

British Govt. Challenges India's Right To Frame Constitution

CONGRESS MUST RESCUE NATIONAL HONOUR, END SHAME OF IMPERIALIST AWARDS

The London award of December 6 with its insistence on compulsory grouping and assurance to the League that no constitution will be enforced on unwilling parts, has led to the first big crisis between the National Congress and the British Government after the formation of the Interim Government in September last.

ONLY four weeks ago Congress spokesmen like Sardar Patel had thundered that the Constitution-making Body would meet on December 9 whether the British Government wanted it or not; that it would transact its business whether the League entered it or not.

The date was no doubt kept. But the London award reminded the Constituent Assembly that real power lay in London and not in Delhi and made its proceedings devoid of all reality.

Its utter helplessness and dependence on British power was seen in the fact that it could not, dared not, pass the resolution of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, declaring for a sovereign republic. Even this general declaration of the aim had to be postponed till a better day. The Assembly converted itself into a talking shop and had to disperse without transacting any serious business.

Breach Of Faith

The Working Committee of the Congress now finds itself face to face with a critical situation. It realises that the London award does not only interpret this or that clause of the statement of May 16 but betrays the imperialist plan of reducing the Constituent Assembly to a farce, to a cockpit of party rivalries. The illusion of mounting to power through the Cabinet Mission's Plan begins to burst.

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee charges the British with breach of faith:

"In spite of the assurances to the effect that no additions to or interpretations of the statement of May 16, 1946, were going to be made, the British Government have now issued a statement which clearly, in several respects, goes beyond the original statement on the basis of which progress has been made till now."

And again—
"Their (the British Government's) present intervention long after the members of the Constituent Assembly had been elected has created a new situation which is full of peril."

Blunt Truth

The new additions and peril come from the fact that in their recent statement His Majesty's Government has left the prevaricating language of the period of negotiations and has started telling the blunt truth that it will exploit every interest to bar the way to Indian freedom.

FIRST, it has categorically stated that it will not enforce any constitution on the unwilling parts, thus giving direct encouragement to the opportunist leadership of the League to persist in its anti-democratic demand of division of India without reference to the people concerned.

SECONDLY, it has stated with equal emphasis that the constitution passed by the Constituent Assembly will have to be approved by Parliament and it will be accepted only if it provides "complete freedom" for all minorities.

In the House of Commons' debate on India on December 12, Mr. Alexander, Minister without portfolio, expressed the

view of the Government in the following words:

"The Government have given the Indians a case on which they could proceed to make their constitution. Surely they could beg them to come together in the Constituent Assembly and thus make a constitution which was free but also allowed no damage and no harm done to the liberty of minorities?"

"If Indians came to His Majesty's Government with a constitution like that, the Government would carry out every word of their pledges to them, and recommend cession of sovereignty to a body set up which provides complete freedom for all communities and minorities within its ranks."

Princes Encouraged

Naturally, it is the British Government which is to decide whether there was "complete freedom" for any community or not. It claims the right to veto any constitution in the name of this "complete freedom."

NO FREEDOM FOR MUSLIM MASSES EXCEPT THROUGH JOINT FRONT WITH HINDUS

THIRDLY, the British Government, through Sir Stafford Cripps, made it absolutely clear that there is no chance of the Princes coming in the Constituent Assembly till the League came in.

In his opening speech to the House of Commons on the India debate on December 12, Sir Stafford Cripps stated:

"Not unnaturally the Indian States are most anxious that all the major communities should be represented in the Constituent Assembly, as they did not wish to be in the position of having to deal with one community only. Their ability to cooperate must depend, to some extent, upon what happened as regards the entry of the Muslim League into the Constituent Assembly."

The League is encouraged to stay out; and the States' entry is made dependent on the League's coming in. Shorn of prevarications, this is what the Cabinet Ministers' Plan amounts to—and now the Congress Working Committee is face to face with it.

Compulsory Groupings

The original dispute between the Congress and the Muslim League concerned compulsory groupings of Provinces.

The Congress case was that the Cabinet Mission's Plan did not provide for compulsory groupings of Provinces. In its opinion Assam had complete freedom to join or not join Bengal. So also the N.W.F.P. had the choice to join or not join C Group.

Mr. Jinnah's case was that grouping was compulsory irrespective of the wishes of the Provinces and they could opt out only after the new constitution had been formed.

Here also the British Government has given a verdict against the Congress, making it compulsory for Assam to join Ben-

gal and the N.W.F.P. to join the Punjab.

There could not be a more anti-democratic decision than this compulsory grouping. The only justification for which is the necessity felt by the British Government to placate Mr. Jinnah by making concessions to his demand for division of India. Otherwise what right has Bengal to draw the constitution of Assam or the Punjab to draw the constitution of the N.W.F.P.?

The provision that the Provinces may opt out after the new constitution comes into force is likely to prove illusory for it is quite conceivable that a constitution may be drawn which will make opting out impossible.

Accept The Challenge

The grouping of Provinces is one of the most unprincipled and undemocratic parts of the Cabinet Mission Plan. Its only purpose is to create perpetual quarrels between different national groups, and the stand taken by the Congress Working Committee against this grouping is correct.

The British Government has heaped humiliation on the Congress leadership and the national movement. It has challenged the Congress to rescue national honour and prestige. It has left no doubt that the Constituent Assembly can only con-

due as a subservient tool under the British Plan.

How is the Congress leadership meeting this challenge? The Congress Working Committee talks of a perilous situation; it charges the British Government with fomenting trouble; it has decided to call an emergent meeting of the A.I.C.C. "In view of the importance and urgency of the issues facing the country and the far-reaching consequences, which must follow any decision."

This is no doubt a serious warning to the British Government but not yet a break with all hopes about the Plan. It betokens a serious situation but not yet a rupture with compromising policy which has heaped humiliation upon India and strangled her initiative and will to strike for freedom.

In its resolution the Working Committee declares:

"The Congress seeks to frame through the Constituent Assembly a constitution of a free and independent India with the willing cooperation of all elements of the Indian people."

But it is now obvious that a freedom constitution cannot be framed under the present Plan; cannot be produced by the present helpless Constituent Assembly.

To produce a freedom constitution the Congress must smash the present Plan and remove the shadow of British bayonets—which looms in the background.

Win Muslim Masses

For this it must secure the willing cooperation of all people, including the Muslim masses. Opposing compulsory grouping of Provinces the Working Committee resolution declares:

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PEOPLE'S AGE

"The Congress approach to the problem of constitution-making has all along been that coercion should not be exercised against any Province or part of the country and that the constitution of a free India should be drawn up by the cooperation and good-will of all parties and Provinces concerned."

The Congress must apply this approach consistently to all national and linguistic units. Let it declare in unmistakable terms that Bengal, the Punjab, Sind or any other linguistic unit will be free to join or not to join the free Indian Union; that the question will be decided by the people of the unit concerned; that the Congress does not rely on the compulsory Indian Union of the British Plan but free and voluntary Union of the people.

This will help in clarifying to the Muslim masses the Congress position and enable it to allay all suspicions and fears, opening the way to the biggest rally for freedom.

This will also be a real genuine offer to the League leaders—unequivocal and without sacrifice of any fundamental principles. If the League lead-

triumph for the Muslims and used for further obstructions and pressure politics.

Armed with the assurance from His Majesty's Government, with the veto against any constitution, Mr. Jinnah falsely puts the question of Indian unity as a question of "Muslim slavery." In his interview at Calcutta, Mr. Jinnah said, "Indian Muslims are faced with a critical situation. If unity for them means slavery and transfer from the British domination to the Hindu yoke, what is the good of such unity?"

Bankrupt Argument

Mr. Jinnah very well knows that British domination cannot go unless Hindus and Muslims jointly struggle and win freedom in common. But he must bolster the bankrupt argument for division with talk about Muslim slavery and sidetrack attention from a joint front for freedom.

Mr. Jinnah further libels the freedom movement of the country by calling it Hindu imperialism and thus plays the game of the British Government. In his Press conference at Cairo, Mr. Jinnah said:

"If India will be ruled by Hindu imperialistic power it will be as great a menace for the future, if not greater, as the British imperialistic power has been in the past. Therefore, I think the whole of the Middle East will fall from the frying pan into the fire."

According to Mr. Jinnah, British imperialism has ceased to be a danger in the present. It is only Hindu imperialism that is the menace. To frighten the Middle East Muslims with Hindu imperialism was an old trick of the British. That Mr. Jinnah should resurrect it does not add to his credit.

Only Through Joint Front

When British imperialism, the common enslaver, insolently attacks India's right to frame her own constitution, Mr. Jinnah sees in it only the discomfiture of a rival political force. He considers it a proper occasion to demand unprincipled division.

As a leader of lakhs of Muslims who unquestioningly follow him, his duty is to range himself always on the side of the popular force and against the British. For in it lies the freedom of all.

There is no freedom for the Hindus and Muslims unless the British quit and they cannot be made to quit by taking their help against the Congress.

There is no freedom for the exploited and rack-rented Muslim masses—exploited by imperialism and Hindu and Muslim vested interests—unless they join hands with the Hindu masses and end the present regime, unless the League joins hands with the Congress for the liberation of all. Mr. Jinnah has yet to recognise this simple truth.

by
B. T. RANADIVE

MALABAR SPECIAL POLICE TO AID OF LANDLORDS

By E. M. S. Namboodiripad

An Associated Press of India message from Madras, dated December 22, says that the Malabar Special Police (MSP) killed two and injured five in firing against a "Communist mob."

The place of the incident is Karivelloor, a village in Chirakkal taluk, Malabar, and the reason is that the people of the village, under Kisan Sabha leadership, prevented an absolute landlord from taking paddy out of the village.

Now Karivelloor is a deficit village; it has to import over 60 per cent of its food from outside. A good part of the land in the village is owned by a landlord who lives about 20 miles away. It is his usual practice to collect his rent (in kind) in this village, transport it to his home all the way, use it and sell it.

This year, because of acute famine conditions (rice ration was reduced last year from 10-oz. to 8-oz. and was threatened to be further reduced to 6-oz.), the people under Kisan Sabha leadership, asked the landlord to take rent in cash and allow the whole local produce to be used locally.

Kisans Prevent Removal Of Paddy

When the landlord refused to do so, the people prevented its removal. At this, the obliging bureaucracy sent its most ruthless police (the MSP.) to the aid of the landlord.

This, however, is only the most naked act of the M.S.P. For, the same repression (short of firing) is taking place all over Chirakkal taluk and parts of Kasargod, Kottayam and Kurumbanad taluks. The M.S.P. has been posted in eight centres in Chirakkal taluk.

They are regularly going into villages, raiding houses, arresting and beating up men, women and children. Cases have also occurred of the M.S.P. looting shops, and destroying property.

Details of all these have been published in Deshabhimani, the Malayalam daily of the Communist Party.

Why is it that all this is al-

DELEGATION TO TELENGANA

A Correction

Last week we reported that Sheikh Makdoom a member of the Masulipatnam Citizens' Delegation to Telengana had been shot dead by the police and deshmukh's goondas. This report is NOT correct. Sheikh Makdoom is back in Masulipatnam, after a delegation of the Masulipatnam Muslim League had gone to Nalgonda and secured his release from the jail there, after proving that he was a member of the League.

According to a member of the League delegation which brought Makdoom back, what actually happened and led to the mistaken impression that Makdoom had been shot was as follows:

The Masulipatnam Delegation, after touring some villages, reached Chipkunta village. They were sleeping in a kisan's house, when at about 11 in the night, the rowdies of the notorious Deshmukh Janareddi Pratapreddi raided the house and attacked them. Two members of the delegation, Nirikshan Rao and Rama Rao, who were sleeping near the gate, were severely beaten. They were later dragged out and tied with ropes.

The goondas were suddenly reminded of the third member, Makdoom. They went into the house and dragged him out. Goondas along with the village Patel put the three members in a cart and proceeded towards the Deshmukh's Fort.

As soon as the cart came to the outskirts of the village, the goondas, afraid that the villagers may group together and try to liberate the members of the delegation, fired some shots in the air. (It is probable that the villagers heard these shots and concluded that Makdoom had been shot—Editor).

The members of the delegation were taken to the Fort. But learning that they were British subjects, the cart was headed from the Fort to the Nalgonda Police, who promptly jailed them.

Nirikshan Rao and Rama Rao are still in jail. Full details of the treatment accorded to them are not yet known.

lowed? Because the kisans tell the landlords: "Do not take your rent in kind. We will pay your rent in cash at the control rate." The landlord does not allow it: he wants it in kind or in cash at rates 50 per cent higher than the control rate.

Kisans refuse this unreasonable demand and hand over the paddy to the Government and not to the landlord. And then comes the bureaucrat with his MSP and tells the kisans: "You are legally bound to pay rent in kind: if you refuse to do that, we will use force."

While thus forcing kisans to pay rent in kind to landlords who are thereby allowed to fill their granaries, the bureaucrat does not allow the kisan to keep his own ration out of what he produces. The whole produce minus seed is to be handed over to the landlord as rent and only if there is anything left after that can he keep his ration—this is "Monopoly Procurement!"

The result is that, while landlords have thousands of maunds of paddy in their granaries (most of which they sell in the blackmarket), the kisans who produce paddy have to buy rice.

The damage done by this to procurement may be gauged from the official figures of pro-

duction and procurement in Malabar.

	Tons of rice,
Total Gross Production:	3,60,000
Seed :	24,000

Consumption by landholding classes:	1,70,000
Actual Procurement (1945-46):	56,000

That is, while the total surplus procurable (gross produce, minus seed and consumption by landholding classes) must be no less than 1,70,000 tons, the quantity actually procured is only 56,000 tons i.e., 1/3rd of the available surplus.

Save Paddy From Landlords' Granaries

The Kisan Sabha said that this unjust and corrupt procurement should be replaced by a system under which:

Kisans will be allowed to keep seed, cultivation expenses (that part of it which is made in kind) and their own family ration till next harvest.

They will be asked to hand over the whole surplus (gross produce minus the above) to the Government.

Landlords will be forced to receive rent in cash at control rates and not in kind or in cash at higher rates.

The adoption of this would mean that, while kisans will get their own food from what they themselves produce, the whole quantity of paddy that goes into the landlords' granaries will go into the hands of the Government.

Instead of adopting this reasonable proposal of the Kisan Sabha, the Congress Government is allowing the bureaucrats to run wild against kisans, beating and killing them and allowing landlords to fill their granaries and sell in the blackmarket.

