

PALME DUTT GREET'S BENGAL'S REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS

Urges United National Pressure For Release

One of the most important tasks which RAJANI PALME DUTT, the British Communist leader now in India, has taken upon himself is to work his hardest for the campaign to secure the release of all political prisoners who are yet behind bars. During his recent visit to Calcutta, he wrote the following letter to the forty pre-Reform convicted political prisoners who are still rotting in Bengal's jails:

Calcutta, 4th May, 1946.

DEAR Comrades,
I send this message to you with deep respect, love and admiration for your services to the cause of the Indian people, and for the example you have set of sacrifice without limit and of tireless unyielding struggle.

From behind the prison bars you have continued to give an example of political service and leadership which must be an inspiration to all true sons and daughters of India.

It is a shame beyond reason that the mighty national movement of India has been so slow to exert its full strength for your release at a time when so many who have far less claims have been released.

I give you my pledge that I

will do all in my power to assist the campaign for your release and see that this question is taken up in England.

R. PALME DUTT

On the eve of his departure from Bengal, Palme Dutt issued the following Press statement:

"Every Indian patriot and supporter of Indian freedom should today give active assistance to the efforts of the Release Campaign Committee for the release of 40 pre-Reform convicted political prisoners of Bengal."

"At a time when other groups of political prisoners are being released it is intolerable that these men who have sacrificed for India beyond all others, who

have given the best part of their lives and their health in India's cause should be left in the lurch.

"The pledges given by all Indian National leaders to stand by them must be honoured. United pressure by the entire national movement can secure their release. That release must be won now."

In the course of a despatch to the Daily Worker from Calcutta, dated May 4, Dutt narrated the case of these prisoners and concluded thus:

"These men who are idolised as National heroes in the eyes of the entire people are broken in health but steadfast in political staunchness and service to the cause of Indian freedom."

"It is a question of elementary justice and statesmanship that they should be released and it is important that British public opinion should understand the importance which is attached by Indian feeling to their release."

BHULABHAI DESAI



and both in 1928 and 1931 served the peasants of Bardoli by appearing on their behalf before the two Enquiry Committees set up by the Government in connection with the famous Bardoli Satyagraha.

Later, in 1934, these very talents made him leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, feared by the Government benches. In the war period, after our alien rulers had jailed the Congress leadership, it was due to Sjt. Bhulabhai that so often and so consistently was the Government defeated by a Congress-League coalition in the Assembly.

In 1945, through the Desai-Liaquat Pact, he tried to solve the pressing problem of achieving Indian unity.

And his last great contribution to our freedom movement was his brilliant and passionate defence of the INA prisoners, which certainly contributed to their ultimate speedy release.

We pay our warm tribute to him and offer our sincere condolence to his family.

—EDITOR—

BHULABHAI DESAI, great lawyer and for a long time one of the leading figures of the parliamentary wing of our Freedom Movement has passed away.

He belonged to the generation of Liberals of old who became national political figures after outstanding careers at the bar; thus, Sjt. Bhulabhai is one link in the great chain of lawyer-patriots who placed their talents at the service of our country's freedom struggle.

He distinguished himself at the Bar as a fearless advocate,

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

Bureaucrats Discuss Food Behind Closed Doors

HERE was a Food Conference in New Delhi in the third week of April presided over by the Government of India's Director General of Food and attended by representatives of the Provinces and States. It was, of course, a strictly "official" affair, and not a line appeared about its decisions in the Press.

But I have just seen a brief account of the proceedings and it makes interesting reading.

One of the most important matters discussed was that of the ration-cut.... No, not the question of restoring the cut—but of reducing the ration still further from twelve ounces to ten!

This scandalous proposition was actually made but was not put through only because the Central Government was not prepared to do anything definite in view of the present "fluid political situation."

This total refusal of the Centre to commit itself to anything saved us from the ration-cut. But, at the same time, it gave a free hand to the surplus Provinces to do whatever they liked.

