articles quoting secret and confidential documents."

Yes, I can tell the Blimps that this series will go on in our columns till the last of them is made to quit India and there is no one left who will dare to plan "security measures" for India against the Indians.

The graver the "leakage" for the G.H.Q. Blimps, the better our people shall be forewarned about the enemy's new conspiracy against our freedom.

Clumsy Lies

IT is only a week since the S.I.R. strike began—yet the railway bosses' lie campaign has already reached fever heat.

The S.I.R. has about 48,500 employees. When the S.I.R. Labour Union gave the strike notice, the bosses said that only the Communists would go on strike, that it would fizzle out at the very start, and so on and so forth.

The strike began on the midnight of August 24.

On August 25, the bosses told the API that at most a bare 30 per cent are likely to be affected and the API faithfully splashed this across all over India.

On the 26th, the bosses said that figures of strikers could not be given because the strike "began on a Sunday!"

On the 27th, they said, "It is probable" that some "15,000 men are absent from work."

On the 28th, they declared categorically that the actual number of men who struck on August 25 was 20,000. They added at the same time that the "situation is improving." (1)

On the 29th, they gave out that the latest reports show that the number on strike on the first day was 20,000—and added "Further report may show that this figure is still underestimated." (1)

And all the time, of course, day after day, we were being told with unchanging optimism that the "Situation is improving steadily."

Remember Postal Strike

To add "realism" to this whole story, the latest masala the railway bosses have added is—that they have begun running goods and passenger trains to all over the line!

My mind, as I was reading all this instinctively went back to the days of the postal strike. If Krishna Prasad and his New Delhi bosses were to be believed those days, the postal strike too had fizzled out even before it began—and every day, we were told, most of our mails were being delivered regularly and "the situation was improving steadily!"

It is the same story today with S.I.R. strike—and its worth is the same. The henchmen of the Railway Board are frantically trying to hide from the all-India public the fact that over 40,000 workers of the S.I.R. out of a total staff of 48,500 are on strike

today; and over nine stations in 10 on the S.I.R. have been completely sealed up.

You have only to read the latest facts as revealed by our Madras Correspondent, elsewhere in this issue, to see the big and dangerous joke about the "passenger and goods trains" which the S.I.R. bosses are supposed to be running today.

Fizzled Out?

You will also want to ask why—when, according to S.I.R. Manager Reynolds and Congress Premier Prakasam, the strike had fizzled out already at its very start—the police is entering railway workers' homes in Madras and terrorising the womenfolk to send their husbands back to work; and why, within the first week of the strike itself over 160 worker-leaders have been arrested and over 200 seriously injured by lathi-charge.

The railway bosses dare put out such brazen lies only because our "Nationalist Press," throwing to the winds all traces of nationalism and even of truth, is systematically blacking out Union leaders' statements and has converted itself into a servile propaganda bureau of the imperial Railway Board; and because the Madras Congress Ministry has let itself be used as a cat's paw by the Railway Board to crush the railway workers and has handed over the whole show to the police bosses.

What they all forget, however, is that this is India of 1946, and the time is over when lies can crush workers' strikes and people's struggles in this country. The all-India postmen's strike showed us that clearly enough.

- ★ Dawn Of Freedom? No Quarrel With British!
- ★ Jihad! Jihad! But Against Congress
- ★ "Ace In The Hand" — Army and Riots

When the Interim Government was sworn in on September 2 in New Delhi it was greeted by a wave of jubilation by the entire Congress-minded India. A blaze of Tricolours, festoons of flowers and fruits and illuminations greeted the event in almost every town despite the instructions of the Congress High Command not to celebrate it.

BUT almost every town also saw black flag demonstrations — festoons of old shoes, brooms, in its Muslim areas and bazars in pursuance of the call of the General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Bombay was already in the grip of a communal riot with 90 dead and 500 wounded. The British imperialist Press and publicists have also congratulated the Congress but have cynically pointed to the gathering clouds of civil war and slyly suggested that, after all, the benefits of imperialist rule and army cannot be so easily dispensed with.

Illusions And Reality

The Congress leaders speak as if with the formation of the Interim Government, the British imperialists began divesting themselves of power:

"The door of Purna Swaraj has at last been opened... Whatever our past quarrels with the British Government, we must thank them now for they have come to a willing understanding with the leaders." (Gandhiji, 2-9-46).

In the same prayer speech Gandhiji spoke about "communal harmony":

"The Ministers will have to live and die for it. No military aid, not even police aid, must be sought by them... So long as they relied upon British arms to protect them there could be no real freedom."

But almost at the very time when these words were being spoken the Bombay Congress Ministry was seeking the active intervention of the British military to crush the disturbances which followed the black flag demonstrations called by the Muslim League leadership.

The Madras Congress Ministry was taking the active help of the military and the police to crush the just strike of 40,000 South Indian Railway workers.

It appears that the "willing understanding with leaders" has nothing to do with "opening the door of Purna Swaraj."

On the contrary, the understanding seems to be for the crushing of the workers' struggles which form a vital part of our freedom movement. The understanding seems to be for the "impartial" military intervention in the communal disturbances which generally inflame the evil all the more.

Inexorable Logic

We have only to turn to the undisguised comments of cer-

tain Hindi papers of well-known pro-Congress vested interests. Birla's *Bharat* (Allahabad) writes:

"Interim Government shall have to get prepared to crush the violence and bloodshed that Leaguers plan... for peace and orderly Government it is very necessary that a drastic policy is adopted against goondashahi and that the League be, if necessity arises, declared illegal." (28-8-46)

Vishwamitra of Bombay says: "The threats of the League, the disorders of Ambedkarites, and Communists' acts that spoil the situation, will definitely not be tolerated." Despite what Gandhiji might say in his prayerful sermons,

the official policy of the Congress in practice is to use the British guns to crush the reactionary Muslim League revolt. To many it appears to be the only logical and inevitable course which must ultimately succeed in calling off the League's bluff.

Actually, this is a most dangerous policy which will result not in putting out the flames of the civil war ignited by the League leadership but only in pouring oil into it. It will make the task of winning away the Muslim League masses from the communal reactionary policy of its leadership not easy but more difficult.

Direct Action

The League leadership is equally determined to go to any length in its policy of inciting "civil war."

The League Secretary gave the provocative call for black flag demonstration to protest against the setting up of the Interim Government by the Congress, although he must have known that such a call must

lead to repetition of Calcutta in other cities.

Mr. Jinnah, though he again and again reiterates that the "direct action" has not yet begun and that when it does begin it would take a peaceful form, goes on justifying each riot as a defensive action of the "100 million oppressed Muslims."

He is determined to keep on his fratricidal struggle until he gets the Congress to unequivocally agree to the undemocratic compulsory groupings of the Muslim majority Provinces as well as to all the other reactionary features of the British-made Constituent Assembly plan exactly as laid down in the State Paper of May 16.

Provocative Slogans

On September 1, Raja Ghazanfar Ali of the Punjab Muslim League, foreshadowed the most provocative slogans, e.g., "Scorch surplus food in the Punjab," social and political boycott of Hindus, and Muslims to resist Interim Government with blood.

Next day the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League resolved to open a register of Muslim resisters and gave the most disruptive call for forming separate Muslim workers' unions.

Altaf Husein, Editor of the premier Muslim League daily *Dawn*, contradicted Sir Ushanath Sen, who had declared on behalf of Indian journalists that they would give unstinted support to the Interim Government, and said that the Leaguers while objectively reporting the Interim Government will give unstinted support to any resistance movement aimed at its overthrow.

