

CONGRESS BOLSTERS GLANCY'S OLD POLICE REGIME

Leaguers Kowtow To Khizar

By wire
UPRORIOUS scenes—shouts and countershouts—have been the main feature of the Punjab Assembly Session which commenced on March 21. Not a single word has so far been uttered, not a single motion come up before the House, concerning popular needs. Nothing has been done by the Congress to undo the last 7 years' mischief of the Unionist raj. Not a single day has been allotted for discussion of non-official motions. The League Party wanted two days for a debate on the food situation in the Province, but the Government refused it.

The whole concern of the Coalition Party has been to boost up Khizar against the League, get the Budget passed, and then adjourn the Assembly.

The Assembly met in a most tense atmosphere. Since the formation of the Coalition Party, there has been an orgy of communal violence in the Punjab. Five people have already been victims of communal clashes in Lahore, Amritsar and Jandiala. Today comes the report of riots from Sultanpura and Ambala.

The whole Province is divided into warring camps. The relations between Hindus and Muslims, between the Congress and the League, have never been worse. The wrath of Muslims against Khizar has turned into a wrath against Hindus and Sikhs. "Hindus and Sikhs conspired to deprive us of our right to form the Ministry, although the League is the single majority party," was the slogan raised in many Muslim meetings.

Freedom Of The Press Attacked

The new Ministry, which was sworn in on the 11th, thought it fit to attack the freedom of the Press as its way of dealing with this situation. It demanded a security of Rs. 2,000 from Nawal Waqt, the League daily of Lahore. The suggestion of the Press Advisory Committee that only a warning need be given was ignored.

The Ministry then went a step further and promulgated Section 144, banning all meetings and assemblies in Lahore for the duration of the Assembly Session. The Muslims took it as a challenge, an attempt of the new Ministry to throttle their activities—their right to demonstrate against Khizar.

But for Jinnah's presence in Lahore, things might have taken a serious turn.

Police Stationed Inside

In this background, the Punjab Assembly met on the 21st. There were elaborate Police arrangements all round. Ten vans of armed Police were posted to guard all approaches to the Assembly building.

What is worse, a room was allotted in the Assembly building itself to the Superintendent of Police!

LAHORE, March 24.
 "Meant For the Superintendent Of Police" was the caption outside the room.

What pained me most was that even Congress Party members took no objection to this unheard-of practice. They passed by that room with a smile on their faces with the remark, "This is just a precautionary measure."

My thoughts went back to the last Budget Session, when the Punjab Congress Party raised an uproar in the House as a protest against the presence of a C.I.D. man in the Assembly building who had stopped Dewan Chamanlal, then member of their Party.

As the members took their seats, I could immediately notice that it was a changed House. Missing were all those hated Honorary Magistrates, Zaildars and Tehsildars—the turbaned Unionist prize boys of Glancy. There were only 7 Unionist Muslims with Khizar as their Chief—three of them being Ministers and the rest tipped for Parliamentary Secretaryships.

The Hindu Jat group of the late Chhoturam was absent; all of its nominees, excepting two, having been trounced by the Congress.

Khizar Cheered

But this was only one side of the picture. There was another side, and a most painful one.

While the 79 Leaguers took their seats on the Opposition benches, Congressmen started cheering Khizar as he entered the House. Congressmen, Akalis and Unionists started shaking hands and cheering each other. I then realised fully the significance of the shameful pact.

On the very first day, members of both the Congress and the League gave vent to their feelings. While the League's main target was Khizar, they did not spare Congressmen either. "You want to dominate the Muslims and have created in Khizar your show-boy," said Raja GHAZANFAR ALI, addressing the Congressmen. "You are out to have a communal blood-bath in the Punjab, and Khizar has saved the Province from sectarian communal rule and Section 93," retorted BEHARILAL CHANNA from the Congress benches.

There were 10 adjournment motions on the agenda relating to Section 144, communal clashes

and the security demanded from Nawal Waqt. But none were taken up during the Budget Session. One expected that the Congress Party would allow discussion on them to clarify its stand. But instead, they supported the Speaker's ruling disallowing the motions.

Real Boss Of Congress

Even during the question hour, the Congress Party tried to avoid any discussion. Questions were hurriedly asked and disposed of. There was a question in the name of Dr. Gopichand regarding the Government seizure of a typewriting machine belonging to the All-India Spinners' Association.

The Premier's simple reply was, "The machine seized was auctioned and sold, and hence cannot be returned." But what about compensation? No Congressman came out with any supplementary question, lest it should embarrass Khizar!

Another question related to the demand of security from New Punjabi, the weekly run by the prominent Congress leader Seth Mahesh Chandra. Khizar replied that the security had been demanded for an objectionable article.

The article concerned was about the student martyr Hemu Khlani who was hanged in Sind during the 1942 movement and was only a reproduction from a Bombay magazine. The Adviser to the Governor of Bombay had taken no objection to it, but to Khizar it was dangerous and the Congress under his leadership swallowed it without asking any further questions!

A Congress friend of mine got so disgusted with all this that he was asking: "Has the Congress identified itself even with the previous Unionist Ministry?"

On the 22nd, the League Party sought to move a privilege motion regarding the allotment of a room in the Assembly building to the Superintendent of Police. "This is imposition of Police Raj over the heads of members of the House," said the League spokesman Raja Ghazanfar Ali. Most surprisingly, Congressmen remained unconcerned as if nothing had happened: The Speaker ruled out the motion, and the League Party staged a walk-out.

A "Proud" Record

But worse was yet to come. In the course of a retort to the League Party, Khizar boasted:

"I am proud of my administration. For the last many years we have established a proud record in the Punjab and Provincial Autonomy has worked best in the Punjab. This has been recognised by all."

Several Congress members, who themselves have experienced the "proud record" of Khizar's administration, started cheering the Premier!

And it is not surprising that Congressman Kedarnath Sehgal should have disowned Khizar on one occasion at least. Ghazanfar Ali was hitting the Unionist Raj and criticising the Congress for coalescing with the Unionists. "Remember your leader is Khizar, the prize boy of the bureaucracy," he said. Sehgal immediately got up and said, "I refuse to accept him as my leader."

The Ministerial benches felt uncomfortable. "There is no question of leader or follower. We are all colleagues," said Khizar to pacify Sehgal. But Bhimsen Sachhar, Congress Minister, intervened saying, "We formed the Coalition and all of us owe allegiance to Khizar Hyat who has been elected as our leader."

Sehgal was silenced for the time being. But it is a fact that he expressed the feeling of many Congressmen who cannot adjust themselves to the Congress stand of today.

Wooing Opportunists

The main efforts of the parties since the beginning of the Session have been only to woo independent and opportunist members to their side. The League tried its best to create dissension in the Akali Party, and to win the Scheduled Caste and Indian Christian members. Leaguers are reported to have promised Ministership to the toady Indian Christian leader, Dewan Bahadur S. P. Singha, and the worst Hindu elements in the House like R. B. Surajmal.

The Congress also adopted similar tactics to ensure the safety of the Ministry. It is strongly rumoured that Surajmal has been tipped by the Coalition Party for the Chief Parliamentary Secretaryship. If the League offered Singha a Ministership, Congress could make him Speaker and thus secure the support of the Christian bloc of 4 members. So they got his name proposed for the Speakership and got him elected against the League nominee, Malik Barkat Ali, by a majority of 12 votes.

In the discussion on the general administration, the League leader Raja Ghazanfar Ali made a strong indictment of the Congress coalescing with the Unionists whom they had fought all these years.

But in the very next breath, he himself was wooing the most rotten toadies including the Europeans and also appealing to Khizar to join the League!

Quoting Nehru against the

Unionists and the Akalis, the Raja said, "The only factor that cements this Coalition is the hatred of the League, but unity based on hatred cannot last long."

Ghazanfar Ali then turned to Khizar and said,

"I appeal to you in the name of Islam to cross the floor and join the League Party. The Muslim nation will forgive soon. We are not revengeful; we are not vindictive. You join us, and the Mussalmans here and outside the House will raise the slogan, 'Khizar Zindabad'."

He then addressed the Akali members.

"Why don't you join the League Party? The Qaid-e-Azam has promised you a Sikh State, and what more do you want? Don't play into the hands of the Congress. Follow the lead of Giani Kartar Singh. He knows and admits that we offered you the most."

Having wooed the Akalis, the Raja next asked the Scheduled Caste members to dissociate themselves from the Coalition Party and join the League from whom they would get much more.

Lastly, the League spokesman turned to the European members and said,

"You have your interests in India and in the Punjab your interests can be safeguarded by the League Party alone. It is not in your interest to sit on the Coalition benches."

This is all that the Congress and the League parties are doing inside the Punjab Assembly. Each is out to bag the most reactionary and toady elements and use them to beat each other.

COALITION'S BUDGET AT A GLANCE

Record Expenditure On Police And Jails

THE budget presented by the Congress Finance Minister, Lala Bhimsen Sachhar, is not a bit different from the notorious "Police and Jails" budgets which had become traditional in the Punjab under the old Unionist raj.

The total expected revenue for 1946-47 is roughly put at Rs. 2,130 lakhs, and the expenditure is budgeted at Rs. 2,083 lakhs. Out of this total expenditure, as much as Rs. 324 lakhs or 15.5% account for the Police and another Rs. 365 lakhs or 17.4% for the administration of justice, which means for the maintenance of jails and other apparatus of repression. Thus under the Congress-Unionist-Akali Ministry, 1/3rd of the total expenditure would be on the Police and jails!

As against this, the estimated expenditure on beneficent departments, all together, covering education, medical, public health, agriculture, veterinary, co-operation and industries, is only about Rs. 524 lakhs, i.e., a quarter of the total expenditure—much less than on the Police and jails!

Most shameful of all, the expenditure on the Police and jails, etc., has reached the maximum in the present budget introduced by a Congress Minister! The Police alone accounted for 12.1% of the total expenditure in 1943-44, 13.7% in 1944-45, 14.2% in 1945-46, but in 1946-47 under the Congress Coalition Ministry, it is budgeted at 15.5%.

In trying to defend such a notorious budget, Mr. Sachhar advanced exactly the same arguments as his Unionist predecessors used to. He said, "No doubt, with the present economic and social skeleton of society, expenditure on the Police is inevitable!"

During the last 200 years of British rule every Indian has repeatedly heard of such "in-

evitable" expenditure. But that now it comes from the mouth of a Congress leader only shows the disgraceful change of roles!

"The services must be trusted and not interfered with lightly," these are the words not of the Governor in a Section 93 Province, but of a Congress Minister under what we are asked to believe is a "Popular Ministry"!

This is how the Congress leadership in the Punjab is putting into practice the election manifesto of the Congress—by following in the footsteps of the previous Khizar and Sikandar Hyat Khan Ministries whose budgets were meant only for the perpetuation of Imperialist-landlord rule over the lives of three crores of impoverished Punjabis.

Mr. Sachhar was himself so ashamed of his budget that he tried to evade Congress responsibility for it by declaring that it was "not his baby." But how does it happen that a Congress Minister accepts and presents an old budget prepared by his Unionist predecessors, the Glancy stooges?