MALABAR COMMUNIST DAILY'S SECURITY FORFEITED

The Madras Government has forfeited the security of one thousand rupees deposited by Deshabhimani, Malabar Communist daily. The Collector of Malabar has asked the paper to furnish a fresh security of FOUR THOUSAND RUPEES.

The excuse for this action against the Communist paper, is that the Deshabhimani published in its issue of August 20, a manifesto entitled "The Call and the Warning of 1921"—which had been issued by a joint meeting of the Malabar, Cochin and Travancore Committees of the Communist Party on the eve of the anniversary of the famous Malabar Rebellion.

This manifesto glorified the anti-British heroism displayed during the rebellion and at the same time contained a clear warning to the Muslims and Hindus of 1946 to avoid the communal pitfalls into which the Rebellion was led at a later stage by the imperialists and their toadies.

E. M. S. Namboodiripad, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Deshabhimani's Editorial Board, was prosecuted for issuing this very manifesto and the prosecution finally had to admit that there was no communal incitement in the manifesto, but only "incitement" against the British.

Crime To Be Anti-British

In the course of a letter to Prime Minister Prakasam, Deshabhimani's Editor, M. S. Devadoss asks:

"Has it become criminal under a Congress Ministry to 'incite' the people against British Imperialism? Has it become wrong to identify an armed revolt against the British...?"

Pointing out to Premier Prakasam the reason why the British Governor and bureaucracy have insisted on taking action

against the Communist paper, Devadoss says:

"The British hate us most because we expose them most. We alone dared to publish in our paper objective reports of the popular demonstrations against the British Governor when His Excellency visited our district recently.

Fearless Reporting

"We alone published reports of the doings of D.S.P. Harrison in Golden Rock during the South Indian Railway strike.

"The latest provocation to the British has come, we should think, by our reporting fearlessly in our columns the doings of the notorious Malabar Special Police (MSP) in North Malabar, chiefly in Chirakkal taluk.

"The MSP, like the rest of the police, as we all know, is directly controlled by the British. Publication of the news of atrocities, and provocative harassments which the MSP are committing on the poor villagers of North Malabar and their women and children, must be very embarrassing to the British officials and their underlings.

"No wonder, the present Collector of Malabar, Mr. Bryant, during his conversation with me last Saturday, threatened me that if we continued at the rate we did, he could recommend to the Government to attach the new Rs. 4,000 also which he has demanded from me!"

Devadoss calls on Sjt. Prakasam to reverse the orders of the bureaucracy and refund the securities to Deshabhimani.

Editorial

INDIA AND UNO

THE first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations has just concluded. And it has been notable for our country in particular because for the first time it was the voice of the Indian people that spoke up at UNO and no longer a British stooge in Indian garb.

And India is proud of the results of this, its first, entry on the international arena.

To the Indian delegation, and to its leader Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, must go our people's gratitude for the firm and uncompromising battle they waged on behalf of our brothers in South Africa, victims of racial persecution of the worst Hitlerite type. To them must go our proud thanks for a notable success when the General Assembly, by a two-third majority, took a stand which was a definite victory for India and a defeat for the Smuts regime.

All India will join Mrs. Pandit in her warm thanks to the nations that supported India in New York, particularly China, the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, and certain countries of Latin America and the Middle East (with the exception of Turkey).

India too will note and remember those nations who defended South African Fascism, headed by those stout crusaders for "Christian Civilisation" and "Western Democracy," the United States and Great Britain.

But it was not over the South African issue alone that an Indian delegation made a positive contribution.

Positive And Constructive Role

Once more along with the Soviet Union she succeeded in preventing the Assembly from agreeing to the incorporation of South-West Africa in Smuts' racial hell; she fought hard to get amended the undemocratic and plainly imperialist trusteeship agreements, submitted to UNO by Britain, New Zealand, Belgium and France; on this occasion, however, she, and her strongest supporters over the South African issue, the Soviet and Eastern European countries, were in the minority while those who backed South Africa headed the majority.

Again over the key question of the principle of veto, the Indian delegation refused to be hoodwinked by the cheap appeals made by the imperial stooges in the name of small nations. It strongly pressed for its maintenance, learning, as Mrs. Pandit said in a speech last week, why "Russia is insisting so much on the maintenance of the veto"—i.e., so that a democratic minority could prevent an undemocratic imperial majority from steam-rolling any proposal through purely on the basis of its votes and those of its satellites.

India firmly supported the democratic nations in vigorously demanding an end of all relations with Fascist France Spain and openly pledged herself not to enter into diplomatic relations with Spain.

And finally over the burning issue of disarmament, India played an important role in evolving a compromise formula, which, for the first time, pledges the nations of the world to disarm progressively; so also it is to the Indian delegation that the credit must go for succeeding in getting a resolution passed, demanding the withdrawal of foreign troops on territories of members of UNO.

Thus, on the main issues before the General Assembly, the Indian delegation played a positive and constructive role that aided the democratic forces in UNO.

It must also be clearly stated that in contrast to Mrs. Pandit's and the Indian delegation's great work, a Muslim League delegation touring the U.S. did a permanent disservice to India by disruptive propaganda of a most factional kind; in questioning the representative character of the Indian delegation (which, in fact, in fighting against Smuts, was also carrying out a decision of the League), it only added grist to the imperialist-Smuts' mill, helping them to slander the Indian delegation as not voicing the unanimous demand of India's people.

The Indian delegation and Pandit Nehru, under whose instructions it functions, have, however, made a notable contribution to our freedom struggle by registering a sharp break from the old imperialist foreign policy that was a pure echo of imperial Britain.

Make Total Break From Old Foreign Policy

This break must be made total—and the principles of freedom and democracy for all nations—defended so ably by India at UNO must be translated into practice in every field of Indian foreign policy.

FIRST, all Indian troops abroad must immediately be withdrawn—for Pandit Nehru's promise of last September yet remains to be implemented.

In contrast G.H.Q. has persuaded the Interim Government that in return for certain British training and weapons, India will provide two mechanised brigades for Empire operations.

This agreement is obviously a blatant and direct contradiction of India's own policy at New York and all the democratic ideals of any national movement, and must be immediately cancelled; Indian troops must be brought back to India and must not serve as Britain's mercenaries to police Britain's Empire.

SECONDLY, India's ties with those countries, who consistently supported the cause of democracy at UNO must be strengthened; diplomatic relations must be immediately established with the Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe and France. This will strengthen India's position against the imperial exploiter who yet remains in India and lords it on Indian soil.

THIRDLY, at this stage when French imperialism is laying its violent hands on the young struggling Viet-Nam Republic, it must be India who truly voices the feelings of the colonial and Asiatic peoples at New York, who must take up Viet-Nam's cause before the Security Council of UNO and force France to come to a democratic peaceful settlement with Viet-Nam based on recognition of the Republic's independence.

All these and many other tasks yet remain before Pandit Nehru and the Interim Government if they are to carry forward the proud freedom and anti-imperialist traditions created by the Indian delegation at UNO.

And certainly in carrying them out all India will vigorously support the efforts of Pandit Nehru and demand that any bureaucratic imperialist obstructions and sabotage be vigorously and uncompromisingly pushed aside.

'GO FORWARD TO REVOLUTIONARY CAPTURE OF POWER

Fight Against British Is Biggest Solvent Of All Our Quarrels'

By A. S. R. CHARL

Somnath Lahiri, Communist representative in the Constituent Assembly, tabled as an amendment to Pandit Nehru's objectives resolution the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, published in People's Age dated December 15.

As has already been reported in the daily Press, the amendment was ruled out of order on the ground that while Pandit Nehru's resolution only declared the aims of the Assembly, Lahiri's resolution was a call to action and thus not within the scope of the resolution.

LAHIRI pointed out that Panditji's resolution dealt with the establishment of an independent, sovereign republic and his amendment did nothing more than show HOW it could be realised. Babu Rajendra Prasad, however, ruled out the amendment.

Lahiri, however, was able to express the viewpoint of the Communist Party when he spoke on the main resolution on December 19.

British Imposition Now

The Communist representative congratulated Pandit Nehru on the magnificent expression he gave to the spirit of the Indian people when he declared in his speech that any imposition from the British would be resisted and fought against and if need be, we would walk the valley of struggle.

But, said Lahiri, that imposition from the British was present right here and now:

"British insolence is growing every single day. Even if we could frame a Constitution, they have made its acceptance dependent upon a treaty 'satisfactory' to the British. This Assembly is meeting under the shadow of British guns, of the Viceroy's special powers and the financial and economic stranglehold of British imperialism.

"The British have made sure that for every little difference we shall have to run to Federal Court or to London. And to crown it all, Mr. Attlee in his latest statement has ended with the threat of separation and the division of our country."

Lahiri declared that Dr. Jayakar "who has grown grey interpreting British Imperialist laws", had probably correctly pointed out the limitations which the British Cabinet Plan imposed upon the Assembly:

"But that need not frighten us. Dr. Jayakar wants us to wait for their Highnesses, the Princes, to come in so that they can have a hand in distorting our future freedom."

League's Entry

Lahiri then spoke of the question of the League's entry into the Constituent Assembly:

"It is essential that there should be an agreement between the Congress and the League to fight the British for freedom. But I am NOT sorry that the League has not come in. I am only sorry that the Congress has not gone out to leave the British Plan to stew in its own juice.

"Some people think that with the League and the Congress inside this Assembly and operating the British Plan, there will be an end to all our quarrels and we will win our freedom. But you have seen the Interim Government, which is the other half of the same plan. Both the Congress and the League are present in it, but the quarrels have not end-

ed, they have only been carried into the Government itself.

"Similarly, with regard to this Assembly whether the Congress is in, and the League is out, or whether both are in, the British have taken good care to see that on every issue, strife grows and we are prevented from uniting to fight the British.

Only Alternatives

"So long as the Congress and the League seek to utilise the British Plan to fight against each other, the British are able to provoke fratricidal warfare and get themselves tighter into the saddle.

"Therefore, I ask you to make an end of the British Plan, declare independence here and now, declare the Interim Government the Free Provisional Government of India, and call upon the Indian people to fight

against the British to assure that independence.

"In the long history of the struggles of the Indian people it has been seen again and again that a fight against the British is also the biggest solvent of all our quarrels."

Referring to the realities that face the Constituent Assembly, Lahiri pointed out that though from a wrong angle, Dr. Jayakar rightly posed the only alternatives before the Assembly, and said:

"Either submit to the British Plan or go to the revolutionary seizure of power. Playing upon the fear of revolution that some of you have got, Dr. Jayakar has asked you to follow faithfully the British Plan which in my opinion, can only lead to civil war and the British remaining in power.

"I call upon you to take the other alternative and go forward to revolutionary capture of power from the British."

Self-Determination

Lahiri emphasised his fervent desire for the establishment of an Indian Union, and in this connection criticised paragraph three of Pandit Nehru's resolution. He said that this paragraph gave only autonomy and residuary powers to the Provinces and did NOT give the right of secession to linguistic and cultural national units.

Pointing out that unity could not be had by force and compulsion, but only by the free voluntary will of the people, Lahiri called for the unfettered right of self-determination for the

people of each national unit—that is, the right to decide by the plebiscite of the entire adult population whether they will join the Indian Union or form a separate State.

"If", added Lahiri, "a reactionary section of the Muslim League leaders has been able to distort the freedom urge of various nationalities into religious separatism... the responsibility rests with the Congress for not unequivocally recognising the right of the people of any national unit to self-determination."

"Whatever halting recognition there was in the old Congress Working Committee resolution that no territorial unit could be compelled against its wishes to join the Union, that has also been given up by this third paragraph of the resolution, which denies the right of secession to any unit. Such compulsion will only make it impossible to secure the unity of India."

Fundamental Rights

Recognising the civic and fundamental rights catalogued in the resolution as good, the Communist spokesman pointed out that what really mattered was their implementation in practice. He cited several cases where under Popular Ministries in the Provinces these rights have been freely violated.

Referring to the guarantees contained in the resolution for the Depressed Classes, etc., Lahiri said that they would mean nothing, unless representation

was based on adult suffrage, joint electorates, and proportional representation, by which all parties whether communal or political, could be assured of being represented on the basis of the total number of votes polled.

This, he said, would give the necessary guarantee to communal minorities and at the same time encourage the representation of political parties, which would gradually cut across communal divisions and put our political divisions on a healthy party basis.

Summing Up

The Communist member summed up the resolution by saying that any freedom-loving Indian would support its first paragraph wherein the aim of declaring India an independent, sovereign republic has been stated.

Apart from this and the promises about fundamental rights, etc., the resolution could be summed up as being on the one hand, pressure against the British (when you tell them that you will have a free India, whatever their designs may be) and on the other hand, pressure against the Leaguers (where you insist on the compulsory unity of India).

Lahiri pointed out that pressure against a brother party only tends to nullify the effect of pressure against the British and leads to the non-realisation of any party's demands and to the continuation of British power.

He urged the Assembly to (Continued on page 4)

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

Recruits From Nepal

IN Nepal, soldiers are being recruited.

A group of officers, led by a Captain from the 1st Mahratta Regiment, has been sent to Nepal on a recruiting tour. Their immediate target is two thousand recruits and they have instructions to begin a mass drive as soon as the initial target is completed.

There is nothing unusual about recruitment in Nepal, for it has always provided regiments for the Indian Army.

But this time's recruitment is very different, according to a letter I have received from Khatmandu.

Gurkhas are being recruited NOT for the Indian Army, but for the IMPERIAL SERVICE CORPS—that is for Britain's own forces.

There has been considerable opposition in nationalist circles all over the country to the confused retention of Nepal troops, for these troops—still kept very backward—have been persistently used by the British against the freedom movement.

The imperialists—bright and brilliant as they are—sensed that this opposition was sufficiently strong to make the Interim Government resist further recruitment of Gurkhas into the Indian Army.

But they needed Gurkhas badly—more and more of them—to help them keep the Jolly Old Empire intact. So, why not recruit the Gurkhas direct into the British Army? And that's the secret of the Imperial Service Corps' Gurkha recruits. This is an ominous development and a pretty good sign of things to come. It is "independent" Nepal, which people are being called into British army, away from India.

Tomorrow, you can take it all the other Princes from the Nizam and Kashmir's Hari Singh downwards, may be providing troops for the "Im-

peril Service Corps."

India must make an emphatic protest against this monstrous British design.

Already the Gurkhas of Darjeeling, who have shaken off the old fetters of "loyalty" and have now placed themselves firmly on the side of the freedom forces, are running a campaign against this forcible use of their still-backward Nepal brothers for the dirty task of keeping the sun shining on the Union Jack!