Against this background of open incitement to communal war, is it any wonder that Calcutta riots should be followed by Bombay riots and by riots in several other cities?

The Congress leadership too takes civil war as inevitable and is equally determined to put it down by using the strategic position of the Interim Government and the British army and police. They have an equally pathetic faith in the British-made Constituent Assembly by the aid of which they hope to get united and independent India!

It is the British imperialists who smile contentedly at the turn of events. They know that while the Congress and League leaderships are grapp-

REPRESSION UNDER CONGRESS MINISTRIES

THE story of the measures taken by the Congress Ministries to deal with the demands of labour and the strike-struggle arising out of them reveals a ghastly tale of brutal suppression of strikes, civil liberties, denial of just rights, and open help to the vested interests to crush working-class resistance.

The Congress Ministries opened their regimes with warnings against "illegal" strikes and with wordy assurances to workers about their good intentions in future. But the real face of their policy was clearly seen within a fortnight of their assumption of power.

In the Province of Bombay, they started with resorting to Section 144 in almost every strike, even when it was legal and satisfied even the meticulous requirements of the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act.

The culmination of this policy was reached in the ghastly and vindictive massacre of Amalner, a small industrial town in East Khandesh district. At Amalner the workers were forced to come on strike and fight the victimisation of one of the workers.

The strike was legal and was resorted to after the Conciliation procedure, laid down under the Bombay Industrial Disputes Act passed by the last Ministry, had been gone through. And yet on the next day of the strike the district authorities proclaimed Section 144 prohibiting all meetings.

The Tragedy Of Amalner

The Home Minister refused to withdraw Section 144 and the Labour Minister declined to intervene. The workers, therefore, decided to hold a peaceful protest meeting against the promulgation of Section 144.

It was against this peaceful protest meeting that the local D.S.P. and his policemen opened fire killing nine and wounding more than sixty.

Nine killed and over sixty wounded, many of whom permanently disabled and deprived of the use of their limbs—this is the brutal record of the Ministerial regime in Amalner. It beats the record of the bureaucracy under the old regime who dared not shoot down so many workers even in a big general strike.

In the Province of Madras, the Prakasam Ministry pursues the same policy.

The most egregious display of brute force against the workers is seen in connection with the big South Indian Railway workers' strike.

Forty thousand workers are on strike. They are fighting a just battle against victimisation and treacherous attack by the White administration of the Railway Board. The workers are asking only for restoration of status quo and fighting against withdrawal of rights previously won.

Yet the Prakasam Ministry has lent its full support to the White boss of the S.I.R., Mr. Reynolds, and given free license to the police to crush the strike. The notorious Malabar Special Police has been drafted to suppress the workers.

In Madras and other places the police go into workers' chawls and intimidate the women workers to send their husbands to work.

The hated Section 144, prohibiting all meetings, is applied almost everywhere. There have been several lathi-charges, and according to the statement of the Union leaders no fewer than 290 have been injured and 160 arrested within the first week of the strike.

Lathi-charges, hundreds of arrests, Section 144, and terrorisation against workers conducting a peaceful and legal strike—this is the manner in which the Prakasam Ministry apes the old bureaucratic regime.

For Whose Freedom?

The time has come for the ordinary Congressman to ask the question for whose freedom has he been fighting? For whose rights and democracy has he borne jail, lathi-charges and firing? Has he done it to let loose the bureaucracy on the workers, and perpetuate the old reign of hunger or to instal the people in power and release them from the grip of hunger and starvation?

For let there be no doubt that imperialism is pretending to sue for peace and transfer power, precisely for the reason that it wants the help of the upper classes and the Congress leaders against the mass discontent which is growing from below. It expects the Interim Government and the Ministries to do its job of suppressing it.

Let no Congressman allow himself to be deluded by the cry of fighting the Communists. That cry today is one of fighting the rising forces of workers and peasants, of the people themselves, of the very people which made the Congress great.

That is why this policy represents a menace to the country's freedom and it is the business of every man to fight it and compel the Ministries to change their course. The united pressure of the working-class and the people must rescue the Ministries from the clutches of the vested interests who are striking a deal with British imperialism by working out the Cabinet Mission proposals.

For the workers the lesson is obvious. They will be called upon to fight bitter struggles against slander, against repression, against terror. The Communist Party will never let down the workers and the more courageously they fight for their demands the more quickly will their oppressors be defeated.

ling with each other in the flames of the civil war originally ignited by their devil's plan, it is they who hold the trump card in their hand, viz., the military!

"Ace in The Situation"

The Economist, mouthpiece of British finance capital, commenting upon the appointment of Sardar Baldev Singh as "War Minister" in the Interim Government, said it openly:

"This is the ace in the situation brought about by the transfer of political power (!) to the Congress for it keeps direct control of the armed forces out of the hands of either the Congress or the Muslim League.

The ace in the situation is the army and it remains British and that is the crux. Our special correspondent's exposure about the role of the British army in Calcutta riots (see page 2) shows how the imperialist army is trying to place itself before the Indians as the "saviour"!

This is where the bankrupt policies of the Congress and League leaderships are taking the country.

The common people, the workers and peasants who are waging heroic battles for bread and land and facing police repression, the peoples of the States who are battling against autocracy, all earnest revolutionaries and fighters for freedom, will be faced with the inescapable alternatives:

The Alternatives

- Is the Congress-manned Interim Government to be allowed to become a weapon in the hands of Imperialism to crush the growing revolutionary upsurge of the common people and the toiling masses?

- Is the Muslim League-fanned suicidal civil war frenzy to be allowed to disrupt every common struggle of workers and peasants and of the States peoples?

- Are the power-mad leaderships of both the Congress and the League to be allowed to pursue their compromising and disruptive policies till they smash the common revolutionary upsurge and set back the clock of freedom by another decade?

We Dip Our Red Banner

Shripat Patil

ON August 27, you fell a victim to police bullets under a Congress Ministry. With you fell eight other worker-leaders of Amalner, all heroes of the Red flag.

You and your comrades were murdered because you dared lead the workers and citizens of Amalner to protest against police zulum and assert their elementary democratic rights under a Ministry put in power by their own votes.

You died as heroically as you lived. Since the early age of 13 when you joined Congress satyagraha and were flogged, you gave your whole life for the freedom of the country and to lift the burden from the oppressed millions.

You came to Amalner at the age of 16 and started working in the mills for your living. For thirteen years since then, braving poverty and unemployment, bosses' victimisation and police repression, you toiled to take the Congress message to the villages of your district; you toiled to straighten the back of the workers of Khandesh and organised them under the Red flag, to fight for their rights.

The 15,000 strong demonstration in Amalner that paid the last homage to you on August 28—young and old, friend and foe, alike—was a worthy tribute to your heroic work as one of the greatest sons of Amalner, of Maharashtra.

You were one of the finest flowers of the working-class movement, and one of the worthiest sons of its Party, the Communist Party. The Party is proud of you; you lived, working for it, and leading it; you died an early death, defending its flag.

You are the symbol of the new humanity that is India today, the new humanity that was seen in action at the time of the glorious RIN mutiny, the new humanity of the heroic common man who does not flinch from facing imperialist bullets in defence of his rights, of democracy and freedom.

It is the efforts of you and of martyr-warriors like you that shall raise the banner of the Communist Party high in the land, that shall make the Communist Party a worthy weapon to lead our people's fight for freedom and for Socialism.

With clenched fists we pledge that the Party and every one of its members will loyally carry out your last wish which you uttered as you lay dying: "Defend the flag to the last"—the flag of the working-class, of freedom and Socialism—which you so well loved and for which you died.