When faced with the question in the House, why he could not get demands certified for the next two months and call a new Session after that to present a newly-prepared budget, Sachhar had no answer to give!

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KERALA COMMUNIST LEADERS ASSAULTED AND INJURED

Cannanore Workers' Protest-Strike

KRISHNA PILLAI, Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Committee of the Communist Party and four other Communists were brutally assaulted and wounded on the evening of March 25, on their way from the Communist election office to the Textile Union office, half a mile away in Cannanore, to attend a Party General Body meeting.

Pillai left the election office alone. Before he had gone a hundred yards, a beedi-shop-walla named Achuthan began shouting abuses at him. When Pillai turned round to answer back, the shopwala pounced upon him and began to beat him. Pillai hit back. People from neighbouring houses gathered round and prevented further hooliganism.

Pillai then proceeded to the Union office; another Communist, P. Gopalan, also joined him. But they were soon overtaken by 20 goondas consisting of the above shopwala, Congress labour workers and a few tailors from the shops, who began to assault them. Pillai and Gopalan stoutly defended themselves, and the rowdies ran away.

The shopwala now collected about 200 people and again surrounded Pillai, Gopalan and Moidu (who had joined later). Sixty goondas attacked them with quarry stones. Pillai received injuries on his forehead, head and neck. When the hooligans saw the blood, they got nervous and ran away.

The news spread like wildfire throughout the town and Communists from all parts of the town rushed to the election office.

Two of them, Krishnan and K. P. Nannu, rushed to the shopwala who had first attacked Pillai. People gathered on both sides. They thrashed the shop-keeper; and a free fight ensued in the course of which Krishnan and K. P. Nannu were stabbed from behind with a knife, and hit with quarry stones. They were seriously injured.

Pillai and four others are in hospital now.

All honest people are shocked and the entire working-class of Cannanore is furious at this brutal attack on one of the foremost political leaders of Malabar.

Pillai is the Secretary of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party of India and one of the Vice-Presidents of the Malabar Provincial Trade Union Congress. His services and sacrifices in the cause of freedom for the last 15 years are known throughout the Province—ever since the days in 1931 when, as a salt satyagrahi with Kelappan and Abdur Rehman Saheb, he was brutally assaulted and beaten by the Imperialist Police on the Calicut beach.

All honest citizens of Cannanore admire the heroic resistance Pillai put up when he was attacked thrice within less than an hour by goondas of the reactionary handloom owners of the town and supported by local Congress leaders.

Workers' Protest Strike Against Attack

The entire working-class of Cannanore and its suburbs, beedi, cigar, handloom and timber workers, went on a protest strike yesterday to demonstrate their indignation and sorrow at the brutal attack on their beloved leader. Only a handful of Congress labour workers abstained from the protest demonstrations.

This attack on Pillai was only the culmination of what has been going on in Chirakkal taluk in the name of anti-Communism for the last six months. Chirakkal taluk is the strongest base of the Red Flag and of the organised working-class and kisan movements in Kerala; and as such it is from here that the joint Congress-millowner offensive started against the Communists in order to smash the working-class and kisan movements by organised terrorism.

Stray assaults on Communists and attempts to break up our meetings have been a regular feature during the whole of the election period. Twice the Red Flag candidate K. P. Gopalan was attacked and prevented from holding a meeting at Ekkad Etalavil near Cannanore town.

As the polling day approached, the attackers gathered more strength and became more organised. At one place our propaganda squad was attacked, severely beaten up and two petrolmax lamps destroyed.

The day before the polling, some of the Communists, when attacked, defended themselves and thrashed the villains. That had a sobering effect on them for the time being; the polling passed off peacefully. Big processions of kisan and worker voters were coming in jathas with banners and voting for the Red Flag. There was every chance of the Red Flag candidate winning and so the anti-Communists got panicky.

They began openly propagating that they would kill K. P. Gopalan and Pillai. They began to assault our comrades returning after the polling in the night, to abuse them and thus try to provoke them into a clash.

Pillai is also personally leading the strike of one thousand and five hundred workers in Pappinisseri (six miles north of Cannanore) Aaron Mills. Samuel

Aaron, the Managing Director of these mills, is the 'Birla' of Malabar and a big Congress boss. He dismissed 150 workers for taking part in the protest hartal last month against the military firing in Bombay in connection with the R.I.N. strike. When the workers refused to go to work unless their 150 comrades were reinstated unconditionally, Aaron declared a lock-out.

The day on which Pillai was assaulted, Aaron had opened his mill again. But none of the 1,200 strikers attended. At a mass meeting held on Sunday, attended by 5,000 workers and kisans, Krishna Pillai exhorted the workers to take a pledge not to go to the mill unless their demands were met. 1,200 strikers in a single voice took the pledge.

Aaron could not crush the workers' morale by his lock-out; and, therefore, the goonda attack on Krishna Pillai, the workers' leader, followed. What was done against Pillai at Cannanore on the 25th was repeated at Aaron's mill gate on the 26th morning. An Assistant Secretary of the Union, Stanley, was also assaulted and had to be taken to hospital bleeding from the mouth and nose.

Lies Of Congress Press

In all this, the local Congress leadership acted hand in glove with Aaron.

Not only this, the Congress Press in Malabar printed false reports putting the whole blame on the Communists. The Associated Press of India also played its part in circulating distorted versions of the whole incident.

But the facts are there for every honest man to see. In Chirakkal taluk no fewer than 33 Communists including Pillai are laid up in bed now, victims of anti-Communist goondaism. All of them need long treatment before they can resume their normal Party activities. Half a dozen of them are very seriously injured, and may be disabled for life.

ATTACK ON FOOD RALLY IN PUNJAB

Congress Leaders Refuse To Intervene

GONDAISM in the name of the Congress reached its climax in Hoshiarpur (Punjab) when groups of people shouting Congress slogans attacked a public meeting organised by the Communist Party.

The meeting was addressed by Master HARI SINGH, veteran Communist leader, KISHORILAL (Bhagat Singh's comrade recently released after serving a sentence of life transportation), TIKARAM SUKHAN and others. MOHANLAL, a leading trade unionist, was hit on the head by a brickbat and had to be removed to hospital in an unconscious state. It took the doctors 24 hours to bring him back to consciousness, and Mohanlal is still lying in hospital in a precarious condition.

Communists' Initiative

Only last month the people of Hoshiarpur had staged a huge all-parties' demonstration in which the Congress, the League and the Communists had participated. The demonstration resulted in a thumping victory which won for the people an increase in the rations.

The Communist Party had taken the initiative for this, and had led this joint victorious demonstration. It had made the blackmarketeers of the town furious. They wanted to take their revenge on the Communists; and Congressmen rallied to their support.

On March 16, a public meeting was convened by the Communist Party to protest against the Delhi firing, and to urge the people to work for a united Food Committee.

When the meeting started, a few rowdies hired by a local blackmarketeer began shouting 'Jai Hind' and 'Congress Zindabad' with the avowed object of disrupting the meeting. The disruptors soon got confused when the President him-

self rose and asked the audience to shout those slogans as nobody could have any objection to them.

But soon the rowdies aided by the local Rashtriya Sewak Sangh boys started creating a noise and pelting stones on the dais when Kishorilal rose to speak. Local Congress leaders, Lala Omprakash and Balkrishen, who were present there, refused to intervene when requested by the organisers of the meeting. Communist volunteers then removed the disruptors from the place.

Police Game

After the meeting when some of the Communists were returning to the Party Office, the goondas waylaid and assaulted CHANAN SINGH, Secretary of the Motor Union, seriously injuring him. Six others who were guarding stage equipment were hit on the head by bricks and they fell down unconscious.

The Police, who had been very busy on the day of the food demonstration, kept themselves aloof today at a safe distance.

The Nationalist Press did not publish a line about this incident though reports of it were sent to all the newspapers. And not one Congressman of Hoshiarpur has come out with a single word of condemnation against this hooliganism.

**In Election For
S. I. R. Labour Seat**

**Congress Supporters Beat Up
20 Communists**

A GROUP of workers who were distributing Communist election leaflets to the workers of the Perambur railway workshop at the shop-gates on March 21, were brutally assaulted by the supporters of the Congress candidate with iron rods, thick wooden planks and lathis.

NANU SAMY, a cigar worker, has been admitted into the General Hospital with a broken rib and a severe gash on his head. BALACHANDRA MENON, Communist-leader and General Secretary of the Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress, was severely hit on the head besides receiving injuries all over the body, and had also to be rushed to the General Hospital. Nearly 20 Communist workers were injured.

It was only a week before this that a Communist propaganda squad was surrounded by Congress rowdies at Perambur and severely assaulted. The Red Flag was snatched and burnt on the spot.

With such methods Congressmen tried to terrorise the railway workers and defeat the Communist candidate for the Railway Labour seat.

The railway workers, however, gave a fitting reply to Congress tactics by their overwhelming verdict in favour of ANANDAN NAMBIYAR, the Red Flag candidate and General Secretary of the South Indian Railway Labour Union. Nambiyar defeated his Congress opponent by a majority of 8,000 votes.

[Photographs of injured Communists on Page 12.]

At Golden Rock

HANDLOOM WORKER MURDERED

Rly. Workers Defy Ban TO Honour Martyr

A HANDLOOM worker, SINGARAVELU, was assaulted and murdered by Congress rowdies on March 26, for refusing to pull down the Red Flag flying over his house. A Congress procession was passing by his house, some of the processionists ordered him to remove the Red Flag. On his refusal, they rushed into the house and assaulted him which resulted in his death.

The railway workers of Golden Rock decided to take out a procession the next day to Trichy town to pay homage to the worker-martyr. The authorities, who had looked on unconcerned while the worker was murdered, now intervened and promulgated Section 144, banning all processions and meetings in honour of Singaravelu.

The railway workers decided to break the ban. They brought out a silent procession. Four thousand workers marched in batches. They were stopped on the way and lathi-charged. A dozen workers were injured and admitted into hospital.

But the railway workers are not so easily intimidated and are determined to pay their homage to their martyr in batches.

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Leaders Saying One Thing To The People, Another To Wavell

New Delhi High-Ups' Calculations About Cabinet Mission

NEW DELHI, March 31.

FROM RELIABLE SOURCES WHO OCCUPY RESPONSIBLE places in Indian public life and are in close touch with Lord Wavell and his staff and also with Mr. Jinnah and the top Congress leaders, I have the story of what is going on behind the scenes, preparing the ground for the Cabinet Mission, and how the leaders of the Congress and the League are saying one thing in public to their followers and another in private to Lord Wavell and his men.

LORD WAVELL AND CIRCLES CLOSEST TO HIM ARE CONFIDENT that an all-Parties' settlement is possible and must be achieved. In their talk with responsible Indian leaders they are plugging hard the threat of Russia and that too to India! They are arguing as if Indian freedom was on the table for the Indian leaders to take only if they could assure Britain how they would not fall prey to Russian expansionism!