Union Jack

TALKING of the Union Jack, I have just been reminded by a correspondent that there is a Government order—still in force in every Province—according to which this wretched emblem of imperialism has to be flown over all public buildings whenever an important Government official (such as the Viceroy or a Governor) visits it.

All Secretariats must fly the Union Jack.

Top Divisional and District offices must fly the Union Jack over their courts, their offices, their homes, on the bonnets of their cars.

The Popular Ministries can with just a stroke of the pen rescind the order, but they have not done so.

Obviously, the Governors and the bureaucracy insist on its retention.

And the Ministers do not look so worthwhile making an issue of it.

But is it really so unimportant? The habits do not think so—they insist that the Government order remain in force.

Our national movement has not for nothing had as one of its rallying cries: "Down with the Union Jack."

And if the Ministers have allowed the bureaucracy to have everything their own way on this issue, the people won't.

On December 12, the students of the Madras Engineering College

came out on strike as a protest against the flying of the Union Jack on the occasion of the Governor's visit to the college.

The recent convocation of the Punjab University had to be held for the first time in history without the Union Jack flying overhead—as a result of the students' emphatic decision to demonstrate, if it were possible, against the flying of the flag.

These two incidents are signs of the real popular indignation at the continued existence of the Union Jack Government Order. The Ministries must take a firm stand and bring down the flag from all Government buildings. If the Governors resist, the Ministries can summon them to action the active support of the entire people.

Haul down the Union Jack!

Nationalisation!

CERTAIN gentlemen are very alarmed that Provinces like Bombay, Punjab and Madras are going ahead with plans for the nationalisation of road transport services.

You can imagine quite well who these gentlemen are—the fellows who own the buses and the trucks and the lorries which fleece the Indian passenger today.

Yes, they are moving heaven and hell to prove that nationalisation just won't do.

Four representatives of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association Ltd. met Mr. Asaf Ali, Member for Communications, on November 11. I have with me a copy of a letter from the General Secretary of the Association, giving details of the conversation.

The chief object of the deputation was:

"To explore the possibility of the Government of India discouraging attempts by the Provincial Governments to nationalise road trans-

port services."

The deputation trotted out the usual hackneyed arguments of all capitalists against nationalisation: "initiative and enterprise" will be "the first casualty"; "the flexibility of road transport" will be "destroyed"; there will be "rigidity and inordinate delays"; an "acute labour problem" will arise! And so on and on, nothing meaningful nor new.

"Mr. Asaf Ali did not refute any of our arguments", says the letter proudly.

Wherever really Popular Governments have been in power, these arguments have been brushed aside, and we have got on with the job.

Today it is a question of just the road transport industry, NOT of the nationalisation of all key industries. And the capitalists, in this private letter of theirs, are boasting that their arguments had "effect" on a Popular Minister.

The only way to show up their boasts for lies is for the Interim and the Provincial Governments to go ahead resolutely with the programme for the nationalisation of ALL key industries.

By the way, it may interest you to know that one of the chief spokesmen of the road kings—one of the four members of the deputationists was Mr. H. R. Masani, that gentleman who boasts of his "Socialism" and is fully paid (three-thousand-a-month) servant of the Taks.

"Socialism"

Mr. Masani is now Big Business' chief advocate against nationalisation. In the Central Assembly, when the question of the nationalisation of Air Services was raised, it was the "Socialist" Masani who jumped to his feet and trotted out his master's theories about nationalisation not being in the interests of the people!

And doubtless, again and again, the vested interests will ask Mr. Masani to represent them. He has made a special study in "How To Keep India's Vested Interests In 'Fact.'" Keep it up, Masani! Yours is the true "Socialism"—and like everything else about you—it is Taks-brand.

Ramesh Chandra

BRITISH BUSINESS GETS FIRM GRIP OVER INDIA'S TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Deal For Manufacture Of Spinning Machinery

An Indo-British business deal has just been announced from London, for the manufacture of textile spinning machinery in India. The parties to the deal are Mr. Krishnaraj Thakersey, acting on behalf of the Indian textile delegation to Britain, and Mr. Kenneth Preston, Chairman of the Textile Machinery Makers' Limited (TMM). The British firm is to give full assistance and cooperation in starting the concern and the project provides for the formation of an Indian company with a Rs. 1½ crore capital.

Now this deal is important from more than one point of view.

FIRST, it is to manufacture very badly needed spinning machinery which is essential for increasing cloth production in India and relieving cloth shortage.

SECONDLY, as a business group, the Indian side in the deal is very powerful. The textile-delegation was representative of the most powerful branch of Indian industry. Its leader, Mr. Krishnaraj Thakersey, has been President of the Central Textile Control Board for some time. Besides, it was the first industrialists' delegation to go to England under the present Interim Government.

There is a general presumption, therefore, that the delegation should have secured the best possible terms from the British—i.e., no technical or financial control by the British. As the Commerce has put it:

"The very fact that the delegation was sent by a truly national Government and that its efforts are to be, if they have not already been, judged and approved by the Government should be proof positive that there is nothing in the delegation's agreement with the TMM which is prejudicial to the interests of India."

Hard Bargain

The Commerce has, in fact, made the definite claim that the terms of this new deal are such that—

"They.....indicate that British businessmen there have changed in their outlook towards India and are more reasonable and eager to enter into business deals with their Indian counterparts without putting forward unreasonable demands to which no self-respecting country would subscribe."

And further:

"We can confidently state that they (the delegation) have done much better than some of the individual industrialists—the newly formed automobile and rayon concerns, for instance—who have secured technical skill from abroad."

And yet, the light the Commerce itself throws on the terms of the deal show that there is no real 'CHANGE'. British business has once again driven a hard bargain and has now got a long-term, permanent stake in this very strategic industry on which depends the development of India's textile industry.

COMMUNIST MEMBER'S SPEECH IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

(Continued from page 3.)

cease pressure tactics against a brother party, to come to a democratic agreement with the Muslim people and increase a hundredfold pressure against the British, by beginning the fight for independence here and now, so that the goal of an independent, sovereign republic of India might be achieved.

Lahiri's powerful plea for forming unity on a democratic basis, for fighting the British, was the first clear breath of reality in the Constituent Assembly proceedings till now.

Though many Congress delegates raised points of order, minus any substance, and tried to interrupt him, it was clear for all to see that leaders like Pandit Nehru listened to him attentively. Lahiri replied to the points of order with unruffled composure and continued the main thread of his argument.

tial period, with a maximum of 40,000 spindles per month to be reached within FIVE years from the commencement of production which may be early in 1948."

4) Two specialists of TMM's will be reaching India in the first week of January to direct technical construction.

5) The TMM are to have a hold on the new concern for a "long period."

6) Immediately, the TMM are shifting one of their own plants to India "where the prices of raw material and the cost of labour alike are relatively cheaper" and "they can easily satisfy the requirements of India, which they cannot do at present" from England, where costs are prohibitive. The products of this TMM plant and of the future Indo-British plant are to be sold jointly.

Main Features

It will be seen that the deal has three outstanding features:

1) The British firm is getting a long-term financial stake in the new Indo-British concern.

2) Actual progress to manufacture in India depends upon the British technicians and experts.

3) Immediately, the TMM are taking advantage of this deal to get an independent foothold in India by shifting their own plant here.

These terms are no better than terms secured by the National Rayon Corporation or other deals referred to. In fact, they are worse than most other Indo-British deals (the Imperial Chemicals-Tata and Nuffield-Birla deals, for instance) because the British have a big share in the Board of Directors.

The only 'difference' the Commerce is able to point out is that there is to be no payment of royalties. But that is neither here nor there. When one sees the other financial and technical advantages the British firm has got without royalty payment—it is not surprising that they have not insisted on payment of royalties.

The truth is that as long as vital industries are left in the hands of private business, penetration of British Big Business cannot be prevented. The weight of the Interim Government will count for nothing as long as it allows Indo-British business deals to go through.

The only way in which British Big Business can be kept out of vital Indian industries and advance towards actual manufacture speeded up, is along the lines indicated by the National Planning Committee:

"Foreign interests now exercising predominant control over certain vital industries," said the Committee in a resolution passed on November 12, 1945, "should be acquired by the State" and "hereafter investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted to involve ownership in respect of industries of national importance."

"It is possible," it added, "in view of India's vast capital requirements in the coming years that she may need capital from other countries. It is not, however, in her interest to accept it if it is required for essential industries, except in the shape of loans or credits raised by or through the State."

It is time the Interim Government tried to implement these sound decisions of the Planning Committee.

There is not even a pretence at a patriotic appeal! There is not the slightest effort to make the common people purchase shares so that they can have the deciding voice.

My information is that the CSP leaders have NOT rejected Dalmia's offer.

I have recently come across a circular of the U.P. Provincial Congress Socialist Party dated December 2 where it calls upon its branches to collect funds for the presentation of purses to Syt. Jaiprakash Narain. It says quite categorically:

"There are only two ways of collecting funds—One is to collect large amounts from a handful of rich people and the other is to collect small amounts in a vast field from a large number. Is it at all necessary to tell Socialists which is the better of these two ways?"

I would merely like to add: It is not a question of which is the BETTER of the two ways. One is the Socialist way, the other is definitely NOT and leads not to Socialism but to subservience to Big Business.

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by ARUN ROSE

The main points of the deal are:

1) The TMM will have a share in the capital—whose exact amount is not known, but is generally suspected to be a huge amount. Further, this share "will not merely consist of the shares that will be allotted to them in consideration of their willingness to teach Indians the technique of producing textile machinery but will also include a substantial amount of their own funds."

British Grip

In other words, on top of a free gift of shares, there will be direct money investment by the British firm giving them a strong financial grip on the firm.

2) Twentyfive per cent of the seats on the Board of Directors will be reserved for the TMM.

3) "The Company will concern itself with the production of spinning machinery—practically all the parts of a spinning plant. The productive capacity of the factory will be 20,000 spindles per month in the ini-

WHERE STANDS THE LEFT?

BIG BUSINESS

A COPY of an appeal for funds which was recently made in Cawnpore has been sent to us. Its headline reads: "Donate as much as possible for the Jaiprakash Fund."

It proposes that a purse be presented to Syt. Jaiprakash Narain on his visit to Cawnpore—an object in which many Left Congressmen would be glad to join.

Below this appeal are signatures of the following five gentlemen:

* Ram Rattan Gupta (owner of the Lalchurmittan Mill and many other factories—one of the biggest capitalists of the Province).

* Rai Bahadur Hari Shankar Bagla (another ace capitalist, one of the top-sight of profiteers in the United Provinces).

* J. K. Srivastava (son of the "famous" Sir J. P. Srivastava and Director of the Victoria Mill, one of Cawnpore's big business bosses).

* Sir Hargovind Misra (he received his Knighthood for his war services).

* Sri Bahadur Brijendra Swarup (leader of the Hindu Mahasabha). With the five notables' signatures are also the signatures of the CSP leaders, Syt. Rajaram Shastri and Hariharanath Shastri.

Why Should They Pay?

The signatures speak for themselves.

There may be some people who think that to take big money from the enemies of Socialism can help the Socialist cause. They should think hard and ask themselves:

Why should powerful capitalists like Ram Rattan, Bagla and Srivastava pay for a cause which ought to spell their doom?

Why should toady Knights and Rai Bahadurs be prepared to align themselves openly with a revolutionary anti-imperialist party?

Why should a Hindu communalist like Brijendra Swarup line himself up with a cause which should spell the death of communalism?

These are important questions. They have an answer. And it is not that these mighty men—Ram Rattan, Bagla and Co.—are fools, who throw their money about without thinking, without expecting to get something in return.

No truly Socialist party worth the name anywhere in the world has been financed by vicious capitalists of the brand mentioned above.

Publishing House

THE Cawnpore appeal is not an exception.

Recently the CSP leaders have floated the "National Information and Publications Ltd." with an authorized capital of fifty lakhs. Mrs. Kusum Nair of the CSP is to be the Managing Director, and her Nair-Press-Syndicate, the Managing Agents.

All the prominent CSPers are either Directors or on the Board of Advisers: Syt. Jaiprakash Narain, Ashoka Mohita, Yusuf Meherally, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chottopadhyaya, etc.

But the chief financiers, who are on the Board of Directors, are:

* Mr. Dharanagay M. Khatau, the Chairman (he is too well-known to need description; in the Prospectus of the concern, he is marked as a Director of THIRTY-SEVEN concerns).

* Mr. Gaganvirat L. Mehta, another prominent industrialist and Manager of the Saldia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

* Mr. Jehangir P. Patel (Director of four concerns including an Insurance Company, the Bhopal Sugar Industries Ltd., a Cotton Association and Partner of Patel Bros.).

* Col. Sir Kailas Narain Haksar (Director of Associated Hotels of India Ltd., Model Bombay Corporation Ltd. and Sunrise Insurance Co., Ltd. etc.)

* Mr. Govindbandas Aggarwal (another big Director).

It is also interesting to see the confidential circular sent out to big businessmen to interest them in the shares of this "Socialist" concern. The only

argument put up for investment is: "A fairly high return is sure for the investors."

There is not even a pretence at a patriotic appeal!

There is not the slightest effort to make the common people purchase shares so that they can have the deciding voice.

Dalmia's "Offer"

The latest news is that Seth Dalmia, who recently purchased the Delhi "National Call" and proposes to publish two English and two Hindi dailies from Delhi, has approached the Congress Socialist leaders to ask them to help him in "editing" these journals.

He has approached at least two or three prominent Hindi progressive journalists and I gather that they point-blank refused on the ground that they would not serve a capitalist like Dalmia.

My information is that the CSP leaders have NOT rejected Dalmia's offer.

Two Ways

Congress Socialist ranks must ask themselves seriously again and again how the finances of such men as those mentioned above can ever help to build a Socialist party.

I have recently come across a circular of the U.P. Provincial Congress Socialist Party dated December 2 where it calls upon its branches to collect funds for the presentation of purses to Syt. Jaiprakash Narain. It says quite categorically:

"There are only two ways of collecting funds—One is to collect large amounts from a handful of rich people and the other is to collect small amounts in a vast field from a large number. Is it at all necessary to tell Socialists which is the better of these two ways?"

I would merely like to add: It is not a question of which is the BETTER of the two ways. One is the Socialist way, the other is definitely NOT and leads not to Socialism but to subservience to Big Business.