—Central Committee Of The Communist Party Of India

WORKERS STAND FIRM -- BOSSES' LIES EXPOSED

Growing Public Support; MSM, BCCI Pledge Solidarity

Madras, 2nd Sept.

As on the first day of the strike, so today on its ninth day, J. F. C. Reynolds, General Manager of the S.I. Railway, is busy feeding the public with lies. Unfortunately the Nationalist Press is lapping up whatever comes from him without caring so much as to verify it and at the same time blacking out the Union's statements of facts.

TAKE any communique of the Management. You won't find any thing beyond such gems:

"There is a drift back to work"—"More staff have returned to work during the past 24 hours. More goods trains will be run"—"Additional through services from tomorrow"—"Situation is improving," etc.

Lies And Half-Truths

Scan them for definite news—how many trains are being run; how many men drifted back, etc., there will be no answer to that and there cannot be. For the reality is just the other way about.

They started saying that only 15,000 out of 48,500 men were on strike. They followed daily statements about "drift back to work" and yet all of a sudden on the 29th August came a communique which gave the figures of strikers as 20,600 and even "this figure, further reports may show, is still underestimated."

The Realities

What then is the real estimation? After a whirl-wind tour in the South, Nambiar, M.L.A. General Secretary of the S.I.R. Labour Union, and C. V. Nair, Secretary, Station Masters' Association, reported—

"Forty thousand out of 48,500 are on strike. In all places more and more station masters and clerks are coming out. Over 93 per cent of the mental staff are on strike. Beyond Pondaram in Kerala at all stations except three, all station masters have come out. South of Trichy too, the number of station masters on duty is extremely small.

"Between Tambaram and Chinglepet many stations are practically sealed off. At Trichy Junction, the entire staff of the C.E.C. Office, Congressmen, Congress Socialists, Communists and of the Dravid Kazhagam have come out."

The bubble about the running of passenger trains and goods trains was pricked by the announcements of the Management itself.

On August 29, when the arrests numbered 90, the bosses made an offer of selling tickets from Madras through journey. Simultaneously, however, came the warning, "These tickets are issued subject to the likelihood of the passengers being stranded in the intermediate stations." That was the meaning of the earlier announcement. "Through trains will stop only at important junctions."

To complete the story came later the announcement of running "a pilot train under escort followed by a skeleton train," and the suggestion that more trains could be run if more "protection" was forthcoming.

And after all this by the end of the first week, even according to the Management, only "72 trains were taken out." No reason was given why in spite of this "achievement," there was

by
Our Correspondent

no through train service. That these 72 trains were out of 1,400 was of course not mentioned! It was also not mentioned that this number included the short distance trains run with the help of highly-paid blacklegs, guards, drivers and others.

Nambiar and C. V. Nair issued a joint statement warning the public and the Management against this dangerous game of running trains without attending to the absolutely essential job of day-to-day repairs of the track, engines and the coaches. But, of course, the Management did not care a jot for a few thousand Indian lives. And if anything happened there was the bogey of "workers' attempt at sabotage" always ready to play upon!

Goods Trains Hoax
But how well even this service-worked carried out when, on the 29th August, the following news item appeared in the Press,

"Transport agencies have started today through passenger service between Madras and Trichinopoly, Madras and Jalapet and on a number of other sections, thereby providing alternative measures of transport between Madras and other Southern stations."

A word about the goods trains. They have become a big joke. Station coolies, porters and the

other staff who are to load and unload the wagons being on strike, the goods wagons are taken out empty, but of course not without the seals outside to give it a business touch.

Thus mails due on the 25th could not be delivered even on the 28th. At Dindigul, for example, merchants sent telegrams requesting the Management to settle up the strike quick as in spite of the latter's Press campaign, they were not in possession of their goods.

Whatever blacklegs the-bosses are able to gather together are finding life miserable despite the cash of the Management and the backing of the Ministry and its police.

Thus 25 Muslim blacklegs on 'Id Day' had to offer their prayers in the open as they were ashamed of showing their faces to the Muslim people, while 600 Muslim strikers celebrated their Id in mosque.

Citizens' Support

At Erode too the local Muslim League decided not to allow Muslim blacklegs to offer prayers in the mosque.

Against the Ministry's (and even Congress Socialist Aruna Asaf Ali's) condemnation of the strike, the vast masses of the working people and citizens of the Province and outside are standing four square behind the strikers.

At Bezwada on September 2, a big procession went round the town shouting "Down with Police Raj," "Hands off Workers' Rights".

Later, it terminated in a meeting 2,000 strong. It supported the S.I.R. workers strike in defence of their rights and condemned the Ministry's efforts at mass repression. It appealed to them to intervene on the side of the workers. Funds were collected in aid of the strikers.

Next day Bezwada's M.S.M. Railway workers held another meeting congratulating the

S.I.R. strikers on their fight. They also collected a relief fund.

At Tuticorin, under the auspices of 17 unions a public meeting was held to support the strike. At Vikramasingpuram workers struck work in sympathy with them. At Quilon a joint rally of all parties including the Prajamandalam was held. At Chinglepet the primary Muslim League and Dravid Kazhagam joined in a rally in support of the S.I.R. workers.

Looking upon the Management's offensive on the S.I.R. Board's challenge to nine lakh railway workers' the B.B. & C.I.

Railwaymen's Union has given a call for full support to these strikers "fighting a common battle" by holding meetings at all centres on the railway.

Already meetings have been held at Bombay, Baroda, Bulsar, Anand, Ahmedabad, Dohad, Godhra, etc.

Pledging the full support of the M.S.M. workers to this strike which is being fought for "vindicating the elementary trade-union rights vital for all workers". K. L. Narsinhham, General Secretary, M.S.M. Rly. Employees' Union, has appealed to all railwaymen for collection of relief fund "as an earnest of our fraternal solidarity."

'ADMINISTRATION RESPONSIBLE FOR S. I. R. STRIKE'

—Statement Of Madras TUC President

V. Chakkarai Chettiar, father of the Trade Union movement in the South and President of the Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress, in a statement says:

THE strike on the S. I. Railway which has now brought the entire transport system in the South to a standstill should be settled at an early date.

The responsibility for the strike is undoubtedly that of Mr. J. F. C. Reynolds, General Manager of S. I. Railway. He launched an attack on the S. I. Railway Labour Union by withdrawing the right of enquiry before dismissal of an employee.

Following this several leading trade-union functionaries and others have been dismissed. Repeated representations to him and the Ministry proved fruitless. As the only last resort and after due notice the workers have gone on strike.

The General Manager has been emboldened to take this course of attacking the Union only because he got the necessary police help from the Ministry. At Golden Rock a big contingent of Malabar Special Police has been intimidating the workers from the 23rd July.

Under these conditions no trade union can function. The S. I. Railway workers are fighting for the security of service and their trade union rights of representation, won after years of struggle.

The people must demand with one voice that the Ministry should not give police help to the S. I. Railway administration and that the workers' demands should be conceded.

I appeal to all trade unions in this province to see that the fight of the S. I. Rly. workers is their own. They should, through meetings and resolutions, move the Provincial Government in the matter.

I appeal to the Government to direct the S. I. Railway Agent to settle quickly with the Union leaders before things worsen.

ORGY OF REPRESSION ON S. I. R. STRIKERS

Workers' Wives Terrorised, Lathis On Funeral Procession

Madras, Sept. 2.

"Two hundred persons have been injured and 160 arrested so far. Police repression unbearable."—that was the Madras Ministry's record of repression in the first eight days of the strike on the S.I.Railway. It is horrible, but not yet the whole story.