Defence - Main Argument To Sell British Plan

Lord Wavell and his military experts are of the opinion that India cannot cope with her defence for another half century, and if the Indian leaders can guarantee that they also regard the "defence need as imperative" there will be no obstacle to the Cabinet Mission agreeing to Indian freedom. Effective Indian defence, they assert, will have to be prepared for and organised not only as centralised defence, but must also provide for "full collaboration" between British and Indian defence.

In other words, if the Indian leaders agree to follow the British Imperialist foreign policy inside the United Nations Organisation and make Indian defence subordinate to the British Imperialist plan for safeguarding its oil in Persia, Iraq and Burma, for keeping reactionary feudal regimes in power, and for safeguarding the Imperialist line of air and naval communications, then, we shall be free, as free as Egypt or Palestine!

In fact, the Egyptian model with a "treaty" and all its paraphernalia is being talked of to enable the Indian leaders to sell the British plan to the Indian people.

Why Mission Trio was Selected

The Cabinet Mission, it is reported, has come with a *carte blanche* to bring off a settlement, but if the Indian leaders prove intractable, then to conduct the negotiations in a manner that the whole blame may fall on the shoulders of the Indian leaders themselves, while British prestige for its "wise statesmanship" will go up in world esteem.

Nobody thinks much of Lord Pethick-Lawrence; his only job is to talk soft Christian pious stuff and impress Indian leaders with his sincerity.

Alexander has come because of his knowledge of the three Services (Army, Navy and Air), and to ensure that a settlement does satisfy the British Service Chiefs. His second task is to keep a check on Cripps. Alexander is Attlee's man, and is expected to act as a moderating influence in case Cripps wants to go too far.

Cripps has been put on the Mission not only because he came on the last Mission and goes down well with the Indian leaders, but to see that a proper trade agreement is fixed up between Britain and India, i.e., the present growing link-up between Big Business—British and Indian—is stabilised and made permanent through a trade treaty.

What New Delhi is Aiming At

New Delhi has the following time-table for "Indian Freedom." An Interim Government to work for 3-4 years, while boundaries of disputed provinces are being drawn up by a Commission and an Indian Constitution is being thrashed out.

Immediate settlement is not only not hoped for, but considered wrong and impractical because it is taken for granted that it is bound to lead to civil war between the Congress and the League, whoever feels aggrieved. And it is suggested that leaders of both the parties have roused the tempers of their own following to such an extent that they will not be able to control them.

On the other hand, if all contending issues are kept open for discussion and the Congress and the League leaders work together in an Interim Government for some years, there will be no Hindu-Muslim conflict, instead the leaders themselves will learn how to harmonise them in practice.

In other words, the British tactical line is the following: FIRST, promise everything to everybody in words, get the Indian leaders to wrangle with each other as much as possible around the table of the Constitution-making Body and thus get the chance to keep the final Award in their own hands.

SECONDLY, set up an Interim Government which will be interim only in name, but in reality will last as many years as the British desire; this will both face the explosive Indian situation and also provide the cover to get Indian defence organised under British leadership and per British plan, and get Indian economy subordinated to the British for the post-war period.

The Congress Press propaganda that Wavell will throw the League overboard is without any foundation and is just wishful thinking. Circles close to Lord Wavell are openly saying: We cannot afford to antagonise the Muslims; a Muslim revolt will mean that the Indian Army will be affected and it will also have serious anti-British repercussions in the Middle East.

Anyway, the illusory hope of a Congress-Government agreement which by-passed the League was blown up by the very first statement of Lord Pethick-Lawrence.

How They Read Mr. Jinnah's Mind

Mr. Jinnah is talking big of blood, sacrifice and the sword, in public, but in Lord Wavell's circle, the report current is that he is in a very "reasonable mood." This is the opinion of a set of high-ranking Muslim officials and British journalists who dined with Mr. Jinnah to discuss Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah also knew that they had only come to make him talk and report back to Lord Wavell. And this

is what they are saying of how Mr. Jinnah's mind is working today:

● He is prepared to co-operate in the Centre to tackle the internal crisis. He has not yet given up hopes of a settlement at the Centre.

● But he will go to the Centre only if a "Border Region Council" is set up. It should consist of the representatives of the main parties in this country and Britain and should have "sanctions" to make the "minor" adjustments in the boundaries of which he has spoken in public.

● If the Pakistan areas are demarcated and the right to secede at will recognised, he may agree to go to one Constitution-making Body.

● Mr. Jinnah is not thinking of immediate partition, but wants the self-determination of Pakistan areas with the right to secede recognised unequivocally. But he publicly insists on two Constitution-making Bodies and no Interim Government, because he fears that the Congress will "eat him up" otherwise.

Sardar Patel's Compromise Preparations

Similarly, the Congress is telling the people one thing and Wavell another.

● Sardar Patel, like Mr. Jinnah, is discussing the details of a compromise with Lord Wavell, who is reported to have said that Britain cannot oppose Pakistan wholesale. It was after this that Pandit Nehru, Sardar's mouthpiece for the people, swung over from his

anti-Pakistan tirades to saying that the Congress accepts ninety-five per cent self-determination, which our readers will remember was widely featured in the British and U.S. Press.

● Lord Wavell was recently annoyed with the Congress leaders and had begun to doubt if their words could be trusted. It was Maulana Azad who suggested the idea of the all-Parties' Food Council to the Viceroy who agreed with it and made the announcement. Mr. Jinnah agreed to come in, but the Congress went back on its words. In the Working-Committee meeting, Sardar Patel opposed it on the ground that the Congress should not offer co-operation too early, but hold on till the elections were over.

Government circles are talking a lot about jealousy between Maulana Azad and Sardar Patel as to who should deal with Lord Wavell and the Cabinet Mission. Lord Wavell's Secretariat seems to know all that is passing inside the Congress, and the Working Committee, from the squabbles among the leaders to all that is discussed in its meetings.

These very official and pro-British New Delhi circles say that both Mr. Jinnah and the Congress circles have shown genuine fear of what will happen in case there is a breakdown of the Cabinet Mission. They have learnt from their own recent experience that they cannot control their own followers. They also say that the Congress and the League leaders say to the people that they will revolt, but they assure Lord Wavell that they do not want to revolt!

In short, the Indian situation, as visualised by responsible British agents who rule over us, is the following:

Indian Disunity - Basis For Settlement On Their Terms

"An Indo-British settlement is certain; Indian leaders may talk big about revolt, but that stuff is meant for mass consumption.

"The Indian leaders are proving less intractable and more amenable than ever. There is no chance of their coming to an agreement among themselves about the future destiny of India and its Freedom-Constitution, but both the Congress and the League leaders are prepared to negotiate with the British Government. Thus it becomes Britain's responsibility to reduce the demands of both to practicality and then bring them together.

"Both the Congress and the League leaders are agreeable to Indian defence with British help and under British leadership as long as Indian Officer cadres cannot be trained, i.e., for about another 50 years!

"The Congress leaders, and Pandit Nehru, have given up their old sympathy with the Soviet Union and the hope of playing a world role in alliance with the U.S.S.R. Today they are prepared to co-operate with Britain in checking Russian "aggressive designs."

In short, New Delhi feels that post-war India can be successfully re-yoked to the British Imperialist chariot.

I have used, as far as possible, their own jargon and phrases.

A. S. R. Chari Reports Cripps' Press Conference

MISSION'S ROLE TO BE RING-MASTER!

Palme Dutt's Questions To Cripps

New Delhi, April 2.

CRIPPS' PRESS CONFERENCE YESTERDAY SERVED TO HIGHLIGHT THE DIPLOMATIC BATTLE THAT STARTED THIS WEEK.

THE CONGRESS, THE LEAGUE AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT have all ordered up their reserves.

The League has called the League Legislators' Convention which Mr. Jinnah intends to be his separate Constituent Assembly.

Pandit Nehru has called the Working Committee of the States' People's Conference and the Nationalist Muslims, of course, here are raising a hullabaloo that they should be invited.

The British Government has called up their puppets, the Princes, and their henchmen, the State Premiers. It has shamelessly asserted that these henchmen are going to work towards a Congress-League agreement.

"We will hold the ring fairly," this was the theme of Cripps in his Press Conference held yesterday. Cripps was in his element parrying inconvenient questions, his long training as a lawyer making him as slippery as an eel. Among the questions, crucial ones were put by Palme Dutt and I give them below:

Dutt To Cripps

DUTT: If the Government wishes the Indian people to determine their future will they agree to the only recognised democratic means for this purpose, that is, a sovereign Constituent Assembly based on universal suffrage?

CRIPPS: We feel the question of the way in which the Constituent Assembly should be formed is primarily a matter for the Indian people and we hope in the course of discussions either to arrive at an agreement on how it should be done or at least get very near to

that. At present we are anxious to have their views.

DUTT: Will negotiations for the future of India be as between sovereign equals or between master and servant with the final decision resting in British hands?

CRIPPS: Final decision will wholly be in Indian hands.

DUTT: Will a settlement include the withdrawal of the British Military forces?

CRIPPS: It would be inconsistent with any idea of independence for foreign troops to remain in the country except by an agreement between a Free India and Britain.

DUTT: Will the principle of full repayment of the sterling debts be recognised as an integral part of an economic and financial settlement which will have to accompany any political settlement?

CRIPPS: The question of all financial and economic matters will be negotiated between the Governments of Free India and Great Britain when the time comes.

DUTT: Even in the absence of an agreement on a final solution, will an interim government be set up in any case? Do the two stand or fall together?

CRIPPS: I will not answer this hypothetical question.

In reply to another question on the same lines, Cripps said that the question of interim government is linked up with the one of the new constitutional structure for a Free India and the degree of linking up depended primarily on the Indian leaders.

I asked Cripps whether the mission would consult only the States' Rulers and Premiers or whether they had sent for representatives of the Peoples' Organisations in the States. Cripps answered that the matter was under consideration.

Asked by some foreign correspondents whether the Communists were going to be invited, Cripps answered in the affirmative.

Emphasis On 'Agreement' Not Independence

The whole emphasis of the Cripps Conference was to suggest that the problem is not of Indian independence at all but one of Indian agreement. He said that the mission had no ready-made plan, but in the absence of an agreement it might have to think out one.

Commenting on Cripps' answer to the question about withdrawal of the British Military, PALME DUTT humorously remarked that it is to be on the same lines as the situation in Greece where "British troops are in Greece with the permission of the Greek Government and the Greek Government is in Greece with the help of the British troops."

A rather interesting pointer to the role assigned to the Princes and Premiers of the States is the statement by the Vice-President of the Gwalior State Executive Council who said he welcomed the declaration of the Secretary of State for India that the States had a great part to play. The Bikaner State has already given proof of this "great part." It has issued new Press rules which enjoin the proprietor of every newspaper to dismiss the editor whose activities are considered to be "unfriendly to the Bikaner State."

The role to be played by the States is clear from the conditions of the (Continued on Page 9, Col. 1.)

WHAT BRITISH COMMUNISTS DEMAND FROM CABINET MISSION

POLICE-SUPPORTED CONGRESS GOONDAISM

[The following article which appeared in the London DAILY WORKER on March 23 puts sharply and clearly the British Communist Party's point of view about the Cabinet Mission and its demands on the British Labour Movement in respect of complete independence for India.—EDITOR].