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Trade Unions— "A Western Gift"

ON December 1, Pandit Ravi Shanker Shukla, Premier of the Central Provinces, visited Raipur, his home-town. Speaking at a meeting under the auspices of a Congress-led Labour Union, the Premier made the following observations, amongst others:

—Trade Unions are "a Western Gift," without which the peasants and workers of India have lived in peace for years.

—Labour and capital supplement each other, one cannot do without the other—and so there is absolutely no need for a fight with the capitalists by the workers.

—The workers and peasants must organise themselves only under the Congress banner, otherwise there would be serious consequences and he would be forced to "separate" them from those who organised them outside the Congress.

The Premier spoke as a Congressman but I am sure all Congressmen will agree with me that the sort of observations which I have quoted above are quite contrary to all that the Congress stands for.

A Congress Worker
Raipur (C.P.)
December 5.

Nationalist Muslims In The Punjab

CHAUDHRI Lahri Singh is the Minister for Local Self-Government in the Punjab. He is one of the two Congress Ministers in the Coalition with the Unionist Party. Recently nominations to the various Municipal Committees in the Province have been made by him.

It was a shock to most Congressmen that in the case of nominations of Muslims, Nationalists were completely ignored and old toady Unionists were almost invariably selected, particularly in the case of the important city of Amritsar.

In the first place, of course, we expected that the entire system of nominations to Municipal committees would be given up by the Congress Minister; but, assuming that he was not able to convince his Unionist "colleagues", the least he could have done was to see that not a single toady is pushed into the committees.

Had Chaudhri Lahri Singh fought the Unionist Party on this issue, he would have won the support of all Congressmen, irrespective of their inner-party differences.

Amritsar. "Indiar"
Permit

Workers' Meetings
S. G. Patkar, General Secretary, Bombay Girl Kamgar Union (Red Flag) writes:—

M. R. K. Bhogale, the President, and Mr. G. L. Reddy, an organiser of our Union, were arrested this morning (17th) by the Bombay Police when they were talking to the workers of the Indian Manufacturing Co., Jacob Circle, who have been on a legal strike for the last 24 days. Mr. Bhogale was subsequently let off, but Mr. Reddy was kept in custody.

Yesterday evening some peaceful workers were also arrested; later they were released.

Similarly, the police wanted to disperse by force a private gathering of workers of the Moon Mills assembled this morning in a private chawl to discuss the question of resumption of work. Last week some 8,000 workers were driven on the street; and 8,000 others refused to take their wages.

The workers have also decided not to take the annual bonus as it is miserly. Some four mills covering more than 10,000 workers are affected by the proposed rationalisation measures.

It is clear that the millowners want to rush through rationalisation and break the workers' organisation before the award of the Industrial Court regarding some of the basic demands of the workers is published.

Taking into consideration the rapidly worsening situation, our Union had several times approached the Police authorities to give permission to hold meetings and explain the situation to the workers. Unfortunately, the permission was refused.

We, therefore, take this opportunity to appeal to the police authorities and to Mr. Morarjee Deral, the Home Minister, to allow us to hold our meetings and continue our usual trade-union activities. The excuse of riots is not tenable at all.

I appeal to the Home Minister to intervene personally and restore the 'trade unions' rights and civil liberties immediately.

Bengal Kisans Wage Their Biggest Struggle

BATTLING WITH UNABATED ZEAL AGAINST POLICE TERROR

From Nikhil Chakravarty

Calcutta, December 22.

(We publish below a report from our Bengal Correspondent on the Tebhaga movement—the share-croppers' struggle for two-thirds of the produce of the land they cultivate. This struggle, which has already spread to ELEVEN districts (see People's Age, December 16 and 23) is the biggest struggle which Bengal's kisans have ever launched. They are harvesting the crop despite the severest repression and terror, taking their rightful two-thirds and leaving the rest for the landlord.)

Wherever the Tebhaga movement is on, Hindu and Muslim kisans are solidly united, a firm guarantee that communal riots shall not take place.—Editor.

In a Press note issued on December 17, the Bengal Government stated that it was giving its "anxious consideration" to the share-croppers' struggle "with a view to providing for a satisfactory solution of the question." The statement "urged the landlords in their own interests to accommodate the bargadars."

In the still confidential Draft Tenancy Bill, prepared by the Bengal Secretariat—which is to be moved in the coming session of the Bengal Assembly—the Government recognises unequivocally the right for which the kisans are fighting.

I understand that one of its clauses runs as follows:

"No person who has let out his land on 'barga' shall recover more than one-third of the produce."

But despite this recognition of the justness of the peasants' demands, despite the Government's own instructions to the jotedars to "accommodate" the share-croppers, the police and bureaucracy in the districts have started an open offensive against the kisans participating in the Tebhaga movement.

No Longer Mere Economic Struggle

The battle of Bengal's share-cropping kisans has thus today passed beyond a mere economic struggle against the jotedars and zamindars, the whole apparatus of Bengal's notorious steel-frame bureaucracy is being clamped down on them.

At first the bureaucrats thought that by arresting or intimidating the Kisan Sabha leaders they would be able to stifle the movement. But now realising that Bengal's share-cropper of 1946 is determined to take his own just share out of the harvest without waiting for any sahib's permission, they have let loose an orgy of repression on him.

Reports from every centre of the struggle—whether it is Alokola in Dinajpur, Kendemari in Midnapore or Narail in Jessore or Netrokona in Mymensingh, all repeat one story: police terror—Section 144, arrests under Sub-Sections 107 and 379, vandalism in village after village, destroying the poor kisans' property, assaulting kisan women and forcible seizure of paddy, leading to open clashes with the determined kisan men and women.

Referring to the struggle of Halang and Dalu kisans of Narail area, the District Magistrate of Mymensingh, in his fortnightly confidential report, to his bosses in the Bengal Secretariat, wrote on December 10:

"The S.D.O. has taken appropriate action under law; but it is reported by the Superintendent of Police that it has not produced the desired result. The Superintendent of Police has asked for action under the Special Powers Ordinance 45 against a number of leaders."

The District Magistrate in his report then expresses utter helplessness under the existing law. He goes on to quote a note from the S.D.O., Netrokona:

"Occasionally on being led by them (Communists) the bargadars of Kallai and Singher Bangla Unions in Netrokona have commenced reaping away the entire quantity of paddy of each land to their own

houses instead of taking it to the houses of landlords according to the prevailing custom. Under the existing law we could give very little protection to the landlord."

"In some specific cases where people other than actual bargadars reaped away the paddy at the instigation of the Communists, I have issued some non-bailable warrants against offenders on receipt of complaints from landlords."

In practice under this plea, the S.D.O. has started arresting Kisan Sabha workers. The District Magistrate also refers to the demand by the Police Superintendent for action under the Special Powers Ordinance against the Communists of Netrokona and continues:

"Similar action has been asked for by the Additional District Magistrate who is now at Kishoreganj against a number of Communists of the Sub-Division."

Officials Trying Their Tricks

Mymensingh officials are also trying other tricks. On December 13, the Additional District Magistrate called a conference at Netrokona of jotedars, share-croppers and Communist Party representatives. Here the jotedars refused to come to any terms and openly threatened the kisans while the Magistrate slyly kept quiet. But immediately after this meeting was over, armed police raided the Kisan Sabha and Communist Party offices and arrested 17 kisan leaders.

All over the district in every hat (market) the District Magistrate has announced by the beat of drums that share-croppers trying to change the present iniquitous practice would be punishable by law.

Even the police is being lent to help the jotedars reap the harvest. At Nilaganj two constables were found working as day labourers for the local jotedar. But the kisans now are fighting in self-defence—they will not stand any further encroachments on their rights.

In Jessore, the Tebhaga movement has also had to face severe police repression, but the kisan is battling with unabated zeal. From Abhoynagar, armed police reported back to their headquarters:

"After posting guards, the kisans are cutting away paddy at four times their usual speed. Unless large-scale arrests are made, no grain will come to the landlords."

Indiscriminate Arrests: Villages Combed Out

This was followed by indiscriminate arrests and the combing out of villages by armed police:

In Dinajpur, a stronghold of the organised kisan movement, the Tebhaga struggle has just started getting into its stride. The District authorities at first thought of stopping it by intimidation. They called a conference of all parties on December 9 and demanded that the movement should be stopped "to create a peaceful atmosphere for negotiations" (which is really to get the paddy secure in the jotedars' possession).

When they could not get that accepted by the Communist leaders, they next tried to frighten them by saying that big jotedars with their money and men are strong enough to crush the kisans.

When even that did not work, they throw out an open challenge that in two days, they would smash the movement by arresting all leaders (though actually they had already arrested 14 kisan leaders including the District Secretary of the Communist Party, and yet the movement had gained in volume day by day).

The District Intelligence Branch is sending panicky reports to their central office. A fortnight ago in their report they stated that though Tebhaga at present is directed against jotedars, really it is endangering the safety of the Government; and this they sought to prove by extensive quotations from speeches of kisan leaders and concluded by saying that without "stern measures" spe-



Kisan elders and leaders—Hindus and Muslims—of Jessore.

cially against the leaders, it could not be checked.

Circulars have been sent out to thanas to keep a special watch on the Communists; a circular even said that the Central Government too is contemplating declaring the Communist Party illegal.

District officials are often meeting local Congress and League leaders and putting across the line that the Provincial Congress and League leaderships are all against Tebhaga and that it will heighten communal tension.

But all the Government repression and their false propaganda are merely betraying its utter impotence when faced by the determined kisans. The movement is spreading to new areas in the 24-Parganas, etc., where the Kisan Sabha has never been known before. The spirit of the kisans is unbroken.

Krishna Benode Roy, President of the Bengal Kisan Sabha, who is now touring the North Bengal sector of the struggle, has written about a small incident in Rangpur:

"As I was entering the village of Bargacha near Domar, kisan men and women flocked round me and with irrepressible exuberance went on narrating stories of their triumphant harvesting and how they are fighting the local jotedars. One kisan with a great deal of emotion exclaimed: 'Rangpur is going to be free.' Ghulam Aziz, another kisan, corrected him: 'Not only Rangpur, but the whole of Bengal is going to be free; nobody can stop us.'"

This is the spirit that has soldered Bengal's Hindu and Muslim kisans and no show of force can today terrify him.

End Repression On Kisans

Bengal Communist Leader's Demand On League Ministry

Bhowani Sen, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

I have seen a statement of the Bengal Government published in Bombay newspaper regarding the Tebhaga struggle of the Bengal kisans. It is reported that the Bengal Government is "giving anxious consideration to it with a view to providing for a satisfactory solution of the question" and that "Legislation for this purpose would be brought in the next session".

The statement is reported to have "urged landlords in their own interests to accommodate bargadars."

I welcome this statement as a recognition of the justness of the struggle of the kisans who demand 2/3 of the crop instead of half.

At the same time I insist that the Government must unequivocally grant 2/3 of the crop and tenancy right on land to the share-croppers in their proposed legislation.

Meanwhile, the Government must forthwith release all those who have been arrested in this connection, withdraw all cases that have been instituted, and withdraw all police forces that have been posted in the villages to help the landlords to suppress the kisans.

If the Government is sincere about the statement they have made, they must adopt these measures immediately and thereby restore justice and fairplay.

I congratulate the kisans who have been valiantly fighting for a just demand peacefully in the face of gravest provocation and hope they will carry on their just and unflinching struggle till they achieve complete success.

I appeal to all freedom-loving patriots both inside the Congress and the League to compel the bureaucracy to withdraw all cases and the police force from the villages.

Kisans all over Bengal must now join the struggle under the banner of the Kisan Sabha. Kisans must not relax their struggle till all landlords all over Bengal unconditionally accept the demand.

Bombay, December 18.

Support For Tebhaga

The League Ministry in Bengal is doing nothing to stop the unbridled repression against the kisans fighting for Tebhaga despite their pious professions of serving the interest of Muslim kisans. Nor is the Provincial League leadership doing anything to help the movement. But despite this, the movement is winning increasingly the support of local and important League leaders.

MAULVI SHAMSUL HAQ, League the horizon? In Jessore, the local Students' Federation statement has called on the ration and the Muslim Students' League Provincial Muslim League to demand that the Government should pass an Ordinance enforcing Tebhaga. Congress leaders are supporting the while deploring the attitude of the Tebhaga.

In Mymensingh and Rangpur, the earnestly taking up their cause when the common people are spontaneously joining the struggle, he has asked the Chief Minister to intervene, and stop police repression.

Shamsul Haq himself intervened along with local Congress and Communist workers at Tangal and brought about a settlement between the jotedars and share-croppers.

Manvi Hyderali, of Rangpur, a member of the Provincial League Council, urges every honest person to support the movement. Warning all those who call the movement 'anti-Muslim' he says:

"In my opinion, such a stand is suicidal; by weakening the Tebhaga movement, the Muslim kisans' interests will suffer the most harm."

Abdul Malek, a League MLA and Vice-President of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, in a statement had condemned repression and appealed to leaders of all parties to support this just demand of Tebhaga.

The Congress leadership has not said a word in support of this remarkable joint Hindu-Muslim struggle of Bengal kisans. But many sections of reactionary opinion have come out in support of Tebhaga.

Twenty leading teachers, professors, lawyers, doctors and public workers in a statement hailed "this united movement of thousands of Hindu-Muslim kisans as a golden ray of hope in which community they may belong."

RAILWAYMEN FIGHTING BACK MANAGERMENTS' OFFENSIVE

Threatened Retrenchment Of One Lakh Workers Will Be Resisted

(With the exception of about 100,000 workers of the...)

While the reformists... the management...

But both these... the management...

On the M. S. I. The M. S. I. Railway...

On the B.B.C.I. The B.B.C.I. Railway...

In Indian States The Indian States Railway...

On the North-Western Railway...

On the G. I. P. The G. I. P. Railway...

On the B.B.C.I. (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

On the North-Western Railway (continued)...

On the G. I. P. (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

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On the G. I. P. (continued)...

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On the North-Western Railway (continued)...

On the G. I. P. (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

On the B.B.C.I. (continued)...

Fighting Riots Along the R.R. where the 1100...

On the B.B.C.I. (continued)...

Fighting Riots (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

Fighting Riots (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

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Fighting Riots (continued)...

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Fighting Riots (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

Fighting Riots (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

Fighting Riots (continued)...

In Indian States (continued)...

Fighting Riots (continued)...

AMALNER FIRING UNJUSTIFIABLE

Eye-Witnesses' Conclusive Evidence

On August 19, the police opened fire on a meeting of 1000...

On August 19, the police opened fire on a meeting of 1000...

DESI "visited the scene of firing and examined independent eye-witnesses...

DESI "visited the scene of firing and examined independent eye-witnesses...