AN orgy of repression has been let loose on railway workers, men and women. It started with the display of 1,000 of the notorious Malabar Special Police, in the strike of the 5,000 workers of the Golden Rock Workshop. Immediately lathi-charges became a routine matter.

As the general strike on the S.I.R started a frenzy for repression took hold of the police. Apart from prominent leaders of the S.I.R Labour Union like Purushottam and Raju, active Union members were arrested en masse to create terror.

Arrests And Beatings-Up

To quote a few cases: At Nattarasankottai four station masters were arrested. At Vikramasingpuram, P. C. Pillai, a prominent citizen, and seven others were arrested when the workers and the people observed a strike in sympathy with the S.I.R workers. At Dindigul, Quilon and Shivaganga, the police entered the railway colonies and beat up the workers.

But Golden Rock, the militant citadel of the Union, came in for special attention. Here, the Malabar Special Police sur-

SPECIAL COURT

● The police arrested last night (Sept. 2) fourteen more women. Some further arrests were made. A special court has been set up with a 2nd Class Magistrate at Golden Rock for the speedy disposal of cases.

● Seventeen women who were arrested on September 1 were sentenced yesterday to undergo imprisonment for one week. They were charged with shouting slogans and appealing for funds on behalf of the railway strikers.

rounded the railway colony and beat any worker who tried to get out of this seige. Then they entered the houses of leading workers and demanded that the leaders be handed over. Unfortunately for them the workers, far from getting panicky, gathered together and shouted, "Red Flag Zindabad."

Savagely the police hit them on the months in an attempt to shut them up. But the men and women refused to be terrorised and kept on shouting

the slogan till the police had to give up their attempt.

At Madura, workers, found on the roadside, were mercilessly beaten up and taken to the police station. Worse still, women were intimidated and asked to force their husbands back into work. Janaki, Kamalam and Meena who had the courage to protest against this terror were arrested.

Women Arrested

At Trichy Junction, on Aug. 26, 50 workers were peacefully picketing. Harrison, the D.S.P. in charge, had them surrounded. He then ordered them not to shout slogans and even threatened lathi-charge. At this some 300 people who were standing nearby went to the help of the workers. Immediately the bureaucrat ordered a lathi-charge and 15 persons were severely wounded.

At the same centre, Mrs. Kamala Ramaswamy and Mrs. Kripapuri along with 15 other women were put under arrest because they shouted slogans in support of the railway workers' strike.

But the most shocking story comes from Golden Rock.

A few days ago Veerabhusan, the nine-year old only daughter of M. Kalyanasundaram, President and the most popular leader of the S.I.R workers, died of a snake bite.

Thousands of workers and

other citizens, both Congressmen and Leaguers, came to pay their homage to the child of a leader whom they all loved.

But according to Harrison, the D.S.P., it was an illegal assembly. Rushing there with lorry-loads of police he charged the people gathered there for a funeral and dispersed them. Of course, in spite of him, 6,000 did manage to attend the funeral.

Such is the unrestricted license enjoyed by the police that the Government communiques, regarding the strike situation, arrests, lathi-charges etc., are issued not by any Minister of the Government, but by the Inspector General of Police!

The following is just one of the instances to show how this bureaucrat handles his power and publicity. In his communique, dated August 31, he says, "Two strikers from Golden Rock who were moving about Barikkal Station in South Arcot, in a suspicious manner, have been arrested."

Non-Intervention

When Nambiar, (M.L.A.) and Kalyanasundaram of the S.I.R Labour Union, and C. V. Nair (Secretary, Station Masters' Association) met Premier Prakasam asking him to move in the matter, he replied, "I cannot interfere and I cannot do anything."

Indeed later Premier Prakasam in the Assembly went even to the extent of stating that there was "no difference between the Congress Government and its police!"

It is against this unholy alliance between the White bosses and a popular Ministry that the S.I.R's 40,000 men are heroically fighting for their right to trade union work.

'NAYA ZAMANA'

We regret that owing to disturbances in the city, it has not been possible for us to bring out the Urdu edition of our paper, Naya Zamana, this week.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

- BRITISH SEND KING TO GREECE
- WAR CENTRE IN THE BALKANS
- FRENCH SOCIALIST CONGRESS

The Greek plebiscite on the return of the King has ended as expected. By September 3 itself it was "officially" announced that latest returns (comprising approximately 65 per cent of the total electorate) had registered a 72 per cent majority for the King.

In fact, however, nothing has been settled by this result except that instead of Archbishop Damaskinos acting as Britain's puppet Head of Greek State, King George will act in the same position.

Everyone knows that the plebiscite was faked. Liberal leader Sophoulis who was Premier at the time of the general elections last March issued a statement on August 21 declaring that under the pretext of stamping out 'anarchist' gangs, State organisations were cooperating with Monarchist bands in terrorising the people; under such conditions, Sophoulis concluded, the plebiscite would have no validity and would be a miserable display of force and falsification.

Even General Plastiras, British-sponsored leader of the war to crush the EAM waged in December 1944, has denounced the Royalist Government for their "repeated Fascist measures" and prophesied that Monarchy would mean civil war and bloodshed.

British Policy

The plebiscite in fact is the culmination of the last twenty months' rule by the British occupation forces.

When they landed in Greece, the Germans had been thrown out, Greece was already free. They provoked the civil war in order to attack the vanguard of Greece's democratic movement,

EAM (the Greek Liberation Front).

After the armistice, throughout 1945, they steadily strengthened the Monarchist elements in the armed forces and police, while persecuting the Liberation Front.

Through getting appointed British Military, police and financial "advisers" they established securely their grip on all Greece.

In March this year they organised elections which like the plebiscite of last week, were held under the shadow of Monarchist terror and ensured a Monarchist majority; by this the old friends of pre-war dictator Metaxas who later became the agents of Nazi occupationists, once more came to power.

The present acting-Premier, General Stylianos Gonatos, was the main sponsor of the Security Battalions, organised by the Germans to smash the anti-Hitler resistance movement.

Thus the plebiscite is only the culmination of British policy. It ensures a government in Greece that will govern not in the interests of the Greek people but in the interests of British imperialism.

Anti-Democratic Base

And it is of vital importance for British imperialism that it should keep Greece under its control. Ever since the last war the entire belt of the Balkan countries was a happy hunting-ground for the Western imperialists.

By playing off one country against another, and through their economic grip over these countries, they remained the dominant force in this entire area—until the rise of Hitler, who displaced them as enslaver of the Balkan peoples.

The defeat of Hitler, however, changed all this. Instead of the Balkans falling back under British domination, the entire belt from Albania to Rumania has taken a new path.

By nationalising the main industries, the Balkan peoples have broken the grip of foreign finance-capital on their countries; breaking up the landed estates and giving them to the peasantry, they have destroyed the power of the big landlords, the traditional friends and agents of foreign reaction, and the "nationalists" who always created conflict between different Balkan peoples.

This is why the Ukrainian Foreign Minister, Manuilsky, speaking at the Peace Conference, acclaimed the new Balkan Governments as democratic Governments which had laid solid

by Mohan Kumaramangalam

foundations for a new system of friendly relations between the Balkan countries, always in the past at logger-heads with each other.

In this situation retention of power in Greece is vital for Britain. Only through this can it hope once more to create conflicts and divisions in the Balkans. This is why the puppet Government of Greece is making extraordinary claims on her neighbours, particularly Albania and Bulgaria.