TOMORROW the Cabinet Mission arrives in India. What is the prospect of a settlement?

Everyone wants a settlement. But what kind of settlement? This is the crux of the question. Are we to see yet another attempt at a deal between Imperialism and Indian upper-class interests; the Princes and the millionaires devising yet another fig-saw "constitution" to hold down the masses of the Indian workers and peasants and protect the investments of big capital in India?

Or can the united pressure of the British and Indian peoples use this moment of opportunity to ensure that the Indian people win real freedom?

This is the great question of the hour, vital for the world's future, which today stands before us for decision.

Bankrupt Imperial Rule, All Indians For Independence

THE magnitude of the present crisis in India requires a speedy, a lasting, and a democratic settlement. The Indian people are in no mood to accept counterfeit currency. It is essential that British opinion should understand the intensity of the universal demand for independence which sweeps every section of India today, including the armed forces.

The present system of government in India is bankrupt. The economic breakdown is culminating in the onset of the grimmest famine of modern British rule in India, many times more serious than any food shortage in any other part of the world.

The latest copies of the People's Age from India bear terrible photographs of the piles of corpses in the streets of Bombay. Two hundred and ten unarmed demonstrators were shot dead by military firing in two days. Peterloo knew 11 dead (where British workers, on strike, were massacred in the last century). Bombay on February 22-23 was 20 Peterloos.

The Indian naval strikers, to their eternal honour, ran up the flag of Indian freedom, of the Congress, Muslim League and Communist Party, on the warships of the Indian Navy. Hundreds of their leaders are today under arrest, despite the promises of no victimisation.

Let us demand that the arrival of the Cabinet Mission shall be signalled by the release of all political prisoners, and the cancelling of all charges and sentences against the naval strikers.

The official Indian delegation to the Combined Food Board reports that on the basis of present resources at least five to seven million will die of starvation in the coming months in India.

Attlee Offers Alliance Of Interested Interests

MR. ATTLEE is loudly acclaimed in the Press to have offered independence to India. Mr. MICHAEL FOOT calls over himself in excited osannas in the Daily Herald (the organ of the Labour Party). In his excitement he appears to have failed to notice that the Press endorsed and applauded and repeated Mr. Attlee's offer. When a Diehard Anglo-Indian bureaucrat like Sir Stanley

their own future forms of State and find the solution to the problems of inner national self-determination which find expression in the demand for Pakistan.

The Princes

● We cannot allow the use of the Indian Princes as British puppets to divide India and sabotage Indian independence and democracy. Democratic election by universal suffrage to the Sovereign Constituent Assembly must extend equally to the one-quarter of the Indian people living in the States under the Princes; and the Sovereign Constituent Assembly will determine the future of the Princes.

National Government

● Such a representative Interim Indian National Government should be based on the main political parties, with equal representation of the Congress and the Muslim League, to carry through the change-over, hold the elections, and have full powers to take the necessary measures to combat the present crisis and famine, which would in no sense prejudice the future decision on the question of the forms of State, including Pakistan.

The Army

● It is essential that the complete withdrawal of British

Reed calmly declares: "Why boggle at the term 'independence'?" serious Labour supporters will do well to look a little more closely at what is afoot. After all, in "independent" Egypt the same firing is taking place in Cairo as in Bombay. The British military are still in occupation.

In fact, Mr. Attlee did not offer independence to the Indian people. What he proposed was that a hypothetical future "Constitution-making Body," based, not on democratic universal suffrage, but on a group of interests, whose composition and powers will be determined by the British Government, will have a hypothetical future right to choose between "dominion status" and "independence."

THIS IS A LONG WAY YET FROM THE RIGHT OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN DESTINY.

Using India For Imperial Power - Politics

WE have a great opportunity. But we shall only use it aright if we are alive; also to the dangers.

by R. Palme Dutt

There are ominous signs that behind-the-scenes negotiations have already taken place between the Imperialists and the upper-class leadership of India—especially those of the Congress, who fear the rising mass movement—for a deal at the expense of the Indian masses. The right-wing leadership of the Congress has disowned the naval strikers, denounced the mass movement, launched a violent campaign against the Communist Party, and in its Press spread a campaign of hostility to the Soviet Union.

Reactionary Imperialist interests see the problem of India in a world alignment. They see India as an indispensable military base against the Soviet Union. They seek to manoeuvre in the present crisis, to utilise all divisions within India to elaborate and impose a constitution which will leave the realities of British power intact, especially of British economic and military power controlling the constitutional forms.

Conditions For Real Independence

IT is not enough to be satisfied with phrases. It is essential to lay down the indispensable concrete conditions for a democratic settlement which we must demand. These are:

Independence

● All Indian parties and organisations without exception demand independence. There is no justification for qualified, conditional, hypothetical, future offers. The recognition of Indian independence must be the starting point and basis of negotiations.

Free Elections

● This is the only democratic means to enable the Indian people to determine their own destiny. We want no hand-picked "Constitution-making Body." Only by this means can the Indian people determine

military forces shall be an integral part of a democratic settlement. The situation is favourable now, when no external menace confronts India and gives time for the building up of India's own military forces.

Finance

● The Indian Sterling Balances represent the masses of goods taken out of poverty-stricken India during the war without payment.

They must be repaid, and not used as a blackmailing instrument to enforce unjust terms. A negotiated settlement for repayment can be reached, which can both assist Indian productive development and enable British industry to play an important part in assisting Indian development.

Food

● India is not represented on the Combined Food Board. Far more attention has in fact been paid to allocations for Germany and Japan than for India, whose needs are more serious.

We must demand allocation of available world food resources according to need, which would place India at the head of the queue, instead of at the end. Internal procurement, distribution and rationing (which should include equality for Europeans and Indians) can only be effectively carried out by a National Government.



THESE are the indispensable conditions for a democratic settlement. The British Labour movement wishes to play fair with India. But it often lacks knowledge. We shall need to organise the widest popular support and pressure for these demands. Above all, there is need for speed. The crisis in India is rising, and the future relations of Britain and India are in the balance. There is no time to lose.

THE Congress leaders everywhere are boasting that they have defeated the Communists. They also know to their own discomfort, which they do their best to hide, that a large mass of honest men, including their own followers, know how the Congress victory was scored.

The Congress propaganda against the Communist Party was an unending stream of slanders and lies. The Congress method was greater and greater use of goondalism.

Open goondalism was least where we had already had to face it and had finished it with our strength. It was most where the working-class was dispersed over a large area. Here we were not prepared to face it on a large scale being under the illusion that on the last days of the election campaign, the Congress boys might throw some stones, try to disturb our meetings, but not more. In this issue we give the story of polling in the 80-miles long Calcutta industrial belt, and who will say that these were free and not Fascist elections. And the technique too was the same.

The Police declared Section 144, but they applied it against the Communists alone.

The Police disarmed Red volunteers, but Congress lorries stocked with stones and lathis and manned by professional goondas and Congress youths had a free run. The Congress goondas raided polling booths, drove away Communist polling agents, while the Government polling officers looked on, the elections went on, and bogus voters, who were not even workers (it was a case not of General but Labour constituencies) were allowed to impersonate en masse.

The vast mass of Calcutta's working-class are peasants and labourers from the U.P. and Bihar villages. Our Bengali daily SWADHINATA has printed photographs of Bengali babus going up to impersonate as North Indian workers! The goondas cleared the path, with Police aid, by mass terror against the working-class and the Communist Party, for mass bogussing by the Congress. But they were not confident even after this, and so they tampered with the ballot boxes too. This is how the Congress victory was won.

When the Congress leaders began hugging the biggest profiteers and blackmarketeers in the towns and the worst feudal parasites in the countryside, their followers naturally learnt and aped the ways of the professional hirelings of these exploiters and oppressors of our people, namely, the language of the brothel and the methods of the goonda. This is how setting fire to working-class bustees with women and children inside caused them no worry; this is how attacks on our Party hospital did not trouble their conscience. After Congress workers have been taught to slander and set the goonda—and all in the name of "freedom"—ordinary humanity within them gets killed. This is how the Hitler youth were trained!

Not Our Battle Alone But Of Indian Freedom

Telegrams received by us from all over India show that to hide their sins and prevent our telling the people the truth, a new wave of mass anti-Communist frenzy is being worked up. Post-election assaults on Communist offices and individuals continue.

There is a large section of honest middle-class opinion which bemoans Congress goondalism but acquiesces in it with the hope that it will all end with the elections. They are living in a fool's paradise. It was no accident that the Congress, from being slandered by the British rulers, begins slandering the Communist Party, and from being suppressed by the Police, instead begins to be aided by them. Such is the living reality, and it follows inevitably from the strategy that the Congress leadership is following today—namely, settle with the British, fight your own brother.

The period of lies and lathis is not over, but only begun and we have only seen its first elementary phase. Listen to Sardar Patel, who is the real power in the Congress of today, speaking in Bombay, with Pandit Nehru on the dais, on 26th February about the Naval Ratings strike and all that happened then:

"There is much talk about condemning this firing. True, in some places the firing was excessive. But tomorrow after we get into power, if such goondalism took place, we might have to resort to firing also."

"The army is not going to be ours immediately. It will remain British. But if, on such occasions, we have to use the military, what will you say then?"

As long as the Congress leaders pursue the path of faith in the British ruler and hatred against their brother parties, the situation will go from bad to worse, under the Congress Ministries.

The Congress goondas' lathis will be reinforced by Police lathis. And if they are not enough, British bayonets will be used against us, British bullets will take a toll of more Kamal Dondes, British armoured cars called out to patrol our streets.

Every anti-British and anti-Police demonstration will be denounced as goondalism.

Every working-class and peasant action will be drowned in blood as Communist-mischief against the Congress Ministries.

Every Congress paper has published the story of the Governors' Conference discussing the illegalisation of our Party, and not one has editorially commented against the threat.

The voice of our Party will be sought to be throttled more than ever before, for ours is the only voice against a sell-out to the British (to which faith in their "sincerity" must inevitably lead) and for settlement among ourselves about a truly democratic and freedom constitution and for a final united assault against their tottering regime; for ours is the only organised voice against the profiteers and blackmarketeers, at a time when the country is faced with famine and the working-class and employees faced with retrenchment and unemployment.

The anti-Communist slander campaign will be run full steam to be turned into anti-Communist mass frenzy whenever need be; there is no other way by which the Congress leaders can prevent their mass following from being critical of their disastrous policy for the future of our country and the welfare of our people.

The present terror against the Communist Party is only a prelude to the coming mass terror against Trade Union and Nisan Sabha activities in the new mass upsurge that is already welling up. The vanguard has to face it today, the mass shall have to face it tomorrow. Quite a large number of Congress leaders are heard openly saying: We shall bury the Red Flag.

Very difficult days, of still greater tests, are ahead of our Party. Respected patriots of yesterday who have made the profiteers and zemindars their patrons today, naturally enough talk of burying the Red Flag.