GOVT'S Non-Intervention Responsible

GOVT'S Non-Intervention Responsible

Tracing the history of the dispute in which one Union...

Tracing the history of the dispute in which one Union...

No Warning To Disperse Given

No Warning To Disperse Given

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DESI "visited the scene of firing and examined independent eye-witnesses...

Workers On The March

CALCUTTA PORT WORKERS' GREAT VICTORY

WHEN 22,000 Hindu and Muslim workers united even in a communally-torn Calcutta...

(1) Not to observe the 1000 clerks and workers...

(2) No further notices without consulting the Union.

(3) These to be finally re-negotiated would be given a re-employment bonus...

(4) The cases of the five dismissed worker-leaders...

(5) Workers' demands regarding basic wage, bonus, advance, etc.

(6) Workers' demands regarding basic wage, bonus, advance, etc.

(7) Workers' demands regarding basic wage, bonus, advance, etc.

At The ILO Textile Committee Meeting

India Govt. Delegate Refuses To Support Demand For 40-Hour Week

By P. B. Rangnekar

"The Government of India have so far honoured not more than 10 per cent of the decisions of the International Labour Organisation...

SHORTER HOURS, MORE OUTPUT

The Standard Motor Co. of London recently announced that contrary to expectations...

"We showed from instances from Britain itself how a shorter work-week necessarily increased production by doing away with absenteeism, etc.

ASSAM TUC MEETS

Assam TUC met on 19th at Assam TUC meeting...

A.I.T.U.C. SESSION AT CALCUTTA

The twenty-second session of the All India Trade Union Congress will be held at Calcutta from February 12 to 25, 1957...



On strike workers of the Gumbhara Jute Mills (Chhindergarh).

FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS MADE IMPOSSIBLE IN KASHMIR

National Conference Decision To Boycott

From Our Correspondent Lahore, Dec. 22.

The Jammu and Kashmir National Conference has decided to boycott the January elections to the Praja Sabha (State Assembly). This decision, taken by a conference of workers who are outside jail, and approved by imprisoned leaders has been made in view of the terrible repression in the State under Premier Kak's regime and unparalleled official interference, which turned the elections into a farce.

WHEN Pandit Nehru advised the National Conference to fight the elections, there were some leaders and workers of the National Conference who expressed their firm opinion that such a step would harm and weaken the Quit Kashmir struggle. They argued that elections under a virtual Martial Law regime could never help to develop the movement, but would only sidetrack the struggle.

People's Age repeatedly pointed out that Panditji's instructions in this matter would not as a brake on the Kashmiri people, that the movement would be retarded, that the elections would be a farce.

But the National Conference leaders unanimously accepted Panditji's advice and threw themselves resolutely into the election campaign.

Premier Kak issued a pious statement saying that the elections would be "free and fair" and there would be no official interference.

But in the meanwhile, he got ready his "election weapons."

This Is Quit Kashmir

The National Conference brought out an election manifesto, defining "Quit Kashmir" to mean—

* It is the people of Kashmir who will decide the future structure of the Government. It is the people who have the right to frame their own constitution.

* Freedom and the right of self-determination for all inside the State—for Kashmiris, Dogras, for the people of Gilgit, for hill-tribes and others, for all nationalities residing in the State.

* No domination of one community by another, but full freedom for all Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

* Freedom for all nationalities, cultures and languages.

* Land to the tillers, abolition of landlordism, nationalisation of key industries and equal rights to men and women.

* A challenge to the divine right of Rulers. It is impossible to have a feudal structure existing side by side with a democratic Indian Republic.

The manifesto gave a stirring call to fight the conspiracy between British Imperialism and Indian Princes to stem India's march to freedom.

All sections of people came forward to participate in the National Conference election campaign.

Kak and his gang got going. They had timed the elections for January 4, when in Kashmir Valley there will be several feet deep snow for miles together.

At this time of the year, communications and transport are always paralysed and it would be absolutely impossible for voters to walk as many as forty-two miles to reach the polling stations scattered at long distances from each other.

Meetings were banned throughout Jammu and Kashmir making it impossible for the National Conference workers even to distribute and speak on their election manifesto.

Kak called a meeting of civil employees and instructed them to ask deposit holders to secure at least fifteen votes each for official candidates. Deposit holders were even instructed to stop rations to people who are determined to vote for the

National Conference candidates.

PWD employees, forest officers and contractors were asked to exert all their influence to get votes for anti-National Conference candidates.

The returning officers were asked to reject the nomination papers of National Conference candidates, wherever it is strong.

In fact in Muzaffarabad, in the preliminary scrutiny of nomination papers all eight opposing candidates were rejected on flimsy grounds, to declare Mian Ahmadyar, the renegade Minister, returned unopposed.

Tehsildars, police officials and others were openly intimidating the people and telling them that if they voted for the National Conference candidates, they should be ready to face dire consequences.

It was announced that after the candidates would not be allowed to put their own seals on the ballot boxes but the Returning Officer alone would put his seal. The seal and the boxes would be opened for counting after ten days!

Mobilised army columns were ordered to move round in rural areas on the election day to see that "nobody defies the restriction orders." The whole motive was to stop the National Conference supporters who would be coming to vote, carrying flags, shouting slogans.

Renewed repression has started throughout the State.

Since the National Conference decision to contest the elections, 600 people have been arrested. They include the entire Election Committee and all important election officers.

The house of Dr. Shambunath of the National Conference Hospital was raided by the military and searched for hours.

Even prospective candidates of the National Conference were arrested. They include Abdul Majid Bakshi and Pir Abdul Ahad. Another prospective candidate Ghulam Mohammed Shah had to go underground as a warrant of arrest was issued against him!

Government gave the right of franchise to Dogra soldiers, the butchers of Kashmir and all of them were to cast their votes from the same constituency where the Premier's brother Amarnath Kak is the official candidate.

Separate polling booths were arranged for them in the cantonment and there was no access to them by the National Conference workers.

No paper or petrol was allowed to the National Conference, while all resources of the State were available to their opponents.

The National Conference organ the Khidmat is not allowed to carry stories of repression in the State. They are all censored. You have just to look at any issue of Khidmat and you will find column after column lying blank as reports meant for these columns have been stopped by censor. Even the Congress Working Committee's Delhi resolution on the Kash-

mir situation was not allowed to be printed in Khidmat. In view of such a situation existing in the State, the National Conference leaders are outside jail met in Lahore. They were already armed with the instructions of the leaders from jail. The decision to boycott this

farce of elections was taken. Instead the Conference demands a plebiscite of the people on the issue of "Quit Kashmir". Let an impartial tribune conduct this plebiscite and let the Kashmiri people's verdict be known. This alone will be proof, if proof is needed, whether the people of Kashmir stand behind Sheikh

Abdullah for freedom and Quit Kashmir.

An important Conference leader told me:

"Even if 30 per cent of the people vote against "Quit Kashmir" we shall accept defeat and disband the National Conference."

Jungle Law In Indian States



BOOKS REVIEWED

TEN ESSAYS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Edited by T. A. Jackson, publishers: The Bookman, Calcutta, 184 pp. Rs. 3-8.

THE essays collected in this volume were written on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Great French Revolution (1939) by the leaders (Thorez, Duclos, Peri, etc.) and prominent intellectuals (Bruhat, Politzer, Solomon, etc.) of the French Communist Party.

The present edition is a reprint of the English edition of this collection, which contains, in addition to these essays, a brilliant essay on the historic importance of the French Revolution by the well-known Marxist philosopher of England, T. A. Jackson.

Considering the fact—that most of the books written by English historians—with the notable exception of Carlyle—on this great episode of human history are either reactionary or at best only an eclectic collection of facts, the present volume is useful not only for all students of history, but also for all political workers in our country.

Written by men who, as leaders of the Communist Party of France—the one million strong Party of seventy thousand martyrs, the Party of French Renaissance—justly claims to be heirs to the great traditions of the French Revolution, these essays give us the correct and essential understanding of social roots as also the social forces which gave birth to and carried forward the Great Revolution. The one great fact which stands out

in all the essays is this that although the French Revolution was bourgeois democratic in its essence, that is to say its objective was the abolition of feudalism and installation of bourgeois democracy, it was always the direct, revolutionary, extra-parliamentary intervention of common people, the town poor and the peasantry, which broke the backbone of reaction, which at every critical stage plotted to overthrow the revolution.

The summoning of the Estates-General (ancient Parliament of France) would have been ineffective if the "Third Estate" (representatives of the people, other than nobles and the clergy) had not refused to obey the command of the King and declared itself to be the National Assembly.

This National Assembly itself would have been dispersed, had not the people of Paris risen in insurrection and stormed the prison-house of Bastille.

The legal abolition of feudal rights would have been worthless had not the peasants themselves risen, driven the feudal lords from their estates, captured the land and refused to pay any more feudal dues and levies.

Again it was the vigilant people who first forcibly brought the Royal Couple from their secluded castle at Versailles in Paris, and later, when they conspired with the reactionary kings of Europe and escaped, captured and imprisoned them.

rians have tried to blacken the name of French revolutionaries for the treatment meted out to conspirators against the Republic and agents of foreign Powers which had invaded France—was a measure of bare popular justice at a moment when foreign armies were almost at the gates of Paris, and the entire forces of European reaction were unitedly carrying out an armed attack on the young Republic.

In the essay by Jacques Duclos a very interesting account is given of the conspiracy of French and other European reactionaries against the Revolution and how the Jacobins met it.

The essays entitled "French Revolution and the Popular Masses," "Working class in the Revolution" and "The Role of the Peasants" are of special importance for us in the present phase of the Indian struggle for independence.

In the last mentioned essay it has been pointed out that it was precisely because the Jacobins were not able to carry forward the agrarian revolution to its logical conclusion—they abolished feudal rights, but not the right of the rich bourgeois speculators and traders to possess land—and give the right over land only to tillers of the soil—that the bourgeoisie was able to effect a counter-revolution and overthrow the Jacobins.

Politzer's essay on the French materialist philosophers and the great progressive role which they played in the 18th and 19th centuries, ending with an account of Marxian or Dialectical Materialism is an excellent example of French Marxian scholarship. The essay is not only well and brilliantly written, but shows the practical revolutionary importance of materialist thought.

Alan Politzer is no more—he was shot by the Nazis while fighting as a revolutionary just like two other writers Peri and Solomon whose essays are included in this volume.

I strongly recommend this book to all our readers. The book is neatly printed. It is a pity that it contains many misprints. —S. S. Zahoor.

A Week With A Chinese Communist Army

The Bookshelf

By Sidney Rittenberg

(French News Agency) YENAN, November 21.

Ho Lung's army, whose guest I have just been in a cross-country journey from Kalgan to Yen-an, has the highest and cockiest morale I have ever seen.

It has never been a huge army and it always has been known for its fighting spirit, which wrenched the rugged Shan-sui-yuan area from the Japanese. Most of the area, comprising northern Shan-sui and reaching far up into Sui-yuan, was taken from the Japs before their general surrender. Parts of it have been an "anti-Japanese base" for eight years.

When I reached Yen-an and read the U.P. despatch from Nanking saying that 16 brigades of Ho Lung's had been smashed and the rest of his army was very much discouraged, I had to laugh. Ho Lung never had 16 brigades in Kalgan. Not a single battalion of Ho Lung's—let alone a brigade—has been smashed. I never saw the outfit with more bottle spirit and confidence in a final victory.

Rugged, Arid Territory

Over two weeks in the Shan-sui-Hopei-Chahar Area, I passed into the rugged arid territory—the Shan-sui-Yuan Area defended by Ho Lung. Here also, my letter of introduction from the Kalgan authorities secured for me food, lodging, guides, mules and great hospitality.

Though the Kalgan city itself was already in the hands of Chiang K'ai-shek, its elected Government was still recognized not only in its own area but in the adjacent sister territory of Ho Lung. As soon as I found the Field Headquarters, the Field Commander offered me dozens of cans of condensed milk that came to him by a very devious route.

The milk and other canned goods totaling 1,000 cans were American Army property given to the UNRRA, which gave it to the Chinese Government's relief organization CNRRA, which in turn gave it to Gen. Yen Hsi-Shan, Governor of Shan-sui Province, who gave it to his army officials. Ho Lung's Communist-led forces took

it from Yen's army in a battle.

"See how it comes back to the Americans," laughed the General offering me as much as I could use. During the week's journey, I often met small detachments of Ho Lung's soldiers hiding up in the hills and singing. Those songs were usually about the production movement. For instance, "Who raised more chickens than anyone? Liu Wang raised most of the chickens. Everybody study Liu Wang". This singing group was an encouraging Labour hero Liu Wang who marched in their midst.

Chih-sui, one of China's poorest areas, was one of the worst devastated by the Japs. I saw many signs of revival and progress. Many coal mines and vegetable oil presses have reopened. There is much transport on the road through the transport cooperatives in which the farmers pool their horses and carts together.

Most county towns were bombed or burned flat within the walls by the Japs, but now markets flourish outside the walls accepting Ho Lung's money, which is exchangeable to Kalgan money. A new handicraft paper mill produces paper for newspapers and books. I stayed three days with Ho Lung Liu Wang. This singing group was an encouraging Labour hero Liu Wang who marched in their midst.

dence in convulsions by making pointed comparisons between the ancient war-lords and the present day ones in his booming jovial voice. Discussing the present war, Ho Lung said: "We have lost some towns and the war will be long because the American Government provides Chiang with supplies against the Chinese people. However, when our Eighth Route Army first came to this area in 1938, it was the land of starving naked peasants under Jap rule. We have saved the base in which nobody starves or goes naked. We have an army that grew from guerrillas and is now a regular army of good proportions."

"Our war now is one of movement in which, with the people's support, we will eventually win."

SOVIET PERIODICALS
NEW TIMES No. 21 (Single copy As. 8—postage extra. Subscriptions: for 24 issues Rs. 12, for 12 issues Rs. 6.)

This issue, of November 1st, contains articles on: International Co-operation in our day, Growth of Militarism in U.S.A., Britain's Foreign Policy, Travel Notes from Berlin, etc., etc.

A REMINDER: Many past issues of this journal are still available, containing numerous important articles on International Problems. Contributions to the last 3 issues, for instance, include: ISSUE No. 18: The Soviet Union's Stand for International Peace, Foreign Troops in Non-Enemy Countries, The Contest for Oil in the Middle East, Travel Notes from Britain and Italy, ISSUE No. 19: Safeguarding Stable Peace, Anti-Democratic Tendencies in Italian Policy, Hongkong and Kowloon, The Events in Indonesia, Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy, France and Her Masters, Travel Notes from Albania, ISSUE No. 20: The Principles of a Democratic Peace, The World Food Situation, American Monopolies and the United States Foreign Policy, The Vatican and the Trade Unions, Travel Notes from Bulgaria and Southern Iran. Also, each issue carries the regular features: Notes on International Life, Spotlight on Slander, Book Reviews.