In Albania, for instance, there is a small minority of Greeks in Southern Albania, 35,000 in number out of a total population of 12 lakhs; previously oppressed, today in the new People's Republic they have the same rights as Albanian nationals, their own schools (77 in number with the first secondary school in their history) and their own Greek newspaper. They have their elected representatives in the People's Assembly.

Yet the present Greek Government, inventing stories of Albanian oppression of the Greek minority, is demanding that two districts of Albania (altogether one-third of its territory) be ceded to Greece, the additional reason given being "strategic".

The real objective of these preposterous claims of the present Greek Government is far deeper than one of causing trouble to the small People's Republic of Albania.

It is a calculated attempt to make mischief in the Balkans, to encourage the today-defeated reactionaries in the other Balkan countries that the day is not yet past when foreign intervention might restore them to power.

Stefanopoulos, Greek Foreign Minister, explained this intention of the Greek Government very clearly when he said that "the Greek Government favoured the formation of an anti-Slav bloc (i.e., against the new Balkan democracies) comprising Greece, Italy and Turkey" (Free Press Journal, August 30).

This statement very clearly expresses Britain's intention to build (out of Turkey and Greece, her two client satellites, and Italy which she hopes will play her game in return for the bribe of Trieste) an extension of the Western bloc towards the Middle East. It is one segment of the Anglo-American plan for world encirclement of the Soviet Union.

Call To Action

It is for this reason—because the presence of British troops in Greece and the policy of the British-dominated Greek Government is endangering peace in the Balkans—that the Ukrainian Foreign Minister has pro-

posed the question of Greece before the Security Council of the United Nations.

Greece is the war centre of this area, and already in Greece itself over large areas civil war is raging with the democrats who have escaped into the countryside to avoid arrest and murder on one side, and British and puppet Greek troops on the other.

The Ukrainian move is directed to tell this clearly to the whole world and rouse the democratic movement to intervene in Greece.

Critical Meeting

Last week in France the Congress of the French Socialist Party was held, one of the most important events in France's recent political history.

The main issue before the conference was the battle between traditional Right-wing leadership, headed by Leon Blum and the Party Secretary, Daniel Mayer, and the Left-wing, headed by Guy Mollet and Tonguy-Prigent, present Minister of Agriculture.

The Left was very critical of the Right-wing's policy of trying to act the mediator between the reactionary Popular Republican Party (MRP) and the

unity, put through a really progressive programme.

In fact, their past weak-kneed surrender to reaction, which reached its climax during the elections last June when the Socialist joined, and to a certain extent headed, the slander campaign against the Communists, resulted in a sharp decline in Socialist influence.

From being the first party in 1936 they are now the third party; they lost a considerable number of seats in the latest June elections compared to the number they won in October 1945.

In view of all this, it was natural that criticism of the official policy should have grown among the rank-and-file of the Socialist Party, and at the Congress, the policy of the leadership was rejected by a decisive majority of 2964 to 1363 votes.

In the end, however, a compromise between the official Right-wing and the revolting Left was effected—by which the Left has a slight majority (17 out of 31 members) in the new Executive Committee.

Lack Of Clear Policy

Unable to put any clear policy against that of the Right, the Left also accepted the Right argument that the Communists "are not free from political and intellectual subjection to the Russian State," and on that ground took its stand against complete unity with the Communists.

Further detailed news is not available for a full estimate of the changes due to the Congress.

Reuters, however, reports that "the attitude of the Congress shows that Socialists on the eve of the elections are not anxious to have to vote on the opposite side to Communists."

But while this attitude may well be there (born out of the experience of the last two years) it appears that the Left is confused, with no clear-cut policy of working-class unity, while the official Right is yet in a position to hold back the party from adopting a really militant line of fighting reaction.

Despite this, however, the very fact that the policy of the Right was challenged and defeated shows that there is a serious section inside the Socialist Party which will certainly tend to weaken the MRP's present dominating position and perhaps pave the way for closer Socialist-Communist cooperation.

★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★

Racial Prejudice

ON August 27 the Indian airmen in the Record Office, Worli, were asked to go to hospital to get themselves inoculated. According to instructions four hundred airmen went to the hospital and waited for more than half an hour but nobody came to inform them of the arrangement.

After waiting for such a long time, the airmen were feeling quite uneasy, and when they saw a British medical assistant coming out they asked him how long they would have to wait.

Rudely came the answer: "Don't you know that there are British airmen to be looked after first? You wait quietly, will you?"

To this one of the airmen replied: "If that is so, why don't you ask us to come after some time?"

"That is the order. Don't shout", came the quick reply from the Britisher.

After this there was complete silence for a moment. Then came the answer from one of the airmen: "So this is the order. Let us protest against it. Let us go back to our barracks."

This was enough to express the feeling of all the airmen against racial discrimination. All the four hundred returned to their barracks.

The authorities understood the mood of the airmen and fixed another day, August 29, for inoculation. When the news reached the airmen they were proud of their united action.

Lectures

THE R.A.F. authorities have developed a sudden love for the Indian and British airmen, and to help them to educate themselves

they have started importing civilian lecturers from U.K., and all the classes taken by lecturers are not optional but compulsory.

One such lecture was organised on August 28 at the R.A.F. St. Thomas Mount, Madras, and the subject of this lecture was "Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy", the lecturer was one Mr. Edward Scouler from England.

This Mr. Scouler claimed to be an authority on the subject and to prove his bonafides, he told his hearers that he had been in the Soviet Union for the long period of seven weeks. He hoped after this nobody would doubt his fitness to speak on the subject.

Abuse Of Soviet

His subject was Russia; but he only talked of totalitarian Russia. Here are some gems from the information imparted by him:

"Russians are selfish and they are always anxious to get more and more concessions for their country. Russia wants to go through peaceful Turkey's 'Home Waters' and WE can't allow Soviet Russia to do that for the simple reason that we want democracy to live!"

After some more abuse of Russia, he suddenly turned to India and told his listeners that Britain had done her duty by India, giving her freedom, in the same way as she had done her duty by the Spanish people by not intervening against Franco! The boys laughed at this crude logic of a Tory imperialist but he was unflinching.

After the speech was over the boys were disgusted, and many of them openly said that as soon as the Interim Government came, its first job must be to stop this sort of Tory propaganda lectures and arrange a really useful and nationalist lecture series.

—by our Forces Correspondent

In S. Africa

Battle Against Ghetto Act Gathering Momentum

★ Common Front Of Non-Whites Against Smuts' Govt

Durban, Aug. 29
The battle against the Ghetto Act against Indians in South Africa is gathering momentum. Over 500 resisters have so far been jailed: every night the resisters, entered the prohibited area, faced arrest and were sentenced next morning from one to six months' hard labour, nobody paid fines but went to prison instead.

SO far 283 have come out after finishing their terms, but their spirit is unbroken, and they are ready to defy the ban again.

Meanwhile hundreds of Indians are voluntarily enlisting from Durban, Natal and other Provinces.

In the first phase of the struggle, the Government policy had been to arrest the resisters on the charges of trespass and not for violating the new Act. They thought that this way the movement would fizzle out without damaging their reputation.

Moreover, at the UNO, the South African Government would try for the incorporation of S. W. Africa into the Union, and any direct reference to the Ghetto Act against Indians at the UNO would embarrass its position and might jeopardise its chances: now, they can take the stand that the Indian resisters were being arrested for trespass, and so their case need not be taken up.

A New Stage

But last week, the struggle entered a new stage when the Chairman of the Natal Indian Congress Working Committee himself, with a group of resisters, entered his own property in the banned area, which he had purchased before the new Act: the anomaly of the position is that he is allowed to own this property but not to occupy it under the new Act.