Our answer will be to rouse all the courage, heroism and urge for a new life that is in the worker and peasant youth, and organise them as Red Volunteers. Sturdy sons of India's toilers shall defend the honour of the Red Flag and not let the actions of the working-class and peasantry against the famine-makers and creators of unemployment, be drowned in blood.

The Birias, Dalnias and Goenkas are buying up not only the Congress papers of yesterday, but also the Anglo-Indian! They will naturally manufacture a new lie every day against the Communist Party. Our answer will be new calls for unprecedented sacrifices by all our Party members and sympathisers to keep the Communist Press going.

It is a race between two policies: revival of the old liberal faith in the British or the undying will to evolve and enforce a truly Indian-made Indian-plan for Indian freedom.

Falsehood is the natural language of the former, truth of the latter. British-aided terror naturally becomes the method of the former, single-handed heroism of the latter.

The sands of time are running out. For all Communists it is a battle with our backs to the wall, but it is not our battle alone, but of the Indian toilers against the Indian profiteers, of Indian freedom against British machinations and the servile illusions of the Congress leaders.

WORKERS CARRY RED FLAG TO VICTORY

Dange Defeats Congress Candidate

S. A. DANGE, BOMBAY'S OLDEST AND MOST BELOVED COMMUNIST LABOUR leader, scored a resounding victory over his Congress rival, Barrister **M. Y. NURIE**, ex-Congress Minister, when he was returned to the Legislative Assembly from the Bombay city and Surban Registered Textile Union Constituency on March 30th. Securing 4,742 votes, Dange won by a clean margin of 723 votes.

The Congress attempt to present India's oldest Red working-class base has failed.

It was a great story of unwavering loyalty of workers of every section—Maratha, Telugu, Bhalyya, Muslims and Hindus, Touchables and Untouchables, men and women, to the Flag they and their elders had planted in Bombay, 18 years ago.

It was a loyalty that stood the acid test of owners' pressure, goonda terror, a lying Press campaign, temptations of cash for every vote.

The entire might of the Congress, its resources in leaders and volunteers, officers and money, Press and goondas, was concentrated on this single seat.

They wanted to kill two birds with one stone: smash the Communist Party's oldest base, and also parade Nurie as their only Muslim M.L.A., whose election was so vital to the formation of a Ministry in the Province. (In the last elections, Nurie was returned from the Ahmedabad Muslim Constituency. This time no Congress Muslim had a chance anywhere, except in a mixed constituency).

Dange's election victory has smashed to bits all these dreams. Among Congress circles and in their Press it has been taken as a national disaster.



Dange

Frivolous Objections

The Congress campaign against us started full three months ago, when the Bombay Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag)—G.K.U.—submitted its roll of members. Under the Act, only members of a registered and certified textile labour union, paying yearly membership dues, have a right to vote in this constituency.

Members of three Unions—G.K.U. (membership 11,998), the Kuria Girni Kamgar Sangh, (membership, 1,150), and a paper union led by one Mr. Jagtap (membership 421)—are entitled to vote for this seat.

The Congress labour leadership "challenged" 3,000 members of the G.K.U. as being fictitious. For this they had utilised their good relations with the bosses to the fullest. But when the case came up for hearing before the Trade Union Registrar, they could not prove even a single contention. Their objections were dismissed as 'frivolous.'

After March 11—i.e., when the elections for the General Seats in Bombay were over—all the might of the Congress was switched over to win this single seat. The Congress candidate, Nurie, started visiting mills and fixing up the 'technical arrangement' with the mills' management. In fact, a few days later, he is reported to have said that he could not have asked for a more secure seat than this one. It all looked so easy with the mills' management fully co-operating against a common enemy!

While the voters' cards were being distributed inside the mills through jobbers, etc., and the mills' notice-boards used for Nurie, the nationalist Marathi lobbies like Lokmanya, Navakal and Navashakti and a host of reckless carried banner headlines, front-page write-ups and big editorials in support of Nurie. Care was taken, e.g., in Lokmanya, not even to mention Dange's name as a rival candidate. He was just referred to as Red Flag or Communist candidate.

Big Congress leaders like S. Patil, Sane Guruji, Atre, ex-remier Kher, etc., were all scheduled to speak. But this time at no meeting could they

get more than 300 people to listen to their cheap attacks. Candidate Nurie had once to address only 15 people at the Lalbaug maidan!

Having nothing political to tell the workers, their speeches degenerated to low levels. Thus Kher told his audience that Dange could not bring any pressure to bear on the Congress because he weighed only 50-lbs! At Sewree, Nurie told his audience to eat bananas in the evening if they could not get enough food, because the cut in the ration had come to stay! And with such propaganda, they hoped to win in the name of the Congress!

Nurie's Cards Torn

But the workers were not slow to hit back. In Bitia Mills (Phoenix) at Fergusson Road, women workers tore up Nurie's cards given to them. An old militant held a meeting of women in her department inside the mill and explained why they must vote for the Red Flag. The shift over, the leaders of these women reported the story to our workers.

Women workers from Dhanraj Mills one day went to the Union Office in the area. "Why has not the Red Flag come and given us our cards? We don't want these," they said, and tore up the Congress cards. They left only when their names and addresses had been taken down.

Alongside this, the men and women fought against goonda terror and temptation of cash payment for each vote. At Sewree, Vishnu 'Beetwala', a goonda took away a woman's card in her absence from her mother-in-law and gave her a Congress card in return. The worker was furious.

In the tiffin hour she returned home (she normally does not), thundered at the goonda and forced him to return the Red Flag card. When he tried to terrorise her by telling her that there would be firing, etc., on the 25th, she promptly replied, "If I die there of a bullet, thousands will attend my funeral."

acted on March 23, hardly 36 hours before the elections. Communist Golwala was mortally wounded, and about 20 others suffered severe injuries, when they were attacked by Congress goondas. They had gone to address the voters at Colaba.

Workers Defy Terror

But even terror could not break the workers. At Lalbaug, the goondas tried to break our election meeting of men and women, 3,000 strong. Bottles and stones were hurled at the meeting from a neighbouring chawl. Not only was none scared; but an injured worker rushed to the dais and pointing to his bleeding wound, he said, "They have spilt my blood, a worker's blood. As true workers, stand by this blood and vote for Dange."

At the Dellisle Road meeting, their stones injured a young woman worker.

Congress leaders thought that they had scared away the masses by these tactics. But the blood they spilt roused the holy anger of these men. They clenched their teeth in grim determination. Exactly a month before, i.e., on February 22, they had bravely faced far greater terror, the terror let loose by the British military. They decided to reply to this terror on the 25th. And they did.

The enthusiasm and the crowds witnessed on the 25th are an event not to be forgotten. Hundreds of workers in every area kept awake the previous night. They had been told to be present at 5 a.m. at the booth to forestall bogus voting by Congressmen. For it was apparent by now that the Congress planned to pull through only on the strength of mass bogussing. Mass campaign was out of the question for them.

Early in the morning on the 25th, the first trial of strength was seen. Nightshift workers were approached by both the Congress and the Red Flag. And in every single instance without exception, at Fergusson Road, Wadi, Lalbaug, Sewree, etc., it was to the call of their Flag that the workers responded.

At Wadi, the bosses of the Moti Mill had, on the 24th night, given the workers 2½ maunds of milk. But at 4 a.m. on the 25th, the workers jumped only into the Red Flag lorry and drove off to the booth.

At the China Mills, Sewree, three Congress lorries invited the night-shifters. We had no lorry there. For we had not enough of them to go round. So Ramabhai Patil, their leader, told the workers, about 300 of them, to march on foot to the booth, 1½ miles away. And they obeyed the call of their Flag! Theirs was the pride of place at the booth. The Congress lorries went back empty.

Dange's booth till 12 noon presented the most enthusiastic picture. It was one wild, cheering sea of humanity! They waited for full four hours and more in the sun, hundreds of them, after an arduous night-shift!

Any number of our old guard had to be disappointed. They had brought along their old, old receipts. But they were not on the rolls. At first they were furious. Then they did the campaigning among the younger section, regaling them with the stories of 1928-29, when their Flag had ruled the mill area!

Main Credit To Women Workers

But the main credit must go to women workers! There they stood under a blazing sun, shutting up smart Congress girl volunteers with their ready wit.

JANABAI from Dellisle Road led them. She had left behind at home her child, 3 months old. "They will take care of her there. I must take care of this here," she said.

And she did. Tugging up the hems of her sari in the good old Maratha style, Janabai with her volunteer badge, inspired awe and respect among mischief-mongers, served water to and guided our women voters. From 7-30 a.m. till 3-30 p.m. she stood guard for her Flag, postponing for the time being her maternal duties. She went home only when the rush was over.

Congress volunteers found it impossible to reply to these simple men and women, when they asked them: why the Congress Ministry did not fully restore their wage-cut in 1928, or why they forced a Black Act on them, or why they killed two innocent workers when they all struck work in protest against this Black Act!

Mass Bogussing By Congress

What was the Congress reply to this vast mass of humanity? Adherence to Truth would have led to Nurie forfeiting his deposit! At 11 a.m. Sardar Patel and Patil paid a visit to the booth. Nurie's plight, by now, was lamentable!

But then the wand moved! From somewhere came hundreds of men to vote! It was immaterial if, in their new clean dresses, they did not even look like mill workers! It was immaterial also if they haughtily told you that certainly they had not paid a pie to the Red Flag Union and would never do so (only members of the Union are voters!). They were voters alright. Because Patil sent them and the Officers accepted them, as such!

They went in, hundreds of them, to vote and then came out and went in, over and over again! Among them could be seen a practising lawyer, clerks from some of the mills, even a Marwari, only he had a white

cap! Maid-servants also came. When challenged, they blurted out the truth. Men with earlobes pierced (Hindus) posed as Muslims.

It was the most shamefaced attempt at bogussing. Our volunteers turned them back, literally hundreds of them. Poor men! They were only pawns in the Congress game. They need not have paid the full penalty for accepting 2 or 3 rupees from some Congress leader!

But to such depths of partiality did the Officers inside sink that almost in every case when a voter was challenged, they would reply that they were "satisfied with his identity."

Polling Officers Help

The most crass example was of one fellow coming to impersonate Amberkar, the most popular worker-leader of Lalbaug, and a leading member of the Executive Committee of the G.K.U. None other than the General Secretary of the Union objected to this, but the officer was "satisfied with the voter's identity"! It is to be noted that Amberkar had long been away in his native village!

At Kuria, the other polling booth, our polling agents had, ready with them, a list of voters, who were either dead or out of Bombay! When on its strength they successfully challenged within the first hour some 15 bogus voters, the Returning Officer had to accept the validity of our objections and bogussing there could be brought under control.

That evening scenes of wild-enthusiasm were witnessed. On checking up, it was obvious that Dange had a clear lead.

But the Congress dallies seemed drunk with success. Bogus votes had been cast on such a mass scale that some predicted a 2 to 1 victory for Nurie. All were certain of success, in any case! Congress labour leaders could see "stars dangling before the Communists' eyes" Sjt. Patil in a talk thanked the workers for "erecting a golden dome on the Congress temple of victory," etc.