Sind, for instance, which had undertaken to release a large proportion of its surplus rice to Mysore, Cochin and Travancore, now went back on its promises, emboldened by the weakness of the Centre.

It was the same with the Punjab, which has refused to impose a food levy on the big hoarder-zemindars, despite earlier promises to do so.

Battle Between Surplus And Deficit Provinces

In fact, the whole Food Conference was a battle between surplus and deficit Provinces, while the Centre only asked everybody to settle their own quarrels and wait for the coming "change" in the Government of India.

But there is something even more disturbing about the Conference. It seems the food policy of the Bengal Government came in for severe criticism at the hands of the Madras and Bombay representatives. The main

charge they levelled—and rightly—was that there was no compulsory requisitioning of foodgrains in Bengal.

But this correct criticism was made a stepping stone to the conclusion that Bengal "did not need any imports of food, if it managed its procurement and rationing satisfactorily."

In between the lines can be read the real meaning of these words: to make Bengal suffer and starve for having a League Ministry.

The counterpart to this was, of course, the Sind League Ministry's refusal to meet its obligations to the Congress deficit Provinces like Madras!

Everyone of the Congress and League leaders has categorically asserted that food must not be made an issue of partisan politics. And yet this is the hideous display put up at this vital Food Conference.

Organised Orissa Labour Leads Red Flag To Victory

IN Orissa, for the only Labour seat, the Communist candidate BAIDYANATH RATH defeated his Congress rival MOHAMMED HANIF by 2,234 votes to 1,690.

The Congress strove hard to win, for on Hanif's victory depended the question of having a Muslim Minister in the Cabinet. They had the support of the big and wealthy industrialists of Orissa. Birla's son-in-law, Mr. T. H. PRANI (recently made a Congress M.L.A. in the teeth of public opposition) went from village to village securing the promises of village landlords to coerce workers from their lands to vote for Hanif.

Yet RATH won.

I was anxious to learn who voted for him, where he won, and where he lost. I saw this week a report which answers just these questions.

In the biggest industrial centre—Brajrajnagar—where workers are best organised, the voting was:

Communist	.. 1,435
Congress	.. 109

In Cuttack, the capital which is the biggest centre, though there are a large number of unorganised workers, the Congress secured only 48 per cent of

the votes, the majority being cast for the Communists.

These are the main places where the Red Flag won—the centres of organised workers, while the Congress won in the smaller places, among the unorganised workers.... two facts which tell a great deal and are typical of what happened in many other Labour constituencies in the country.

U.S.A. Honours Our Martyrs

I HAVE here in front of me a copy of the U.S. Communist weekly, The Worker, dated March 31st 1946. On the front page for the whole of America to see is a picture which you will remember appeared in the People's Age of March 3, a picture of dead bodies in a Bombay morgue.

Across the page runs the headline: "Wanted Freedom, Britain Murdered Them!"

Yes, the message of our martyrs is cutting its way across all barricades of censorship to every country in the world.

This is the story as The Worker wrote it alongside the picture, in bold, black type:

"They are the bodies of Indians massacred by British troops on February 22nd and 23rd. Their 'crime', for which the British Imperialists shot them to death, was that they demonstrated peacefully, with banners their only weapons. They were demonstrating their solidarity with sailors of the Indian Navy who had revolted against intolerable conditions."

And then, just this:

"It was on February 22 that His Majesty's 'Labour' Government sent greetings to the United States on the birthday of George Washington, leader of the American War for Independence."

—Romesh Chandra

VICTIMISED RIN RATINGS WRITE TO SARDAR PATEL

Birla House Advice-- "Wait And See"

From Our Delhi Correspondent.

Delhi, May 4.