In this case, the charge of trespass cannot be brought, and as Mr. A. I. Meer, Secretary of the Congress, says, the Union Government would be forced to take action under the new Act in this case. They have not yet

By Cable

From Our Correspondent

been arrested, but others like them are waiting to follow suit.

All Indians United

This anti-Ghetto Act movement has for the first time united all sections of Indians: Hindus and Muslims, rich and poor, merchants and workers, men with different political attachments—today all stand together in one common fighting front. Indian Communists are also fighting shoulder to shoulder with them and have courted prison along with others.

Not only that. This struggle of the Indians is linking itself up with the struggles of other sections of the people in South Africa.

Last week, the Indian Congress sent donations as a token of solidarity to the 50,000 gold miners on strike. All the non-Europeans have also been inspired by this struggle of the Indians and even the democrats among the South Africans have also signified their support of the movement: three leading South African Communists were among the first to go to prison along with Indian resisters.

By this individual measure, Smuts has only been helping to unite all the exploited in South Africa in one common front against the White oligarchy.

LIGHT ON POLICY OF ANGLO-AMERICAN BLOC

Plans For Economic Domination Of Europe

By Air Mail

Paris, Aug. 23

To date, operations of the leaders of the 21 nations assembled in Conference here have been remarkable less for the work done in the draft treaties supposedly under consideration, than for the light thrown on the general policies of the powers.

THAT is not a criticism of the work of the Conference. The matters under consideration are matters of vital import to many nations. It is foolish to expect that such matters can be settled at top speed—or without clashes of a more or less serious kind.

And it was to be expected that the first clashes would occur on those vital points of procedure which really express the "Balance of Power" within the Conference, though there are always people who pretend that discussion of procedure is "mere waste of time."

But when this much is said, we have to face the fact that in all the highly illuminating debates that have taken place, there have emerged these two central facts:

Anglo-American Bloc

FIRST, the Anglo-American bloc is operating here, as extensively and as brutally as the most reactionary of Mr. Byrnes' advisers could have hoped when they originally urged him to insist on the calling of the Conference before many outstanding matters at issue between the Big Four had been settled.

It was their intention then to call in the "satellites" of Britain and the United States for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear on the Soviet Union.

That intention was denied at the time, and has been denied by Mr. Byrnes since. But the facts are there, and anyone who spends these days in the gallery of the Senate Chamber at the Luxembourg Palace in Paris can see them at work.

SECONDLY, it is the clear intention of the leaders of the Anglo-American bloc to make the most of all those points of differences that were not settled by the Big Four and in particular to employ their "satellites" and the alleged desires of the "small nations" as the excuse for a deliberate retreat on their part from the Potsdam decisions and from other decisions reached at a moment of agreement between the Big Four.

Simple Majority Rule

This was the reality behind the prolonged debates which took place on the question of whether decisions at this Conference were to be reached by simple majority or by two-thirds majority. In defiance of almost all international precedent—particularly the precedent of San Francisco—the American and British leaders, with Mr. Evatt of Australia acting as "running dog," insisted on the simple majority rule.

The effects of that decision must be far-reaching. For to begin with it means that the final decisions of this Conference cannot possibly have the authority which they would have had if the two-thirds majority had been applied. Putting it in concrete terms one may ask:

- Is it likely that the people of Yugoslavia, or Trieste itself, will accept as finally and completely authoritative some decision about their future status which has been achieved simply by the votes of, say, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico and Brazil—to those of other powers directly interested?

- Can there be a final authority in, say, a settlement of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak minority question, or the question of the control of navigation on the Danube, which has been brought about by—let us say—the casting vote of Australia or New Zealand or Brazil?

Exclusive

by Frank Piteairn

The second aspect of the simple majority rule is perhaps more disquieting still. For, what it means in effect is that all these "recommendations" made by a simple majority of this Conference will be thrown, so to speak, into the laps of the Big Four at their next meeting and a vast propaganda apparatus will be mobilised to suggest that because they have been voted by simple majority the Big Four is somehow bound to accept them.

That was not, technically, the meaning of the rule as accepted—technically these will be mere recommendations which the Big Four can accept or reject as they choose. But everyone can see what the practical situation will be—and the upshot is that the unity of the Big Four themselves will be subjected once more to new and dangerous strains and stresses.

Of equal importance with these "procedural" questions has been the full disclosure of American and British economic aims on the continent of Europe.

Hitherto the British and American representatives at the Big Four meetings and elsewhere had talked vaguely of equal opportunity, equal economic rights and so on as principles upon which they desired to act.

Economic Aims

But when Molotov challenged this whole conception and showed that its true meaning was that the weakened economics of certain struggling European countries were to be thrown open willy nilly to the drive and impact of Anglo-American capital; that this "equality" meant the sort of equal "opportunity" which a small business man has with a giant trust, then the American and British spokesmen felt driven to try to defend themselves.

But in doing so they in fact simply underlined the exact point made by M. Molotov. They were unable to explain how their economic plans for Europe could mean anything but what he said they would mean.

And they had no answer ready to M. Molotov's enquiry as to why, if this principle of the completely "open door"

and "equality of trading opportunity" were really so magnificent, the British Government did not apply it to India?

In view of conflicting British and American economic aims with regard to India the truth went home very deep.

Mediterranean Bloc?

It was in this connection that there merged plainly into the open the general pattern of Anglo-American policy which consists in a support for the present Italian and Greek Governments as "bulwarks against Bolshevism" and an attempt to organise a northern "pincer" of this incipient Mediterranean bloc by offering maximum support to Austria.

I say "incipient" Mediterranean bloc because it would be an exaggeration to say that such a bloc is as yet fully in being—and naturally the whole plan can be seriously affected by the internal political development of Italy.

The aim, however, is sufficiently clear. It is the organisation of a bloc which based centrally on a Greece held by British troops and an Italy held firmly by British and American capital, would be linked on the East with Turkey and on the West with Spain.

Conversations with representatives of both these States have

taken place off the record" in Paris.

There is little doubt that the sharpening crisis in Palestine has accelerated these plans which are seen both as a means of organising the Mediterranean countries against the "New Balkans" and as a more than ever essential consolidation of control along the route to the East.

Question Of Germany

Naturally the question of Germany, though not nominally under consideration here, affects everything that is done and said here.

It would be quite untrue to say that because the German question is not directly on the agenda of this Conference, the Conference itself is dealing with minor details and non-essentials. That, as everything I have said in this article should have made sufficiently clear, is no means the case.

But it is true that in a sense all this is the preliminary to the central discussion on Germany. In fact, it could be said that in reality this is the first half of a negotiation for the whole of Europe.

Everything done here will ultimately affect what is done in relation to Germany. And the pattern of policies that emerges here will be seen again in the negotiations on Germany whenever they take place.

Strike Of S. Africa's 120,000 Gold Miners -- Greatest In Her History

SMUTS GOVT. USES FASCIST TERROR TO CRUSH WORKERS

By Air Mail (delayed)

Johannesburg, August 18,

Four hundred dead and hundreds injured, many seriously, several hundreds arrested and in jail, is the toll to date resulting from the Fascist South African Government's use of police terror to crush the five day strike of South African gold miners.

THESE five days of terror did break the strike, but there is no doubt that they are also an unforgettable landmark in the history of the African workers' movement. It is the greatest strike of Africans ever seen in this country, the estimated number of strikers rising to at least 120,000 at the peak on Wednesday August 14.