A few copies of Issues Nos. 15, 16 and 17 are still left. If copies are needed, orders should be sent immediately for any of these past issues.

SOVIET LITERATURE Issue No. 8. (Single copy As. 12. Subscriptions: for 12 issues Rs. 9, for 6 issues Rs. 4-8.)

This is the monthly magazine devoted exclusively to literature and art in the U.S.S.R. Each issue contains novels in serial form, plays, articles, articles, book reviews—all by internationally famous Soviet writers. A few copies of Nos. 6 and 7 also are available.

A few copies of Nos. 6 and 7 also are available.

SOVIET WOMAN, No. 3 of 1946. (Single copy Rs. 1-8 previously Rs. 2-16. Subscription for 6 issues Rs. 16.)

A magazine devoted to social and political problems, literature and art, published every two months by the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Committee and the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. Each issue is beautifully produced and profusely illustrated. A few copies at Rs. 3-10 each, are still available of the first issue of this journal—No. 1 of 1945, Nos. 1 and 2 of 1946.

A few copies at Rs. 3-10 each, are still available of the first issue of this journal—No. 1 of 1945, Nos. 1 and 2 of 1946.

Ready Soon
INDIA TODAY
By E. PALME DUTT

The classical work on India by a world-famous authority on the subject. It is the most comprehensive Marxist study of India from the days of the Conquest to the Cabinet Mission Plan. The present political, social, economic and multi-national problems are exhaustively analysed and the immediate tasks of the Indian liberation movement are outlined. It is the acknowledged textbook of the Indian Revolution.

First Indian edition, completely revised, enlarged and brought up-to-date, will be out in January. 540 pages (Demy-8vo) Cloth-bound Rs. 7-8.

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

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POLITICAL FARCE IN NANKING

From Our Correspondent

Shanghai, December 6, 1946

Constitution-making in Nanking is becoming more and more of a farce and the people are beginning to see its utter futility. With the exception of papers run directly by the top Kuomintang (KMT) leadership, the Chinese Press is vehement in its criticism and there are ironical descriptions of the unseemly scenes—without parallel in the Constituent Assembly of any other country taking place inside the Assembly.

THE vast majority of delegates have not the faintest notion of what they are supposed to do, they are quite incapable of solving the problems facing the country, nor in fact, are they interested in them.

They are Chiang's 'yes-men', and are concerned merely with personal publicity and in seeing that they remain on his right-side.

Even delegates elected—actually nominated by KMT authorities—by the Assembly to its Presidium bowed without exception to Chiang, their leader, before they ventured to take their seats.

Voting—counted by an electric apparatus—has several times become a laughing matter when the votes recorded were found to be much larger than

the number actually present! The attendance has been uniformly poor, and an announcement that there would be no sittings on Saturday afternoons was hoisterously cheered as school-children would have done on declaration of a half holiday.

Of those who attend, quite a number pay no attention to the proceedings around them—they either fall asleep or busy themselves reading newspapers—even during discussions on the most important clauses of the Constitution. And the busiest time for them is, of course, the intervals between sittings when tea and chops are lavishly served.

There are, however, 'serious' delegates also who have been pressing hard for the rejection of the draft Constitution and the restoration of the old and more reactionary one prepared ten

years ago. The influential delegates of the powerful C.C. (Chen brothers) clique, have already succeeded in getting a number of vital points deleted from the draft.

Thus, for instance, the phrase, "Of the people, by the people, for the people" contained in the first clause of the draft was removed. The reason given was that it was American in origin and therefore not nationalistic! (American dollars and bombers are, of course, quite compatible with nationalism, but not democratic ideas!)

All this is making it more and more obvious to the Chinese public that the Kuomintang by its actions is achieving nothing for the nation.

Under the caption, "Horrible Idea," Ts Kung Pao, organ of the Political Science Group, usually pro-Government, has expressed itself strongly against the attempt of some members of the National Assembly and the Legislative Yuan to make the Constitution a reactionary and anti-democratic one.

Around the World

YUGOSLAVIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION

One of bitter internecine struggles. Cleverly inciting one nationality against another, foreign reaction in alliance with native vested interests sought to keep the country safe for exploitation.

The Serbs, although only 46 per cent of the population, were proclaimed the ruling people. Actually it were the Serbian landlords who ruled under foreign dictators to keep not only the Serbs but all the other peoples down.

Under these conditions, it is not surprising that Yugoslavia was an undemocratic and bureaucratic State. It was, in fact, a police state based on force and terror. Freedom of organisation, of speech, of Press just did not exist in practice.

The organs of State organisation—whether judicial or executive, central or local—were all appointed from above by the Central Government.

Today the Yugoslavs have burst their bonds, brought all the warring nationalities together, and established a real people's republic for themselves.

They have done this not through force, not under compulsion, but by carrying forward the fighting unity forged in resistance to common Nazi overlords, by freely recognising the equal rights of the different peoples constituting the State.

Self-Determination

They have made equality the basis of the State itself, for the very first article of their Constitution declares that the different peoples are "equal in rights who on the basis of the right of self-determination, including the right to separation, have expressed their will in a Federated State."

Other articles of the Constitution register this equality in the sphere of Government by laying down that the supreme authority of the Republic is the People's Assembly which shall be

composed of two Houses, the Federal Council and the Council of Nationalities.

These two Houses have equal rights, and each constituent People's Republic (Serb, Croat, Slovene, Macedonian, Montenegrin and Bosnian)—irrespective of its population—sends an equal number of representatives to the Council of Nationalities.

Landlordism is no longer a problem. It has been liquidated, all estates over 110 acres having been expropriated. The Constitution vests the ownership of land in the tillers and prohibits the holding of large estates.

Industry Nationalised

Yugoslavia has embarked on the path of industrial advancement. This has been made possible by a whole powerful sector of national economy passing under State control and ending both foreign and native exploitation.

By two articles of the Constitution, the main branches of the national industry are taken over by the State and it is stated that the "economic life and development of the country" should be directed by the State "in accordance with a general economic plan."

Side by side with the nationalisation of industry, workers' interests have been safeguarded, and they have been guaranteed the right of association, shortening of the working day, social insurance, paid holidays, etc.

All these changes have been clearly reflected in the structure of the State which has been completely transformed.

Sovereignty now resides in the people, locally through elected people's committees, nationally through the People's Assembly; all people's representatives are to be elected through universal adult suffrage, and if they fall in the discharge of their

duties, the people have the right to recall them even before their period of election has expired.

The judiciary, while separate from the executive, has to be elected by the corresponding organ of State authority for that area, that is, Supreme Court judges are to be elected by the Federal People's Assembly, local court judges by the local people's committees.

This ensures full democracy in the organs of State authority, and the people's representatives are given full rights to appoint, to control and direct this authority, at the same time the people have full rights to express themselves freely on all its activities, having the rights of freedom of speech, Press, etc. guaranteed to them.

Imperialist Reuters has kept our people ignorant of developments in Yugoslavia or has given us a totally distorted idea. Reaction has not taken kindly to this country since its emergence as an independent republic and the reason is quite obvious: expropriation of foreign capital and the slipping from its grasp of a rich field for investments.

But the summary of the new Yugoslav Constitution which I have given above is, I should think, enough to blow up the canard that it is a totalitarian State. It is a democratic State in the truest sense of the word, for unlike the so-called democratic countries of the west, where the vested interests rule and the people have formal rights only, in Yugoslavia at each stage of State administration, it is the people's representatives of that area who are the supreme authority.

Significance For Us

The new Constitution of Yugoslavia has an additional significance for us. It is another example, after the Soviet Union, which proves that clear recognition of the right of self-determination, based on democratic rights for the people and elimination of vested interests, leads not to cooperation or disruption, but to building an unshakable unity of different peoples inhabiting a State.

The full text of the Constitution has now reached India, and I am glad that the People's Publishing House, Bombay, will soon make it available to the general public.

—V. M. KAUL

In the speeches made in the Constituent Assembly, now in session in Delhi, references have been made to the constitutions of various countries, of the United States, France, Switzerland, which we have been told we could study with benefit in framing our own constitution.

But no one, with the exception of the Communist representatives, Somnath Lahiri, said anything of the new democracies of Europe. Yet it is from them that we could learn the most.

Industrially backward, landlord-dominated and torn with internal strife like Yugoslavia, they were cockpit of foreign intrigues and had similar problems as are facing us. Today, a new era has dawned for them, the people, battling against overwhelming odds, are in power and are marching forward with firm and sure steps. Yugoslavia is a shining example of this.

A Dismal Picture

Let us see what old Yugoslavia was like. It presents a dismal picture. Nominally independent, whatever little industry there was in the country was mainly in foreign hands. The foreigners owned, for instance, 98.4 per cent of all extracted metals. Foreign capital accounted for more than half the total capital invested in industry.

Big landlords and the Church owned the largest and best plots of land, and naturally dominated the countryside. In 1931, 87.8 per cent of the peasant families owned only 30.3 per cent of the land. There was a huge army of landless agricultural labourers. Few countries presented worse examples of feudal exploitation.

No wonder, the standard of living of the people was among the lowest in Europe.

The biggest problem, however, was the national question. Inhabited by six major nationalities, Serb, Croat, Slovene, Montenegrin, Macedonian, with two other small regions Vojvodine and the Kosovo-Metohian area, Yugoslavia afforded a fertile ground for imperialists to sow disruption and reap profits. India is not the only country where the age-old policy of 'divide and rule' has worked with success.

The story of pre-war Yugoslavia

SCIENCE FOR SOCIETY

Soviet Science Is Alive: Results Made Accessible

★ To Working People ★

(Professor Joliot-Curie is among the most distinguished of the world's scientists. He is a winner of the Nobel Prize, member of the Institute of France, and of the French delegation to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. He is also a member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party. He is also President of the International Association of Scientific Workers whose Indian branch (President—Dr. Meghnad Saha) is holding its inaugural Conference at Delhi in the beginning of January next).

by
Prof. Joliot-Curie

SINCE the end of the nineteenth century, doubts and apprehensions about certain harmful consequences of science have been expressed with increasing frequency.

No doubt the benefits that science offers man are numerous enough to combat these sentiments and even to hold forth the hope of a better life for humanity.

Nevertheless, in many minds the suspicion of science exists. Recent events, particularly the inventions of the atom bomb, have generalised and increased this suspicion.

Double Aspect Of New Discoveries

According to the useful or harmful applications made of it, science is considered moral or immoral in itself. Obviously these judgements have no meaning: for it is only the men applying science in a good or bad way who are to be praised or blamed. Most new discoveries and inventions have a double aspect—a constructive or a destructive side—depending upon how they are exploited. Many examples have come to mind.

Let us take only one that is well known: the machine, which supplants many human arms, may bring about either a severe unemployment crisis or the emancipation of workers forced hitherto to do heavy manual labour in order to live.

The second result is possible only in a society in which individual interests do not dominate those of the group. It corresponds, moreover, to the aspirations of the majority of scientists and of all men who are honest and justice-loving.

Thus many men of science feel themselves involuntary accomplices of those whom bad political regimes permit to exploit the results of their scientific work for selfish and evil ends. Searching their consciences, many of these scientists are led to throw in their lot with the workers who, confident of the liberating role of science, fight to build a new society.

Common Cause With The People

The number of scientists in most of the countries on earth who have adopted this attitude, is rapidly growing; and this was the attitude taken by the intellectuals and scientists of Czarist Russia who made common cause with the people in the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917.

Since that time, as I have had occasion to see on several visits I made there before World War II, the Soviet Union has presented an especially favourable atmosphere for the development of science and technology.

Scientists, honoured and encouraged, work with enthusiasm, without any "bad conscience," realising that in socialist construction their discoveries will be applied for the good of everyone. Scientific laboratory research is done in a collective spirit.

Science in the USSR is alive: it no longer has a purely descriptive or contemplative character, which for so long was the vogue in the guise of pure science or disinterested science. The Soviet man of science respects all scientific traditions that have proved their worth; at the same time he is a bold innovator.

Science is loved in the Soviet Union, and everything is done to demonstrate how much happiness it can bring to society. A system of education which recognises and stimulates the gifts and aptitudes of young people for scientific research guarantees a really democratic recruiting of personnel. And the results of science are made accessible to the working people.

On my last trip, a few years before World War II, I had already become convinced that Soviet science, expanding to the full, was opening vast new perspectives to the Soviet Union and to the whole world.

During the long period of isolation forced on us by Nazi occupation, we often thought of our Soviet colleagues. With sorrow and anguish we learned of the destruction or encirclement of great centres of scientific research: Kharkov, Leningrad...

We know that our Soviet colleagues felt a similar sadness at the military collapse of France. They suffered at the thought that the centres of French thought were under the Nazi jackboot.

Despite initial military setbacks, we were confident that the Soviet scientists and technicians would quickly perfect new

weapons for their soldiers and improve conditions for the civilian population engaged in an all-out war effort. As soon as we were able to get news from the USSR, we wondered what would be the status of Soviet science in the post-war period.

Together with several French colleagues, I had the honour of being invited in June 1945, to the celebration of the 220th anniversary of the Academy of Science in Moscow. It was our first chance—a chance we all looked forward to—to renew the ties between the men of science of our two countries and to visit many laboratories.

Most of the latter, evacuated during the war far into the interior of the country, were back where they had originally been; and others, newly built, were fully manned and functioning.

The tremendous vitality of Soviet science was everywhere in evidence. Numerous research teams were carrying on work of pure scientific research: at the same time, they were devoting themselves to problems of Soviet reconstruction and economy.

It was the same kind of vitality which the scientists had shown during the war-years—of which the activity of Leningrad University in that encircled city was a magnificent example.

The besieged city had suffered terrible bombardments. The front (and what a front!) was a few miles away; yet work went on in the laboratories. More than seventy problems were dealt with, including some very important ones such as precision in marksmanship and gangrenous wounds.

Many other examples of the patriotism and vitality of Soviet scientists could be cited. No doubt it is because all efforts, in the field of pure and applied science, are largely coordinated by the Academy of Sciences (in the USSR, this is an organisation of action) that the research workers are imbued with a magnificent and truly creative spirit.