Workers' Victory

But the results gave the lie to all these. As our lorry moved in the mill area on the 30th evening, announcing the results, Red Flags went up over house-tops and trees in celebration of the great victory. Within two hours over a thousand workers gathered at the Party Office to greet their victorious leader. It was THEIR victory and they had deserved it. Against the mightiest organisation and worst weapons they had won. For their cause was just.

The Congress leaders and Press are giving out that they would challenge the validity of the election. What they could not get from the workers on the Kamgar Maidan, they hope to secure through Law Courts!

Their friends inside the mills are threatening to cut down the workers' rations and charging the voters with accepting cash from the Red Flag! When a jobber told a woman worker from the Union Mill that she had got Rs. 8 for her vote, pat came her reply, "Yes, I shall buy a new 'joota' (shoes) with that tomorrow, and do tell me the same story then."

But the common answer that every Congress 'labour' leader gets when he asks a worker why he voted for Red Flag is, "Because you kill us, and they save us. It is our Flag."

by P. B. Rangnekar

LIES TELL THEIR OWN TALE

- Iran And UNO Security Council
- Imperialist Bloc In Middle East ?
- Real Battle Inside Iran Itself

THE UNO Security Council has met and adjourned; it decided in the absence of the Soviet delegate to ask for written reports from the Soviet and Iranian Governments. This is where the Iranian issue stands today. The Soviet delegate left the Council when, on the initiative of the British and U.S. delegates, it refused to accede to his request for 16 days' postponement of the discussions. The reasons for his departure from the Council were simple; the outstanding issues between Iran and the Soviet were being discussed by the two Governments; obviously so long as these discussions were going on between the two Governments, no danger to world peace arose—of which UNO would have to take note.

On the other hand, bringing the issue to UNO, while such discussions were going on, could easily lead to disruption of the discussions and thus to endangering world peace—just the situation UNO should strive to prevent.

Propaganda War

The Soviet knew well that the U.S. and the British had done their worst to disrupt the negotiations, and that bringing the issue up at UNO was only a part of this plan. They had invented the story of Soviet troop movements into Persia; this was followed up with a lying Press campaign (described in another column) to get Iran to raise the issue at UNO, and having succeeded, they were out to use this success to encourage anti-democratic anti-Soviet elements in Iran in their efforts to disrupt the negotiations.

The Polish delegate put the issue clearly in his statement of March 27, when he said:

"The reasons why the Polish delegation demanded postponement of the discussion of the Persian question are: firstly, it is generally known and accepted that Russian troops are now in the process of withdrawal from Persia and secondly, negotiations are going on between Persia and Russia, and under Article 33 of the UNO Charter, direct negotiations have precedence over action of the Council. I consider that consideration of the situation by the Council now may bring pressure on the negotiations." (My emphasis.)

Reaction's Agent

The Persian Ambassador in the U.S. did his part in 'bringing pressure'. For M. Hussein Ala is a perfect example of an Imperialist agent.

As soon as the U.S. put out their false report of Soviet troop movements (on March 12), he obediently echoed his masters with an open call to anti-Soviet war. He said then:

"Soviet troops and munitions of war, still are pouring into sections of my country. Also the Soviets are massing troops on the Turkish border.

If the Russians are really determined to ATTACK (!) Turkey, Great Britain will have to rise up to protect its lifeline."

Even in his statement before the Security Council, he declared he had no news of Soviet troops leaving Persia (Times of India, April 1), when three days

before, the report had come that:

"Mr. Doohar of the American Embassy staff who hurried by air to Tabriz confirms the news that evacuation is in progress."

So also that same day an official Iranian Government spokesman declared that "arrangements... have been made for the withdrawal of troops."

Hussein Ala has also been rebuked twice for his 'unauthorised' statements—but unaffected by this, he continues acting his part as Imperialism's agent.

U.S. Oil Concessions ?

IN Iran itself the struggle is going on between those sections who wish to settle with the Soviet—and others who are intriguing with the Americans and British.

The British and Americans throw mud at the Soviet—for wanting to carry on discussions on oil concessions; yet the fact is that they have themselves been doing this. The difference is that they do it secretly while the Soviet proposals, which by their terms are very different from the terms of the present British concession in Southern Iran and safeguard Iran's interests, are conducted openly.

The Calcutta Statesman (March 20), revealed that,

"The Americans seem to be well-advanced with their plans (for oil concessions—M.K.). Their negotiations with the Persian Government are proceeding with some secrecy, because of the present delicate Russo-Persian relations."

Why This Bloc ?

The truth is that the present hullabaloo over Iran is all a part of the Imperialist plan for the Middle East—part of which only emerged last week.

This is the plan for an 'Eastern Bloc'—directed to consolidate British Imperialism's hold over the Near East and to provide a base for an anti-Soviet war.

The Hindustan Times' Special Correspondent from Cairo revealed this when he commented on "the patent intentions of Nuri es-Said, the Iraqi leader, to form a new union in the north —between Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan" (Hindustan Times, March 26.)

Nuri es-Said is an old agent of the British, and Iraq is virtually Britain's colony; British forces remain there, large sums of Iraqi money have been assigned to build 'defences'—according to Britain's command.

And the Turkish-Iraq treaty signed last week shows that the 'Eastern Bloc' is getting under way.

Obviously, the victory of democratic forces in Iran would knock the bottom out of these British plans for the Near East; for no strong independent democratic Iran will join up in a treaty with an Iraq that is only a British colony—and that too, to provide a base for Imperialist anti-Soviet intrigues; no strong democratic Iran would tolerate the continuance of the present British oil concession in Southern Iran which has resulted in virtual British rule in that area.

This is why during the last month, the Imperialists have been throwing all their weight and resources to slander Iranian

dynasty shall not form a subject of discussion at all; thirdly, existing treaties will not be altered without the consent of the States.

Speculations are afoot in New Delhi that Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah might meet again and it is said that Cripps, who met both, might act as a 'peace-maker'. The line of the Nationalist Press is one of whole-hearted admiration for the role of the British as 'peace-makers.' This slavishness was heavily underlined in the editorial of Birla's Hindustan Times, which says:

democracy and the Soviet.

And when the Hindustan Times sanctimoniously declares that "we have no doubt that if the Security Council expresses itself in appropriate terms, Russia is bound to heed the unanimous will of the people (!) of the world," it is only echoing the worst propaganda sheets of Imperialism.

Teheran - Focal Point

But in fact it is not what happens at the UNO Security Council that will be decisive; it is in Teheran that the real battle is being fought.

And on whether the Iranian democratic movement is strong enough to resist the pressure of Anglo-American Imperialism and sign up a friendly agreement with the Soviet, will depend to a large extent, the future of democracy throughout the Middle East.

If it succeeds, all anti-Imperialists will take hope and fight the harder for their freedom; if it fails, the solid anti-democratic frame of a British Imperialist-dominated 'Eastern Bloc' will come into being, and progress in this area will be set back a hundred years.

To Paralyse Communist Election Work In G. P.

POLICE ARREST PARTY WORKERS EN MASSE ON FRAMED CHARGE

-Even Marathi Cultural Squad Members

ON March 22, the Police in the Central Provinces staged the biggest eve-of-election frame-up against the Communist Party by arresting 27 political workers of the Party at Chandur Station on a charge of "dacoity." Among the arrested were five out of the six members of the Party's Maharashtra Cultural Squad which had been touring the Chandur constituency for election propaganda on behalf of the Communist candidate.

The arrested comrades are GAVANKAR, ANNA BHAI SA- THE, the famous "Untouchable" worker poet of Bombay, PAT-SUPE, JADHAV and SUBASI (all of the Cultural Squad) and BABULAL BABAMIA (a Nagpur textile worker), M. MALLICK, U. RACHALWAR, MALANKAR, LAZARUS (Office Secretary of the Nagpur Committee of the Party) and V. CHAVAN (a peasant youth of Chandur).

How fantastic the charge of "dacoity" was, can be seen from the fact that on the same night and at the same hour at which the dacoity referred to had taken place, the Squad was giving its performance to an audience of 3,000 peasants, miles away!

The Police continued their Province-wide harassment, raiding Party offices and private houses of Communists, till the 27th. That day, two more Communists were arrested at Amraoti.

Not only this, the young Communist woman, USHA URDH- WARESHE, the only member of the Squad who escaped arrest,

"No Indian with at least a spark of patriotism shall seek to do anything calculated to make the work of the 'peace-makers' more difficult than it is. It was to be expected that Sir Stafford Cripps would emphasise supreme importance of agreement among the major parties." (April 2.)

As in Simla, so also today whisper comments are heard of a split inside the League and hopes are expressed that this time at least Mr. Jinnah will come down or be kept out.

"London radio, in its daily programme of Friday, March 15, claims that I have been responsible for the following statement: 'The new arrival of the Soviet army in Iran would be taken to the Security Council (of UNO). Every night new Soviet forces arrive in Karaj, and, if Soviet troops attack Teheran, the Iranian army would fight them to the very last man.'"

"I DESIRE TO MAKE IT KNOWN THAT NO SUCH STATEMENT HAS BEEN MADE BY ME." (Evening Standard).

Sunday, March 17th: Yesterday afternoon, a Foreign Office spokesman in London said that "he had reason to believe that, notwithstanding the Persian War Minister's denial, the Persian case would still come before the Security Council." (The Observer).

What happened is clear. British and U.S. Imperialism's Press agents invented the story of Soviet troop movements into Persia, so that they could invent the story that the Persians intend to complain to UNO, so that they could then invent the story of Soviet pressure to stop the Persians from complaining to UNO—which would finally give the heroic Americans a chance of saying: "If you Persians don't raise the matter before UNO, we will!"

The text is as follows:

HERE is the story of LIES—as reflected in extracts from the British Press, which tell their own tale.

Friday, March 8th: U.S. TELLS RUSSIANS TO QUIT PERSIA. (Daily Herald).

Wednesday, March 13th (morning): SOVIET TROOP MOVES: U.S. NOTE. Three Russian columns, including tanks and cavalry, were moving into Persia. (Daily Herald.)

(Afternoon): T W E N T Y MILES FROM TEHERAN. RUSSIANS DRIVE ON IN PERSIA. (Evening Standard, New York reporter.)

Friday, March 15th: IF THE RUSSIANS MOVE TOWARDS TEHERAN: Said General Ahmedi, Persian Minister of War, today:

"Not only every soldier, but every boy and girl in the streets will fight to defend their capital. The Shah again plans to present the Persian question to the Security Council of UNO." (Evening Standard, B.B.C., etc.)

Saturday, March 16th (afternoon): General Ahmedi, Minister of War, denied categorically statements accredited to him by foreign correspondents. He handed out a copy of a document entitled "War Minister's Denial." The text is as follows:

continued to gather mammoth peasant audiences. No less than 7,000 people including middle-class women, attended and cheered the Squad programme on March 21 at Chandur.

At this stage, there began anxious discussions inside the local Congress office as to how the programmes of the Squad could be stopped.