Intolerable Conditions

The strike was called for August 12 by the African Mine-workers' Union, headed by J. B. MARKS, himself an African and today in jail. The main demands of the workers are for an increase in wages from two shillings a day (about Rs. 1/8) to ten shillings a day, and for better working conditions; this wage increase if won would have been the first wage-increase the workers had won since 1914!

The miners are almost all (over 90 per cent) indentured labourers, i.e., virtual bond slaves who are not allowed to bring their families with them, and are forced to live in company camps where they are closely watched and spied upon; these quarters themselves are badly built, dirty, with foul sanitary conditions.

They get no holidays or overtime for Sunday work and only two days paid leave in the entire year, Good Friday and Christmas Day.

While their conditions are so bad, the industry itself is flourishing; ever since 1932 the Union gold-mining industry has been making profits exceeding £50 millions a year, of which a little under 60 per cent goes in taxes.

In contrast to these huge profits, the total annual wage bill of 320,000 African workers is only £13 million while the annual

wage bill of 40,000 Europeans is £19 million,—the Europeans on the whole getting more than ten times the African workers'.

Union's Agitation

Ever since 1941, the workers' union has been agitating for a redressal of grievances, but it is not been recognised as a lawful trade union, as under the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, Africans are specifically excluded from being termed "employees" and, therefore, are totally deprived of the right of forming unions!

In 1942 and 1943, the union demanded investigation of workers conditions and in 1943 actually a Native Wages Commission was appointed by the Government.

This Commission, however, produced a report in which it justified the foul conditions under which the workers live by stating that for the prosperity of the industry (i.e., the mine-owners), it was "necessary" to uphold the "cheap labour" system. And even the very minor recommendations made by the Commission were not fulfilled by the employers!

The union, however, continued to grow in strength; and towards the end of 1944 the Government growing nervous at this, promulgated Proclamation No. 1425, which bans meeting on gold-proclaimed land. This measure, supposed to be a war measure, in fact is one directed to limit the activities of the union—and it remains on the Statute book even today, fifteen months after the war has ended.

In addition, the use of Riotous Assemblies Act of 1912 makes it almost impossible to make a speech that does not render the speaker liable to prosecution when addressing trade

union meetings at times of crisis.

Both in 1945 and this year, the union presented demands to the employers—but to no effect.

Finally on August 4, the Executive of the Mine-workers' Union took the historic decision to call a strike from August 12.

Merciless Terror

From August 12, the workers started to come out on strike. That day itself 50,000 were out, and within two more days 120,000 were reported to be out. But the Government and the owners hit back mercilessly. Hundreds of policemen were rushed down to the different mine-pits where the miners had come out; with batons in their hands they rushed into the strikers and tried to smash them. In one mine hundreds of workers fought the police deep down inside the mine itself.

A procession of tobacco workers was charged by armed police and hundreds of men, women and children were knocked down and trampled upon, three women being knocked unconscious and left lying on the road.

The way the police "ended" the strike is graphically told by the European bosses' own publication, *The Mail*, which reports that "a substantial force" of policemen went to the New Pioneer Mine "to deal with" the strikers. The police then charged the workers who ran away.

Then, says *The Mail*, "the Police chased them over mine dumps and through the veld (fields) for two miles before they could be rounded up and driven back to the compound." "When they got back," the report ends abruptly, "they all volunteered for duty!"

This was the type of terror used to crush the strike.

The strike evoked a tremendous response from Indians all over the Union. The Executive Committee of the Transvaal Indian Congress' Passive Resistance Council passed a resolution

wishing the strikers every success and pledging its full support to them.

"At a time," the resolution says warmly, "when the Indian community is engaged in the passive resistance struggle, challenging the policy of segregation, this Council welcomes the action of the Africans who have opened another front against the policy of segregation which is responsible for their miserable conditions."

The Communist Party, through its Chairman, Bill Andrews, and its Secretary, Moses Kotane, also announced its full support to the strike.

The Government has also tried to put the entire blame for the strike on "Red agitators." To "prove" this, it has raided the offices of the Communist Party both in Cape Town (the head office) and in Johannesburg, taking away a number of files; in Johannesburg, it arrested the Secretary of the Johannesburg District Committee, DANIE DU PLESSIS.

No Work Of Agitators

But this accusation has been directly answered by a statement issued by a group of European liberals, among them are Mrs. MARGARET BALLINGER, M.P., the Mayor of Johannesburg (Mrs. JESSIE MACPHERSON), Mr. A. HEPPLER, the Acting Secretary of the Labour Party, and others.

Directly contradicting the Government accusation that "the strike was the work of agitators" they state their conviction that "serious economic grievances" exist and it was the total absence of any machinery for settling trade disputes in which Africans were involved that was responsible for the strike.

The Government have managed to break the strike by use of brutal violence on a scale previously unknown even in Fascist-ruled South Africa.

They did succeed this time but there is no doubt that the strike itself, just because for the first time in South Africa's history the African gold miner has come out to fight for his rights, has lit a fire of struggle that will never be extinguished but will prove a source of inspiration and courage to all fighters against Smuts' Fascist racialism in South Africa.

Inside Kashmir -- Battle Continues

BRITISH COMMUNIST TELLS STORY OF VISIT

(We give here the story of a visit to Kashmir by a British soldier lad, a Communist. Twenty-two years old this lad is of working-class origin; finishing his education at the age of 16, he went to work in a factory and then was called up to serve in the army. He went to Kashmir for a holiday—but with guts and initiative; he did more than have a holiday. Here is the story of his visit to that centre of our liberation-struggle, written by himself—EDITOR)

I WENT to Kashmir after attending the "Salute Kashmir" meeting in Bombay, I had already decided to go to see this famed beauty-spot of India even before I saw the Salute Kashmir programme; but after seeing it, I became the more eager to reach Kashmir—for not only did I want to see the glory of nature but also the glory of the Kashmiri people in the battle against Dogra oppression.

By luck I made the acquaintance of a young middle-class lad soon after I reached Srinagar and throughout my stay there he acted as my interpreter

shooting had taken place—particularly the area of the Seventh Bridge, and I spoke to many who in the days immediately after Sheikh Abdulla's arrest took part in the militant anti-Dogra demonstrations. And they told me stories of heroism I shall never forget.

● One old man who desired to cross the bridge was told by the Dogra military that he would have to crawl across on his hands and knees. Quickly came his reply: "I have walked across this bridge for forty years and I will do so now." Calmly he walked across—but the military fired and he was killed.



Sheikh Abdulla Behind Barbed Wires

He continued:

"And I shall never in my life forget one incident. From the middle of a crowd at which we were firing already, a young lad, twenty years old or so, rushed out and tearing open his shirt, pointed to his chest and shouted: 'Shoot me! I am not afraid to die.' We shot him—but even today I wonder at this mad courage."

And this courage, born out of the faith of the Kashmir people that their movement is just and will win, still keeps the movement in action against the Dogras.

No day passes without some new action, police beaten in one area; a bridge blown up in another, and so on.

Many National Conference workers were underground and I met some of them, admired their courage, resourcefulness and clarity of thought. Some have been released from jail after horrible treatment, but all of them are going back to their work in the service of the people undaunted. Dogra terror has failed.

At The Trial

I was very anxious to get in to Sheikh Abdulla's trial and see the great leader of Kashmir with my own eyes. Everyone discouraged me—but the more I moved around Srinagar, the more I learnt of the love of his people for him—and I decided that come what may, I must go to the trial. It was not easy, for everyone who wants to get in has to have a special pass.

But I managed to get the pass and on the day appointed, I went in; the military looked me up and down but I stared them out and asked them to hurry up. My pass was all right, and they let me through.