For Realisation Of The Economic Plan

Many research institutes are under the jurisdiction of the Academy. It has functions which in France are assumed by heads of research in various government ministries. This may give one an idea of the many-sided tasks devolving on Soviet academicians.

The Academy takes the initiative and responsibility for executing scientific research, particularly in work that is essential for the realisation of the economic plan. Important problems are distributed among the various institutes or groups of institutes, with an eye to the specialised research of each of them and the specific competence of those in charge.

The same problem may be tackled in different ways in different places. Thus research of

eliminating grain losses caused by rotting of harvested wheat, losses which were extensive at the outset of collectivised farming, was spread over fourteen institutes specialising in chemistry, biology and physics.

They tackled this problem simultaneously along different lines—and within a year the solution was found.

The Academy, looking for new methods by which to produce substantial quantities of liquid oxygen, entrusted the task to the institute directed by Professor Peter Kapitza. (The latter, studying phenomena linked to very low temperatures, recently discovered the phenomena of the super-fluidity of liquid helium).

The problem of producing liquid oxygen was solved: moreover, Kapitza conceived a process of gassification of coal in the earth by the injection of liquid oxygen.

One could give examples of fertilising role of the Academy in every branch of science.

High Degree Of Productivity

Generally, despite the lack of modern scientific equipment due to wartime destruction and the understandable emphasis in the war years on armament production, Soviet researchers show a high degree of productivity. This is because they work with enthusiasm and they have confidence in the future.

(From New Masses, November 12, 1946).

COMMUNAL RIOTS SPLASHED IN BRITISH PAPERS -- REST OF INDIAN NEWS IGNORED

AITUC Delegate To ILO Tells Of New Militancy Of England's Workers ★

"News of communal disturbances in India is prominently displayed in British papers while the rest of Indian news is almost totally ignored. Thus, while there were lurid accounts of happenings in Noakhali and Bihar, even such an important event as the Meerut Session of the Congress was dismissed in just eight lines in the London Times. The Manchester Guardian gave a little more space to it, but no other paper even as much as noticed it."—This is what P. Ramamurthy, member of the General Council of the A.I.T.U.C., told me, relating his experiences of England, where he spent a few days after the meeting of the Textile Committee of the I.L.O. held at Brussels (Belgium) in November last.

"AND this," he said, continuing, "is true not only of England, but of Belgium and France also. Reuters cables thousands of words of riot news to these countries and nothing else, and even the progressives are genuinely puzzled. They cannot understand two sections of a people fighting among themselves."

Attitude Towards India

I asked him what the attitude of the common British worker was in regard to India.

"His attitude," he said, "is mainly conditioned by the sort of propaganda done by the Government and the Press. They have fully utilised the statements of Gandhiji and other Indian leaders giving, as it were, a certificate of sincerity to the British Labour Government. The public is being told that the Cabinet Mission's proposals represent the first act in history of voluntary liquidation of power on the part of any country.

"With the outbreak of riots here, the line of propaganda has been that the British are only too eager to quit India, but both the Congress and the League want the retention of British troops as the only neutral

force capable of maintaining peace and order in the country.

"In this background, the Communist Party of Great Britain is carrying on a ceaseless campaign to explain how it is the Cabinet Mission's Plan itself which has accentuated communal bitterness, and how Indian differences are being utilised for the continued domination of British power in India.

"Ever since his return from India, R. P. Dutt has been addressing numerous meetings, all over the country, exposing the British Plan. The first edition of his book "Freedom For India" (published in India under the title of "A New Chapter In Divide And Rule: Cabinet Mission's Plan Exposed") has completely sold out."

New Militancy

I asked him to tell more about British workers, what the coming of Labour Government has meant for them, whether there are any strikes, etc.

"There is a feeling of supreme confidence among them. They feel that they put the Labour Party into power and its programme must now be implemented. There is a new and

encouraging militancy among them not hitherto observed.

"A long-standing grievance of workers had been an invidious restriction on their right to strike—strikes in public utility concerns were illegal without 14 days' notice. Last year, soon after the formation of the Labour Government, workers forced the Government to amend this provision.

"While there is no general strike-wave yet, spontaneous strikes are increasing. Workers are not prepared to tolerate any victimisation and any attempt on the part of employers to this effect is resisted with an immediate strike, whether officially called by trade unions or not. There is an interesting example from Manchester.

"For a whole fortnight no buses plying in this big city, all the 2,000 or so workers having refused to take out any till a dismissed fellow worker was reinstated. The management once tried to run the transport service with the help of blacklegs, but it ended in a miserable failure.

Mayor Removed

"They got some 'volunteers' from some so-called social service organisation. The 'volunteers' brought out a few buses. Infuriated, the workers attacked the buses, smashed them up and chased the blacklegs off the road.

"In this the workers got full sympathy of the public. People cheered at the blacklegs and heartily approved of the workers' action in defence of their rights.

"In the end, the corporation had to intervene and the strike was settled in favour of the workers.

"The sequel to the strike is even more revealing. The strike over, a workers' delegation lobbied members of the Corporation and demanded

that the Mayor should be removed from his office as he had failed to intervene in the dispute early enough. The workers again won a victory and the Mayor had to go.

"I would like to make a present of this story to the Madras Ministry. I remember some months ago the Chairman of the Bezwada Municipality was served with a Government notice to show-cause why he should not be dismissed for having intervened on behalf of the striking employees of the Municipality!

"To continue about England. There was another strike there during my stay. On December 11, London buses were at a standstill. The issue here again was dismissal of a fellow worker. He was reinstated within four hours of the strike."

Bevin's Foreign Policy

Referring to Bevin's foreign policy, Ramamurthy remarked:

"The British worker does not want war, least of all against the Soviet Union. There is growing realisation in the country that Bevin's foreign policy is inevitably leading to an anti-Soviet alliance with England passing under the virtual domination of the United States.

"The recent 'rebellion' of 100 Labour MPs was the first open expression against this policy. The MPs were intimidated into submission and for the moment they were demoralised. But Pitcairn's exposure in the Daily Worker of a secret military pact to be signed between Britain and America (details of which were given in last week's People's Age) has again emphasised the gravity of the situation and the MPs are once more astir.

"Bevin's foreign policy is being widely discussed and already some District Branches of the Labour Party have expressed themselves against it."

— by Our Correspondent

ISSUES IN THE FRENCH POLITICAL CRISIS

'No Stable Govt. Without Communists Possible'

The new crisis in Indo-China has brought to the forefront more sharply than ever the importance of the outcome of the present parliamentary conflict in France, that has been temporarily solved by the appointment of an all-Socialist Cabinet, headed by Leon Blum.

IN Indo-China, the Colonial Generals are heading a major drive to destroy the young Republic. The agreements made last March to recognise the virtual independence of Viet-Nam have been shamelessly broken by the French imperialists. Heading them in France is the Popular Republican Party (MRP) whose leader, M. Maurice Schuman, has compared the alleged violation by the Viet-Nam of the March agreement to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour!

In contrast, the Communists have been sharply critical of this provocative imperial policy; their members of the National Defence Commission of the National Assembly walked out in protest against a motion to send a message of sympathy to the French troops in Indo-China. Both they and the Socialists are pressing for new negotiations to settle the dispute.

Thus it is not only France's future that depends on the way in which its still-continuing political crisis is solved. It is the future and freedom of Viet-Nam too that is at stake also in Paris.

Temporary Socialist Government

Meanwhile in Paris, we have a Caretakers' Government, formed by the Socialists.

It has come to power after the most vigorous attempts by the MRP and the Radicals to prevent the verdict of the French people being reflected in the new Government.

The Communists are the largest single party in the Assembly; with 183 seats and fifty-five lakh votes, they had considerably increased their representation. Naturally they demanded that in any Coalition Government, they should have one of the three key portfolios: Defence, Foreign Affairs or the Interior (Home).

The Right (MRP), of course, vigorously opposed this—in the name of not allowing such important portfolios to go into the hands of "Moscow's agents."

Things Which Money Cannot Buy

But as even the organ of British Big Business, the Economist, in a revealing article by its Paris correspondent admits:

"The notion propagated by Mr. Churchill that the French Communist Party is an obscure fifth column of Russian origin is of course grotesque... There are some things which money cannot buy; and the backing of six million people (the total Communist vote) is probably one of them. If it had been otherwise, the Right and Centre parties, never lacking for funds, might have done better than to gain only the moneyed middle-class."

(November 23)

In fact, this manoeuvre of the Right which was responsible for the negotiations breaking down is a brilliant example of the justice of "Western Democracy"—about whose virtues the Labour-Imperialist and Mr. Churchill are so eloquent; by it the Communist Party and its following, the largest in the French electorate, are told that they cannot take the rightful place they deserve in the leading councils of the nation.

There is no doubt, however, that this Blum Ministry cannot



MAURICE THOREZ
Leader of French Communists

last beyond the election of the first President of the Republic in January. And it is then that the decisive battle will come, so important for the future of France and the world.

The present position is as follows (614 seats):

LEFT	
Communists	183
Socialists	101
Colonial Nationalists	22
CENTRE	306
RIGHT	64
MRP	160
Right Parties	84
	308

The nationalists from the colonies will almost certainly vote alongside the Left on all important issues.

Evenly Balanced Assembly

From this it is clear that the two sides are almost evenly balanced and much will depend on the Radicals who occupy a centrist position.

But that is not all; for if externally in their "Empire" the French are facing a crisis, so also internally France today faces an intense economic crisis.

According to the London Daily Worker (December 18),

"For weeks every reactionary financial interest in France has been attacking the franc. They have had the under-cover assistance of similar interests in Britain, acting partly for directly financial motives, but still more for political reasons."

So also the report of M. Monnet, head of the official Commission to enquire into the state of economy of France, clearly warned that France "has only a short breathing space" and "the choice is between gradual decadence and immediate action" (London Times, December 13).

Right-wing Socialist Reluctance

It is this crisis that is playing the decisive role in France today.

The Right-wing Socialists would dearly like to form a government that excludes the Communists—but they do not dare, for they know well that any change for the better in France's economy cannot be achieved without the cooperation and active support of "the productive fluid of the French electorate." "The six million men and women who voted for Commun-

by
M. Kumaramangalam

ists or pro-Communist candidates" (Economist, November 23).

Yet, their anti-Communism, their traditional reluctance firmly to fight reaction and their desire to appease it, prevents them from joining up in solid alliance with the Communists, an alliance that would certainly attract to itself enough progressives in the Centre to form a stable majority government.

It is, therefore, still on them that will depend the emergence of a stable government in France today; for no French Government without the Communists can be stable, because minus the Communists, any solution of France's economic problems cannot be carried through; and no Government with the Communists can be stable, unless it is solidly based on Socialist-Communist unity.

Confidence Of Communists

It is in this background that France's Communists, proud of their strength and their principles of democracy, Socialism and freedom and equality for all peoples of the Empire, yet strive for a really Left Government that will prevent such "incidents" as the war against the Viet-Namese people and such "intrigues" as the attack on the franc.

For they know, in the grudging words of the Economist:

"The people "voted for Communists because they believed they offered a new approach to life, and doctrine of human values and belief in human organisation."

★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★

PATRIOTIC YOUTH MUST JOIN THE FORCES

THE Royal Indian Air Force is to be expanded, we are told. Towards the end, comes the usual promise that "better conditions of pay, decidedly better accommodation, better travelling facilities, better canteens and numerous advantages MUST COME SOON."

In the meantime steps are being taken to convince the average airman that he has a glorious future before him.

A leaflet issued on this subject has been sent to me by an airman:

"This is not a propaganda poster, it begins, "or the usual 'Duff Gen'. It is for the express purpose of telling the truth mixed with COMMON-SENSE."

One gets a very good idea of what "truth mixed with common-sense" means, when one reads what follows. We are told that "every serviceman is much better off than his civilian equivalent" as far as "housing, rationing medical aid, clothing, currency exchange, and gratuity and disability pensions" are concerned.

About housing we are told that only married men are experiencing some trouble, but "soon you will have adequate married accommodation". This is a promise we have been hearing for the last seven years.

No Food Rationing?

About rationing, it is said that we have "never heard of it" in the forces. Yet we all know that servicemen's rations were cut in November 1945 and even recently there was some trouble at the Marine Drive Camp, RIAF, Bombay, over the illegal rationing of condiments (vide People's Age, December 3, 1946).

It is emphasised in this appeal that medical attention is free in the Services. Indian servicemen, however, know to their cost that here too discrimination prevails, and White men get preferential treatment.

About clothing we are reminded that servicemen do not have to run round for permits. True, but they do have to go about in ill-fitting clothes and dirty and tattered ones, as they do not have sufficient to spare.

The best comment is on Currency Exchange.

"Remember", reads the appeal, "Rs. 50 in the Service is worth Rs. 100". Indeed, no argument for keeping down the pay of the servicemen

could be better. Towards the end, comes the usual promise that "better conditions of pay, decidedly better accommodation, better travelling facilities, better canteens and numerous advantages MUST COME SOON."

Finally we were reminded, "This is your own country—you are morally responsible for her prestige! But we are not "morally responsible" for her defence, that is a privilege of the White airman.

This is an example of the silly and shamelessly imperialist way in which the British bosses of our armed forces appeal to our countrymen to continue in service. This is the best way of sabotaging all attempts of our Popular Government at the centre to nationalise the Armed Forces and attract more men to take up military service as a career.

Servicemen's Demands

What do our servicemen want?

They want to serve in an army commanded entirely by Indian officers, owing allegiance to the free peoples of India and in which they are guaranteed certain minimum facilities like good pay, good accommodation, good food and the minimum democratic rights.

Today, these very rights and facilities are denied our servicemen. What is more, the British still boss over them.

The Popular Government at the Centre, however, is busy making plans to nationalise our Armed Forces. An Advisory Committee has been set up for the purpose. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Baldev Singh have issued a joint appeal calling on the patriotic youth of our country to join the Armed Forces to help them in their efforts at nationalisation.

This is a very timely appeal. It can be expected that all our INA heroes, ex-RIN mutineers, dismissed nationalist-minded servicemen and our patriotic youth will join the forces in large numbers. This is one of the most important steps by which we can foil the British game of sabotaging the Indian plan for a national army.

It is only a hard patriotic core inside the services which can force the British bosses to yield to the legitimate demands of servicemen and pave the way towards a people's army.

—OUR FORCES CORRESPONDENT

World Labour In Action

Polish Labour And National Election

THE two million-strong Polish Labour Union Federation will support the progressive electoral bloc in the January national elections, Pres. Kazimierz Witaszewski of the Central Committee of Trade Unions has announced in Warsaw.