One BHAGIRATH SETH (brother of the Marwari at Dadhiped) whose house had been looted is reported to have said that he had the key to stop the programmes!

The polling day was on March 25, the arrests came just three days earlier!

Exploiting Police Charge For Elections!

The Squad was first surrounded by a posse of 25 armed Policemen headed by the Assistant D.S.P. They were searched for "hidden arms and ammunition in connection with the dacoity" which had taken place a week earlier. Nothing incriminating could be found, but nonetheless they were arrested and bundled off, by the Police.

After the event, local Congress leaders are trying to make out that they had nothing to do with the arrests. But the above facts are enough to expose their pretence.

And not only that; hardly a few hours after the arrests took place, local Congressmen made their biggest election propaganda out of these very arrests. They took out lorries fitted with loudspeakers and shouted the slogans: "Communists are dacoits. Don't vote for dacoits. If you do, you will have to face arrest," and so on!

The case against the arrested Communists is coming up for hearing on April 4. It is an issue on which every decent citizen in the Province, who does not want insolent Police rule over his people, should speak up.

CRIPPS' PRESS CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 4.)

Nawab of Bhopal and other Princes are making for participation in the Constituent Assembly!

First, the constitution will be subject to ratification by the States to be binding on them; secondly, kingship and continuance of the princely

BRUTAL ATTACKS ON COMMUNIST'S FAMILY AND PARTY HOSPITAL

Congressmen's Frenzied Vendetta Against Red Flag

By wire from Nikhil Chakravarty.

CALCUTTA, March 30.

THE aftermath of the elections shows an increase in anti-Communism everywhere in which Congressmen are taking part.

On the very night of the polling day, March 24th, the 24-Parganas District Communist Party Office in Bow Bazar Street was repeatedly attacked.

Soda-water bottles were also thrown at the Calcutta District and Provincial Communist headquarters.

On March 26th, KHAGEN HOME, Assistant Editor of Krishak, (who himself is not a Communist, while his paper is anti-Communist), was attacked by the goondas of the locality.

The next day, the news of this attack came out in Krishak and at night, the Krishak office itself was attacked by stones and soda-water bottles.

Even Elderly Women And Relations Not Spared

A large-scale attack was made on Sunday on a bustee in Bellaghata, when they found the pottery workers had not voted for the Congress.

They severely wounded Arup's father, his uncle and two aunts, looted their clothes and utensils, five hundred rupees in cash, and destroyed everything else in the house.

Both the aunts had served terms of imprisonment in the 1933 Movement and they openly said that the lead in the attack was taken by local Congressmen.



Prof. Niren Roy

they approached the neighbouring house of a Congress Councilor, they were denied the use of the telephone.

The Police arrived after the incident and arrested Arup himself.

When Arup's aunt went to the Bengal Provincial Congress Office, KALIPADA MUKHERJI, the Bengal Congress Secretary, threw the blame on the Communists.

Kalipada Babu who is himself a colourless individual has recently earned notoriety by issuing statements against the Communists. He visited the Communist Party's Medical Unit in Bow Bazar Street in the name of "pacifying the mob."

From Kalipada Babu's case, it seems that anti-Communism has almost become a passport to limelight for political non-descripts in the Congress.

On the morning of March 25th, when Prof. NIREN ROY, RADHARAMAN MITRA of the Meerut Conspiracy Case, and a group of Communists were returning from their work as Polling Agents at Bauria, they were stoned in the train at Nungi Station.

The situation at Metlabruz became serious on March 25th, when the night-shift workers going into the Olive Jute Mills were stoned from the adjacent lines of Birla's Kesoram Cotton mills.

The Union worker ANADI, while rushing to pacify the workers, was immediately arrested on the spot.

From early morning, local Union offices were raided by the

Police and all Union organisers, including FAROOQUI and MADHAB MUNSHI were arrested. The Police raided the bustees, accompanied by the dalals of Birla's mills, and arrested a large number of workers.

In the thana, the arrested Communists were charged with attempt at murder, because the Police Daroga was handled roughly in the scuffle with the workers. They were refused bail, and were severely beaten while in Police custody.

On the morning of March 28th, DR. RANEN SEN, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, visited the area with Prof. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY at the invitation of the Manager of the Kesoram Mills.

For six days workers stayed away from work because of Police zoolum.

Sniping & Goondaism Against Workers

Sniping and goondaism against Red Flag workers are also continuing in Howrah and Hooghly.

At Ghusuri, Howrah, on March 28th, the durwans and the gate-babu of the Hanuman Jute Mill pounced on the local

Communist organiser BISWESWAR GANGULY, dragged him inside the mill, and seriously assaulted him.

SAMAR MUKERJI, Secretary of the Howrah District Committee of the Communist Party, was severely beaten in front of Rao Bahadur PANNA SINHA by a group of ruffians posing as Congressites.

In Hooghly anti-Communists are trying to victimise Red Flag workers from the mills.

In the Bangeswari Mill, a Red Flag worker, GANESH SARKAR, has been made a target of attack by the Company's dalals.

In the Bengal Belting works suspension orders have been passed against Communist sympathisers.

Dhiren Bhowmick and two others including a woman were beaten, while returning home, by a gang led by a local Congress worker.

Tea-stall owners at places are intimidated not to serve Communist workers.

Apart from these, individual cases of harrasment are piling up by hundreds from all over Bengal's labour belt.

While the mill bosses are adopting the Fascist technique and taking advantage of the prevailing anti-Communism to attack workers, Bengal Congressmen are directly helping them by coldly spreading blatant lies to provoke fresh waves of anti-Communism even after the elections.

On the day after the elections, the Congressite daily, Bharat

came out openly with the fabrication that the Communists had raided the offices of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Agad Hind Relief Committee and of the Nationalist daily Pratyaha.

This was obviously meant to rouse anti-Communist frenzy so that planned attacks on the Communists and Communist Party offices could be justified in the public eye.

In Asansol, there was a fracas between a colliery Sahib and his agents and the colliery workers, who have gone on strike against the ration-cut, in which one of the Sahib's agents was killed.

Similarly in Howrah, both the Police and Congressmen are reported to have spread the lie that shooting at Sibpore on the Polling day was made by the Communists, obviously with the object of rousing anti-Communist frenzy.

Ignoble Crusade - No Allies Too Low

The Congress campaign against the Red Flag has thus gone beyond the mere collection of votes at the elections, but aims today at terrorising the workers, destroying the working-class organisations directly, provoking physical violence against all who have rallied under the Red Flag.

And in this ignoble crusade no alliance is too low, whether with the Police or with the European mill bosses.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

DALMIA BUYS UP 'THE TIMES OF INDIA'

SOME newspapers have lately been featuring the news that two of India's biggest industrial bosses, Birla and Dalmia, were competing for buying up the two major Anglo-Indian dailies, the Bombay Times of India and the Calcutta Statesman.

The Deal

The position as it stands today is this: In Bombay, Dalmia has outbid Birla and bought the Times—cost 24 crores. All that remains to be done is for the final papers to be signed—and for the Directors of the Times of India to quit Bombay with well-filled pockets and return to England to become Labour M.P.s and experts on India!

But this is not all. By the terms of the agreement the entire editorial staff, expert propagandists in the service of Imperialism, is to remain untouched for three years: Dalmia can only move into the business quarters, the editorial staff stays where it was.

As soon as Wavell came to hear of the negotiations, he intervened and told the Times Directors that they should not sell. They protested—for after all, these leeches on India's people are never again in their lives likely to get such a fine chance of making easy money.

So a conference was called—the Times Directors, Wavell's man and Dalmia's man were present.

Agreement was arrived at; by it, not only is the editorial staff to remain the same for three years, but editorial policy also is to remain the same; it will be Sir Francis Low, present

'Times' editor and Imperialism's most loyal Press agent in India, who will be the arbiter of policy.

'Nationalising' The Press

This then is the deal—an example of the method by which Indian Big Business proposes to 'nationalise' British concerns—paying a fabulous sum, minted out of the war sufferings of the Indian people, to century-old exploiters—instead of confiscating their property in lieu of the sterling balances!

The pattern for the future, however, emerges clear enough. Indian and British Big Business are lining up together—and their organ, the Times of India, will become an organ of 'sane' and 'moderate' opinion—which means: abroad, support British Imperialist foreign policy to the last dot; internally, plead loudly for 'settlement,' pray for the success of the Cabinet Mission, and throw its entire weight on the side of whatever settlement that does come.

This is the meaning of the marriage of Dalmia's money to Francis Low's writing—symbolising the union of British and Indian Big Business; and the THREE YEAR condition really is an "interim settlement" with a vengeance, a settlement which marks out the shape of things to come in the negotiations now starting in Delhi!

World Press Link-Up

All this is certainly going to lead to big new link-ups in the world of international Press monopoly.

The Times of India, for instance, has only lately fixed up an arrangement by which the foreign correspondents of the London Daily Telegraph also write for the Times.

This Daily Telegraph is the unofficial

organ of the Tory Party and Winston Churchill, the authentic defenders of the murderers of Indonesia and the enslavers of India; it is controlled by Lord Camrose, head of the Amalgamated Press, whose total capital is over 10 crore rupees, the second biggest Press group in England!

It is also widely rumoured that negotiations are going on between Britain's No. 1 Press group, Camrose's brother's firm, the Kemsley group (total capital nearly 15 crores), with the Birla group—for joint ownership of newspapers in India and England! It seems that the Kemsley-Birla alliance is already getting under way, for Birla's chief organ, Hindustan Times, nowadays carries a prominent advertisement for Kemsley's most notorious Imperialist rag of a weekly The Empire News (see Hindustan Times, of March 30); and most ironical of all is the proud flaunting of an advertisement which is dominated by two crossed Union Jacks—in a paper that has often been called the unofficial organ of the Congress!

So, we can soon expect Camrose-Dalmia and Kemsley-Birla link-ups out of these new developments—link-ups by which 'big brothers' Camrose and Kemsley will neatly get the cover of 'India'-owned newspapers to put through columnfuls of propaganda, boosting British Imperialism's foreign and Indian policy.

Congress Press Lords

India's Press, in fact, is fast going the monopoly way; we too are breeding our native Press lords, who will control the news and cook up the views that you will have to read.

Dalmia has got the Times, is after The Statesman. His rival Birla already has the Hindustan Times and Hindustan (Delhi), Searchlight (Patna), Leader and Bharat (Allahabad), Nagpur Daily News (Nagpur), and Eastern Economist; next comes the Marwari from the South, Rambhath Goenka who has to his name the Indian Express, Andhra Prabha and Dinamani (Madras), Eastern Express (Calcutta), and Morning Standard (Bombay).

Dalmia, Birla and Goenka are all, of course, "Congress patrons"; and when their deals go through, between these three, they will control the major part of the Congress Press in the country. This is how what Big Business—both Indian and British—wants, will be neatly put across to the people in the Congress name and as the "truth."

-M. Kumaramangalam

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KANTILAL J. SHAH.