Right in front as I entered the compound was Defence Counsel Asaf Ali talking to the Prosecutor; I asked their permission to take a photograph of them and they lined up for my benefit. This more or less established my bonafides in the eyes of the military and I then began to wander freely around, taking what photographs I liked, including the rather poor (photographically speaking) one of Sheikh Abdulla behind the barbed wire.

I also talked to Sheikh Abdulla, for this time the military seemed to think that I must be some big English gun and allowed me to move freely. I gave him my greetings and those of my friends in Bombay, told him of the admiration and support for him I had myself seen, and asked him for a message:

"To all my comrades and friends," he told me, "I send my love and best wishes. Tell them I am in good health. It is a small matter if I am convicted and imprisoned for we shall win our struggle. If the imprisonment of myself and my colleagues serves the

cause, to which we have dedicated our lives, then it will be well with us for we shall have truly served our people."

Unsubdued

After this we went into court—and here again it was the Sheikh who dominated. Listening intently to every word spoken, he would interrupt with an occasional telling point; sarcastic and neat, it would make everyone smile while the Prosecutor blushed and the Judge looked uncomfortable!

I left Kashmir soon after saying goodbye to this great people's leader, who has courage and wisdom.

But before I left, I paid one last visit—to the National Hospital, set up by the National Conference. In the days when the Dogra military played hell with the people, it was the doctors and nurses of the National Hospital who toiled their hardest to save the victims of merciless firing while the doors of all other hospitals were closed.

I took another picture here—of a young lad who had been horribly hurt by splinters of a shot fired from a close-range. But despite all the suffering, the lad's spirit was unbowed.

That is Kashmir. And Dogra rule cannot stay so long as this spirit remains.

(Continued from next col.)

LEADERS OF INDIA (Vol. II),
By Yusuf Meherally.
Published by: Padma Publications Ltd., BOMBAY.
Price Re. 1/-

ASSAM:
By A. Ali and E. Lambert.
Published by: Oxford University Press.
Price As. 6

STEEL—THE FACTS.
By Henry Owen.
Published by: Lawrence and Wishart, LONDON.
Price 4s.

REPUBLIC INDONESIA — ONE YEAR OLD.
Issued by: The Indonesian Struggle for Independence, Information Department, India. Price As. 3

INDIAN STATES AND INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.
By Gyan Chand.
Oxford University Press. Price As. 8

INDIA AND THE I.L.O.
By P. P. Pillai & L. N. Birla.
Oxford University Press. Price As. 8

BRETTON WOODS AND AFTER.
By V. S. Krishna.
Oxford University Press. Price. As. 8

AMBEDKAR'S ATTACK.
By K. Santhanam.
Published by: Hindustan Times, New Delhi. Price Rs. 2/-

VEDANTA — THE BASIC CULTURE OF INDIA.
By C. Rajagopalachariar.
Published by: Hindustan Times, New Delhi. Price Re. 1/-



A young Kashmiri lad at the National Hospital hit by splinters of a shot fired by Dogra military

when I moved out among the people.

United Hatred

The first thing that will strike anyone who sets foot in Srinagar is the extraordinary poverty of the people, a poverty that contrasts so sharply with the natural beauty of the country. It struck me vividly—even though I have visited many poor parts of India; and as I looked at the wizened half-starved town poor, the dilapidated houses, the filthy drains, in a flash all that I had read and heard about the horror of the Dogra Raj became real to me.

And everyone hated the Raj; a mere mention of the Maharajah was enough to make the common citizen of Srinagar spit in anger and contempt; in contrast one only had to utter the name of Sheikh Abdulla to be received with smiles and affection.

In my own hotel, as I was an Englishman and, therefore, supposedly an ally of the hated Dogras, my bearer treated me roughly and contemptuously until he saw that I had a photograph of the Sheikh; and then his whole attitude towards me changed, nobody could have looked after me with greater care.

I went round the areas where

● Another, of a young lad—All Bahadur—who shouted "Quit Kashmir" in the face of the Dogra military; they killed him, of course, but as one of the men who carried his bier to the grave, told me: "When we finish the Dogras, on this place where he fell we shall build a monument to remind us of the bravery of those who died in our freedom-struggle."

Murderer's Tribute

The best tribute of all came, however, from a Captain of the Kashmir Army; a leader in this army of murderers, he took me, because I was British, to a fellow-murderer, and talked freely.

He told me of the detailed preparations to guard against "trouble," how all bridges were guarded, fresh military drafted in, all this BEFORE the arrest of the Sheikh. The military themselves, he said, were given orders that when they fired, they must shoot to kill.

But one thing amazed this killer. "It was astonishing," he told me with a worried look, "the courage of the people, unbounded, understandable. They would not retreat from the firing but unarmed stood their ground, shouting 'Quit Kashmir' and other subversive slogans."



IRAN

By Muhammad Iqbal,
Oxford University Press. As. 6.

DULL and colourless, this small pamphlet echoes current British imperial propaganda about Iran. It boosts Reza Shah's dictatorship, which achieved nothing for the common Iranian people.

It has no word to say about the terrible poverty of the Iranian peasant, ground down by reactionary landlord opposition.

It quietly passes over the role of the mighty oil-monopoly, the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the chief factor in keeping Iran a backward semi-colonial country and has plenty of praise for the "friendly" British who have consistently intervened to back reaction and smash any attempts at democratic advance in Iran.

In contrast the author wilfully distorts the real meaning of the post-war democratic upsurge in Iran, meekly repeating the imperialist slander that this movement was inspired by the Soviet Union.

All in all, despite the inclusion of considerable factual material, it is quite useless for an understanding of current developments in Iran because the author has quite obviously been taken in by British imperial propagandists and has completely missed the significance of the Iranian people's battle against British imperialism and oil monopoly.

M. K.

THE TRAGEDY IN GREECE

(An Eye-Witness Report)
Published by the League for Democracy in Greece, London.
Price 1s.

THIS 60-page pamphlet is the report of the British delegation of M.P.'s which visited Greece during April and May this year on behalf of the British League for Democracy in Greece, on the invitation of the Pan-Hellenic Union of Democratic Associations in Athens.

The members of the delegation interviewed leaders and followers of all the various political parties, government officials, members of the British police mission and the Embassy, and representative delegation of trade unionists, peasants and professional men. They toured large parts of the country and personally investigated the situation.

The reign of terror that is described in the second section of this book makes rather grim reading. There are pathetic stories of thousands of victims of murder, illegal imprisonment, brutal assault and intimidation. No democrat is spared. Young and old, men and women, the sick and the healthy, all suffer alike.

The report furnishes enough proof to justify the charge made in the concluding section—that "Greece is rapidly becoming a Fascist State," propped up by British influence and arms.

This reign of Fascist terror is also leading the country towards economic disruption. There is no effective price control. The Government has no economic policy except the removal of controls on all goods, giving a free hand to the capitalists and destroying all safeguards that protect the workers.

Finally, the report exposes the real nature of the plebiscite over the Monarchy, to be held on September 1, as betrayal of the promises made to Greek people by Bevin, who had assured them there would be a plebiscite before 1948; and second as a plebiscite that will be held under conditions when the entire machinery of the Fascist regime, manned by the men who were Hitler's best friends, will be used to bring the Monarchy, always instrument of foreign oppression, back to Greece.

This is a book that every patriotic Indian should read, for it reveals the real face of the Labour imperialist of Britain.

S.B.

BOOKS RECEIVED

TOWARDS STRUGGLE.
By Jaiprakash Narayan.
Published by: Padma Publications Ltd., BOMBAY.
Price Rs 6/6/-

(Continued on previous col.)