Asked whether this means a sure vote of two million for the bloc, Witaszewski answered smilingly: "No. We shall have at least four million votes since each union member will influence at least one member of his family." The unions are not organized politically, but the two main workers' parties are in the bloc.

Answering foreign newspapermen's questions on the Polish unions, Witaszewski stressed that Polish workers have not abandoned their right to strike. However, he said, those who advocate strikes now "are not working in our interests."

"The strike is the last weapon of the working-class in its struggle for a new structure for its social and economic life," he said. "In Poland we have entered a new era. We have no great capitalists, no great landowners. The influence and strength of the trade unions is so great that we have no reason to employ the last weapon—the strike."

Advances Achieved

Describing some of the advances the unions have achieved, Witaszewski pointed out that new social insurance laws protect every worker from the hazards of old age, accidents, sickness and death. Insurance is paid entirely by employers. Furthermore, workers are guaranteed annual holidays which range from eight days after a year to a month after 10 years.

While before the war workers got time-and-a-quarter for the first two hours overtime and time-and-a-half

after that, workers now get double-time for everything over 40 hours. Most workers are now putting in 46 hours, with young people between 15 and 19 limited to 30 hours. The young people receive 46 hours' pay and are expected to spend the remaining 16 hours on their education.

Although wages have risen by 60 per cent since May 1945, purchasing power still amounts to only about 60 per cent of the pre-war level, Witaszewski explained, because wartime destruction left Poland an impoverished nation. Chief aim of the 3-year plan now in effect is to achieve 100 per cent of pre-war standards. "Then, after 1949," Witaszewski said, "we shall leave pre-war levels far behind."

Italian Labour Plans First Postwar Congress

THE first postwar national congress of elected representatives of the Italian General Confederation of Labour's six million members is being planned for March 15, with one of the main jobs being the election of an executive committee to lead the CGIL for the coming year. The present executive committee was elected partly by the Naples Congress two years ago when North Italy was still under Nazi occupation, and partly by a meeting of North Italy Trades Councils after liberation. At that time, because the main desire of all groups was to preserve unity, the three mass parties of the liberation movement—Communists, Socialists and Christian Democrats—agreed to share executive board seats equally.

In the March elections, however, union leaders will be elected purely on the basis of their records.

Italian unions are organized on an industrial basis and their present strength of six million members is the highest ever recorded in the his-

tory of Italy's free labour movement. Before Mussolini seized power in 1922, there were about two million organized workers, split into Catholic, Socialist and independent unions. The lack of unity aided Mussolini's anti-labour drive.

Panama Demands U.S. Army Withdrawal

THE campaign to obtain return of bases occupied by American armed forces was renewed in Panama when workers and students in the People's Party held a mass demonstration in the Plaza Santa Ana. An agreement signed between Panama and the U.S. in 1942 called for the return of occupied bases to Panama on October 30, 1946. Now the U.S. wants to negotiate to keep the bases. The labour movement and other progressive groups want the bases returned according to the original agreement before any new negotiations start.

Speakers at the mass meeting attacked the U.S. proposal for joint administration of bases as a manoeuvre "to keep the U.S. Army permanently in Panama." Dr. Celso N. Solano of the People's Party maintained that the United Nations General Assembly should be drawn into the discussion of bases.

Australians, Indians Back Chinese Seamen

AUSTRALIAN and Indian trade unionists are giving strong backing to Chinese seamen from British ships plying between England, Hongkong and Australia who are on strike here for a living wage.

A sympathy committee here, which includes the Waterside Workers' Federation, the Seamen's Union of Australia and the Indian Seamen's Union, has already raised more than \$2,000 at bus stops and factory meetings for the Chinese strikers.

A NIZAM-BRITISH PUPPET ORGANISATION

By Our States Commentator

The organisation in which the followers of the League in Hyderabad State are banded together is known as the Majlis Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen. It was first started in 1927 by a few Muslim jagirdars and intellectuals and was supposed to be a non-political body, whose one aim was to "safeguard" the interests of Muslims, their religion and culture.

BUT by 1938, it had added one more aim to its constitution: "To be faithful to the Ruler and preserve the constitutional status quo." It has retained that aim to this day.

What is the attitude of the Majlis to the issues which are uppermost in Hyderabad politics today?

The undemocratic "Reforms" of the Nizam exclude 99 per cent of the population from voting; provide for the domination of the legislature by vested interests and toadies and for an irresponsible Nizam-chosen executive and seek to create permanent division among the people by providing for parity between the 87 1/2 per cent Hindus and the 12 1/2 per cent Muslims.

The Majlis protests against the reforms, NOT because of their undemocratic nature, but because Muslims are "degraded to the level of the Hindus, because the "historical superiority of the Muslims" has been ignored!

Atrocities

All over India, the atrocities at Machireddipalli and Aknoor roused the wrath of the people against the Nizam's police rule. Mass beating, mass looting, mass rape—all this was exposed by Miss Padmaja Naidu and others. Among those who suffered were Muslim peasants—men and women—whom the Majlis claims that it fights for.

But the Majlis took an "independent" stand. Mr. Mazhar Ali Kamil, President of the Majlis, issued a statement openly supporting the Government communique, which denied all the atrocities. He did not stop at that, but added that all the allegations were "Hindu propaganda" against the "Muslim State."

But for all the Majlis's efforts, the Muslim victims of the police terror—their bodies still raw with lathi-blows—came and gave irrefutable evidence before the Enquiry Commission, which the Nizam was forced to set up.

Jagirdar Oppression

In Khammam taluq (Warangal district), Jagirdar Amjad Ali of Taidarpalli is notorious for the slavery in which he keeps his tenants—Hindus and Muslims both. Recently under the banner of the Andhra Conference, they learnt to resist his illegal extortion and stood up against his zoolom.

His goondas tried desperately to break the determination of the peasants, but failed.

Amjad Ali tried to split the kisans by raising the cry: "Islam in Danger." But he cut no ice.

In desperation he called in the Majlis President, Mr. Kamil, and this gentleman, after the Friday prayers, gave a two-hour lecture, exhorting the Muslims to unite and fight the "Atheists" and "Save Islam." The final touch to this show came when Mr. Kamil declared grandiloquently:

"Our King (the Nizam) himself is a jagirdar. Any revolt against the jagirdars is a revolt against our Muslim King and against Islam."

This is not a solitary incident. Everywhere the Majlis leaders have backed the jagirdars and fought the kisans.



Everywhere they have used communal demagoguery in efforts to disrupt the unity of the kisans.

Working-Class

The Majlis has the same "policy" for the working-class as for the kisans—divide them, disrupt their unity, help the employers.

Moulvi Akhtar Hussain Zuberi, President of the Nanded District Majlis recently formed a "Muslim Labour Union." Of course, only four or five jobbers joined it, while the vast majority joined the united Hindu-Muslim Union.

On the eve of the Hyderabad textile workers' general strike, Moulvi Sahib came out with the advice that "Muslims should not join the strike." And why? "Because you are the rulers here and hence you should not beg. Moreover, the management is Muslim. Muslim should not fight Muslim."

The Muslim workers treated Moulvi Sahib's advice with the contempt it deserved.

At a mass meeting, Ibrahim, a Muslim worker, got up, told them of the Moulvi's advice and then pointing to himself, shouted:

"Look! Behold a 'King' standing before you... who earns eight annas a day." Thunderous cheers greeted Ibrahim, as Hindus and Muslims together shouted "Inqilab

Zindabad" — throwing Moulvi Sahib's disruptive appeal into the rubbish heap where it belonged.

"Azad Hyderabad"

The Majlis slogan of "Azad Hyderabad"—that is a Hyderabad which does not join the Indian Union under any circumstances—is the climax of their reactionary policy.

This slogan—coined by the Political Department—is meant to keep Hyderabad safe for the British, for them to have a direct treaty with the Nizam, by which they can make Hyderabad one of their biggest military and economic bases in Asia.

The Majlis puts forward all the demands which help to make Hyderabad such a base. Among these demands are:

- The cession of the ports of Masulipatam and Vizagapatam to the Nizam.
- The incorporation of Rayalaseema and Northern Circars (the Telugu speaking districts of Madras Presidency) and Berar in Greater Hyderabad.

The latest statement of the Majlis protests against the sending of Hyderabad representatives to the Constituent Assembly; Hyderabad must be "independent"—"independent" enough to provide a comfortable saddle for Churchill and his boys.

Helps The Nizam

Thus it is that the Majlis's policy is a policy which on every single count helps the Nizam and his masters, the British, to maintain their autocratic rule over Hyderabad. It disrupts every struggle, it supports every act of repression.

It claims to represent the Muslim masses, but more and more the Muslim kisans and workers are uniting with their Hindu brothers in the Andhra Conference, in the trade unions, battling together for freedom, against autocracy.

ALL INDIA SUPPORT FOR TELENGANA RESISTANCE

The glorious resistance to the Martial Law regime in Nallagonda by the peasants under the banner of the Andhra Conference has won the admiration and support of even the biggest political opponents of the Andhra Conference and of the Communist Party, whose members hold leading positions in the Conference.

NEVER perhaps in the history of our national movement has any section of our people been able to resist brutal military terror for as long a period as the people of Telengana have already done.

(APCC), led by Sjt. Duggirala Balarama Krishnayya, member of the APCC Working Committee, left for Hyderabad to enquire into the conditions in Telengana.

Kistna Congress

Sjt. Kakani Venkatraman, President and Sjt. Peta Kapayya, Secretary of the West Kistna District Congress Committee, in the course of a statement, say:

"The harrowing news that is pouring in recently about the atrocities committed on our brother Andhra people in Hyderabad is deeply moving every Andhra here... it is clear that it is no exaggeration if we say that the Hyderabad brutality beats all records, even that of Hitlerism....

"It is the duty of each and every Andhra to learn the exact state of affairs and help their brother Andhra people."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, acting President of the AISP, in the course of a statement on December 13, said:

"Hyderabad is having a military rule in Nallagonda district in addition to the cold storage to which the Reforms Scheme seems destined to be consigned. There is a storm developing in the State and clouds are fast lowering on the skies."

State Congress

The Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress has passed resolutions condemning the Government ban on the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha and the repressive policy of the State in Nallagonda district. It has demanded the withdrawal of troops from Telengana and the restoration of normal conditions.

The Committee has urged the State authorities to appoint a Commission to enquire into the basic causes of the kisans' discontent, the firing and police and military action, and to bring about fundamental changes in the entire land system and feudal relations so that the kisans can live a life of freedom.

Andhra Congress

On December 17, the Committee appointed by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee

Another Delegation

On December 17, the Nizam Andhra Sahayaka Sangham, Bezwa, sent a fraternal delegation to Telengana, to enquire into the state of affairs there.

Meeting In Madras

In support of Telengana, a public meeting was held on December 19, at the Gokhale Hall, Madras, under the joint auspices of the Andhra Congress Committee (Madras), Andhra Mahasabha (Madras), Hyderabad Aid Committee, Madras, and Travancore Aid Committee, Madras.

Shri M. K. V. Reddy, President, Andhra Congress Committee, Madras, presiding, condemned the brutal repression in Nallagonda and appealed for unstinted support to the Telengana people's struggle.

The meeting unanimously passed a resolution demanding withdrawal of the military from Telengana.

'WE DON'T WANT PRINCES OR THEIR STOOGES' Only States' People Should Have Right To Send Representatives COMMUNIST AMENDMENT TO RESOLUTION IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

By A. S. R. Chari

New Delhi, December 21.

For the first time since the Constituent Assembly began, a Communist amendment was moved today. This was an amendment to the official resolution that a Committee consisting of Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel, Dr. Pattabhi, Sjt. Shankar Rao Deo and Sir Gopalaswami Ayyengar should negotiate with the Negotiating Committee set up by the Princes and with other representatives of the States.

THE resolution authorised the Committee to determine how the 93 seats allotted to the States should be distributed among them and decide the method by which the States' representatives should be returned to the Constituent Assembly.

House Must Ratify

There was nothing in the resolution to show that the Committee would put the result of the negotiations before the Constituent Assembly, nor was there anything to suggest that only the peoples of the States could be representatives in the Constituent Assembly. Therefore, Somnath Lahiri (Communist representative) moved that:

FIRST, "after necessary negotiations and consultations, the Committee shall place before this House for ratification of their final recommendations regarding the distribution of

seats and the method by which the representatives of the States may be returned."

SECONDLY, he moved the following directive as an amendment: "The Committee, however, has to negotiate under the clear understanding that this House recognises only the States subjects as being eligible to send States representatives to this Assembly, on the basis of direct election."

Moving his amendments, Lahiri urged that the results of the negotiations should be placed before the House for final ratification.

Repression In States

He declared that it was necessary to make it clear that "we do not want the Princes or their stooges to come here."

"Right now, there is a terrible regime of repression inside every State. In Kashmir, Travancore and Hyderabad,

thousands of men, women and children have been butchered by the State military. We do not want the autocrats to come here, but only true representatives of the people."

Pandit Nehru's Reply

Pandit Nehru in reply made the following points:

FIRST, the resolution deals with rather a delicate matter of negotiations.

SECOND, that obviously there are numerous problems regarding the States.

Lahiri had mentioned certain States where big struggles are taking place, but the Committee that was now being set up would have nothing to do with the internal administration of the States today, and that would be considered only when the States representatives come in to the Constituent Assembly.

THIRD, though he regretted that they would have to negotiate with the Committee set up by the Rulers, still he felt that "we cannot insist that the people's representatives should be on the Committee, but we shall also consult them."

FOURTH, that in regard to representation in the Constituent Assembly, there were difficulties, since there could only be one member for every one million population and since very few States had such a large po-

pulation, it meant grouping them together, etc.

These difficulties related to the mechanism of representation, quite apart from the principle that people's representation should be secured.

Pandit Nehru assured the House that the final decisions of the Committee were subject to ratification by the Constituent Assembly, but warned that since two parties were negotiating, the House should accept the result of these negotiations, unless a big question of principle was involved.

Amendments Withdrawn

Nevertheless, since the Communist amendment for ratification was there and could not be omitted, Dewan Chamanlal was asked to move another amendment demanding that the Committee should report to the Constituent Assembly the result of the negotiations, and this was promptly accepted by the mover, K. M. Munshi.

In view of this, Lahiri withdrew his amendments, declaring that since one of his amendments was accepted and the other was accepted in principle, and the House would have a chance of considering the Committee's final recommendations, he had no desire to press his amendments and withdrew them.