Printed by Daulatram Shivshankar

Batangdi at the New Age

Printing Press, 190B, Khetwadi

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by him at Peoples Age

Office, 190 B, R. K. Building, Khetwadi

Main Road, Bombay 4.

IMPERIALISTS' INCREASING DOMINATION OF GOVT.

Democratic Forces Rallying For Soviet-American Friendship And World Peace

From Our Correspondent

By Air Mail

New York, March 18.

DURING the last month, it has become apparent that bitterly anti-Soviet circles, representing the most reactionary elements of U.S. Imperialism, are consolidating their positions and getting a real control of the U.S. Government.

This has been in two respects; first, the incredible anti-Soviet scare, directly arising out of statements issued by the U.S. State Department; secondly, the growing organisational line-up of reaction in the U.S.

Anti-Soviet Scare

The extent of the scare can be gathered from the announcement which was made several times in one day over one major radio network that "the rumour that this country has declared war on the Soviet Union is false."

The scare really reached major proportions with the official announcement of the U.S. State Department on March 12 that it had received reports of major Soviet troop movements into Iran.

This announcement has since been contradicted both in Teheran and Moscow; yet the State Department Press Officer when cross-examined later on the authenticity of the report, continued to hold that it was true; questions from journalists, however, showed that he was not speaking the truth.

Asked as to when the State Department had received those alarming reports, the spokesman replied that it was over the week-end (March 10-12); but, later, when it was pointed out to him that since the enquiry to the Soviet Government made by the U.S. Government on the basis of the report (as the Press Officer had announced) had been sent on March 8, he quickly changed his ground to state that the reports must have come in on March 7!

So obviously cooked-up was the entire story that I. F. STONE, correspondent of the well-known liberal New York daily, P.M., wrote sarcastically that "Iran is a good-sized country but between Thursday of last week (when the news of 'Soviet troop movements' was first received by the State Department) and Wednesday of this (when the news was officially released to the Press) an invading army could cover a good deal of ground."

And, of course, this systematic anti-Soviet campaign reached its highest pitch during the last week's discussions at UNO. It is the U.S. representatives who have been more Persian than the Persians themselves, obviously pressing the Iranian Ambassador to the U.S. a willing tool of theirs, that he should come forward with the Iranian question before UNO.

Reaction's Bloc

This taking over by the U.S. Government of the role of leading Soviet-baiter is the result of the strengthening of reactionary forces in the U.S. itself.

At the beginning of this month, for the first time in the history of the U.S.A., a bloc was formed of the Southern Democrats and the Right-wing Republicans in Congress.

The Southern Democrats represent the most rabidly anti-Negro and reactionary section of the Democratic Party, the big cotton lords of the Southern States; the Republican Right, led by Herbert Hoover, has become the spearhead of American Imperialism.

This bloc has 150 members out of a total membership in Congress of 435. It is increas-

ingly becoming the rallying-centre of reaction.

The programme of the bloc has been stated simply by a member of its Steering Committee, Representative Roe of Maryland, who declared that the bloc will not only fight all efforts to extend Government control "to ensure preservation of our American (!) way of life" but is also moving immediately to campaign for the removal of price control, in order to allow unbridled capitalist profiteering.

Already the bloc has forced the vacillating Truman administration to agree to the control of the atomic bomb by the military leaders of the U.S., almost all of whom belong to the extreme Right; under its pressure, Truman gave his tacit approval to Churchill's anti-Soviet speech; and on its prompting over Iran, the U.S. has emerged

more and more as the chief anti-Soviet force in the world.

The bloc's growing influence was observed too in the appointment of Herbert Hoover by Truman as head of a Commission to investigate the food problems of Europe. Hoover is notorious for his handling of the feeding of Europe after World War I, when he used food as a weapon to defeat progressive Governments and to strengthen the position of reactionary forces wherever possible. Hoover declared at that time that:

"The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the Armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik or being overrun by their armies." (Letter of 1921).

Hoover is also notorious for his bitterly anti-labour views—shown most clearly in the days of the economic crisis of 1930 when he launched, as President, a vicious drive against the workers and employed.

Democratic Forces Move

Against this new and dangerous bloc, however, democratic forces in the U.S. are rallying their strength.

HAROLD L. ICKES, for 13 years Secretary of State for the Interior under Roosevelt, only

lately resigned his post as a protest against Truman's reactionary policies. He has now become Executive Chairman of the Independent Citizens' Committee (I.C.C.) of Arts, Sciences and Professions—an influential middle-class organisation that has consistently fought reactionary elements in the U.S. and struggled for a foreign policy based on friendship with the Soviet Union.

Ickes told a meeting of the I.C.C. that the people of America "cannot envisage a peaceful future without an understanding with Russia," and warned that military control of atomic energy would ultimately lead to military control of the Government itself.

Roosevelt's son, James Roosevelt, has become National Political Director of the I.C.C.

Colonel Evans Carlson, famous American leader of shock-troops, has also joined a leading democratic organisation, the National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

The various democratic groups are expected to high-light their protest at the surrender by Truman to the reactionary bloc in Congress next month when a "win the peace" Conference is to be held. The Conference is being sponsored by 23 members of Congress, two Senators and over 200 people, prominent in labour, religious and Negro groups.

This Conference is likely to provide the rallying-point for all democratic forces in the U.S. in their struggle against the offensive of the worst section of American Imperialism.

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INDIAN ARMY TOO WANTS NATIONAL GOVT.

Soldier's Letter To His Brother

[We give below the story of the strike in the Indian Signals Corps at Jubbulpore, related in a letter from one of its participants to his brother. Many of the leading Jubbulpore strikers are still under arrest—and it is not known what action the authorities intend to take against them. The letter, however, clearly shows the need for immediate action to help them if they are not to suffer for their heroic struggle in a cause common to all Indians.—EDITOR].

DEAR BROTHER,

I AM keeping all right. I have not written for so long because of our strike. . . . These days are a new experience in my life.

On the morning of 27th February, we came back to our unit at 8-30 a.m. after finishing our physical parade and drill, which had begun at 7 a.m. After our breakfast, we, about 300 in all, consisting of Andhras, Tamils, Malayalees, Kanarese, Punjabi Muslims and Dogra Sikhs, assembled together and passed the following resolutions:

Demands

(1) ON FOOD: At present the food supplied to Madrasis consists of one plate of food (rice) in the morning and four rotis in the evening. The rice supplied to us is full of stones and paddy. While this is our position, others are given rotis both times. We demanded that the rice and rotis supplied to us must be clean and good and the quantity also must be increased.

(2) LODGING FACILITIES should be given to us as given to British soldiers. Of course we have electric lights and tiled roofs for our lodges. Yet we have to sweep our places ourselves, cow-dung the floor once in a week, and also there is no proper protection from rain.

(3) Our BASIC SALARY must be increased. The wage of Rs. 18, which an ordinary Indian sepoy gets should be increased. Some of my friends and I get more than Rs. 70 per month.

You will ask me how I get Rs. 70. We get the Rs. 70 because of various allowances we are given for our skilled work. But we demanded increase of wages not only for ourselves but for all our comrades in the Indian Army. For the same work which we do a British soldier gets Rs. 200. Why is there this discrimination?

(4) The fourth resolution condemned the FIRING by British troops on the R.I.N. and the haughty ATTITUDE of Admiral Godfrey.

(5) The fifth resolution condemned Commander-in-Chief Auchinleck's SPEECH on the All-India Radio on the 25th and 26th February.

(6) The last resolution condemned the proposal of the Government of India to spend one crore of rupees for the VICTORY DAY CELEBRATIONS in these days of famine and asked why that amount should not be spent on famine relief.

These are our six demands. After this, at about 9-30 a.m., we started from our unit in a procession carrying the Congress

Tri-colour, the Muslim League, and Communist flags, to Jubbulpore, four miles away.

We had hardly gone a mile when our officers found out that we had marched away, and rushed in pursuit of us; they overtook us and threatened us with rifles and machine guns. When they did this, we naturally refused to turn back, and undaunted, we proceeded ahead.

We had not proceeded more than 20 yards further, when they dashed a 15-cwt. lorry against us. Two of my friends were hurt by this. One received a serious head injury and another was hurt on the hip. In spite of all this, we kept marching forward. Our officers threatened us with revolvers. But they miserably failed to drive us back.

Assurances

We successfully reached the town and went to Tilak Maidan. There we contacted the local Congress, League and Communist leaders and asked for their help. They agreed. We had a public meeting.

The representatives of the three parties and some of us spoke in the meeting on the six demands which we had formulated in the morning in our unit.

After the meeting at about 3 p.m. we were given tea and at about 4-30 p.m. in the evening we started returning to our barracks. Our area Commander and some of the officers who came to know of the days' happenings put us under arrest, and kept us in S.T.C. (1) Jail. They enquired from us our demands and assured us that they would give sympathetic attention to our demands.

Next morning, (February 28), they asked some of us to come

with them. But we refused. Then again, at 1-30 p.m., they came with British troops and entered the "Azad Hotel" in our barracks. They tried to isolate the wanted persons and tried to take them away forcibly. We resisted. They fired upon us, and resorted to bayonet charge, etc. Two of our comrades were killed in the scuffle. Twenty of us received serious injuries. In this struggle the fence around our unit was broken and we rushed out and reached the town and contacted the same leaders whom we had met last time.

They gave the news to the District Commissioner and he sent a letter to our authorities, stating that if we were given the assurance that no action would be taken against us, we were ready to return to the barracks. That was assured to us.

Promise Broken

But they broke their promise and took us away and kept us in detention in the 27th Jat Regiment Field Detention Barracks, 6 miles away, the same day, at 10 p.m. in the night.

We, 160 of us, were kept in detention in a place not more than 500 square yards in area. It reminded me of the Calcutta Black Hole. Sleeping, eating ourselves, cleaning our bowels—all had to be done in the same place! We spent the 28th February and 1st March there.

On the 2nd March, we were taken to a special detention camp. Local Congressmen came and showed us the letter which was sent by Maulana Azad to us asking us to resume work. We agreed to return to work on March 6, and came back to our barracks.

But I think, none of our demands will be conceded, nobody is moving about them.

But anyhow, what emerges from this is that the Indian Army too wants a National Government. Even now some persons are in detention. I hear that they are going to be court-martialled because they were found to be the ring leaders of the rising. WE WILL FIGHT ON—BUT ALL MUST HELP US.

In Bombay, Madras, Calcutta

Red Flag Victims Of Congress Goondaism



K. B. Golwala

Murdered by millowners' goondas in Bombay. First Parsi martyr of the Red Flag.



Communists Gurumurti, Balachandra Menon (General Secretary of the Madras Provincial T.U.C.) and Palanisamy, attacked and injured by supporters of the Congress candidate at the Perambur railway workshop gate (Madras). They were rushed to hospital.



Badly beaten workers, Fakhira and Rezzak of the Kesoram Cotton mills, Calcutta.



Altab, also worker in the Kesoram Cotton mills.



Chittesh Das Gupta, Communist of Metiabruz.



Muzafar



Mohini



Nasir



Zahur

ALL WORKERS OF THE KESORAM COTTON MILLS.