There has been quite a stir this week in the Birla House—and not only because of the Cabinet Mission and the Simla Conference. A letter has been received by Sardar VALLABHBHAI PATEL from dismissed naval ratings calling his attention to the wholesale victimisation of the R.I.N. strikers. Here is the text of the letter:

"JAI HIND:

We the undersigned dismissed R.I.N. ratings at present putting up at Congress House most humbly beg to put before you the following statement.

Though the C-in-C had assured the Congress President, Maulana ABUL KALAM AZAD, that there would not be any victimisation of the R.I.N. ratings who had taken part in the strike, we have learnt to our surprise through believable sources that till now

forty of the R.I.N. ratings on strike have been sentenced and sent to jails. We have some of the names. (The letter gives twenty-two names.)

It is also learnt from believable sources that some more ratings at present in Kalyan and Mulund Detention quarters are to be tried individually and punished. More information when collected will be forwarded to your honour.

JAI HIND."

I am also in a position to state that no immediate action is contemplated by Sardar Patel on this letter.

I was, indeed, shocked to find among certain people at the Birla House an attitude of utter indifference to the whole affair.

"Did these Navy fellows ask the Congress before striking?"—was one remark which I heard and which illustrates rather sharply the attitude of these particular people.

I enquired if at least some form of protest would be made against the dismissal and imprisonment of ratings. But I was not able to secure any categorical reply from anyone.

When I referred to the assurances given by Sardar Patel when he called on the ratings to give up the strike—assurances that he would see that no victimisation took place—I was asked to "wait a little and see.... the Congress will soon be in power."

HOOVER'S VISIT TO INDIA

(Continued from page 2.)

Britain out of its troubles by feeding India, just for NOTHING.

"The world is a bitch," says President Truman, "and it has to decide which of its puppies it must drown."

And in the clash between rival British and American Imperialist interests, India is the "puppy" whose fate has been sealed.

Hoover and Truman do not want to feed India, for they can make better use of their grain, for their own ends. But the Indian people, backed by progressive world opinion, can and must defeat them and force the Combined Food Board to give us our requirements.

The Voice Of Starving Workers Prevails

Unanimous Decision To Down Tools From June 27

Midnight, 27th June. That night as the clock strikes 12, ten lakh railway workers from all lines all over the country will down tools in the mightiest battle the Indian working-class will be fighting against a callous bureaucracy, out to enrich Big Business in England at their cost.

TEN lakh workers led by every section of political and non-political opinion! Their leaders assembled in the General Council of the AIRF, took this most momentous decision—an all-India railway strike—in the most momentous fashion. They did it unanimously. For that was the verdict of the mass they represented; that was the need of the hour. That was and will be their only weapon against their bosses, the Railway Board backed by the burra sahibs in New Delhi. Eighty-nine members from 24 affiliated Unions, representing over 2½ lakh workers, attended this historic session. They discussed for two days, May 4 and 5. At times it looked as if issues like legality or illegality would baffle decision. But the voice of 10 lakh hungry workers prevailed. It cleared the atmosphere for unity.

At the end of the second day these 89 representatives announced to the world their unanimous decision—strike of 10 lakh railway workers if Government refuses to concede their demands (see resolution on page 1 of this issue).

Door Still Open

Six long years of war these men waited. They waited months afterwards. Even after coming to a unanimous decision now, they have offered to wait for a full month and three weeks.

For they know the serious food situation in the country. They have given ample time if Government still wishes to settle the issue. They have kept the doors open for Government, if it so desires, to refer all their demands to adjudication.

As sons of the people they are aware of their people's difficulties in regard to food, cloth, etc. But they cannot allow the bureaucracy to play with their lives, with people's needs only as an excuse. Important developments had preceded the session. The appointment of an Adjudicator by Government, though trivial by itself, had confused a section of the leadership over the legality or otherwise of the strike.

The Congress President, Maulana Azad, on the very eve of the meeting, came out with a statement asking workers not to go on strike.

Who Attended

It was these facts that figured in the deliberations of the General Council. But the voice of the men, starving in workshops or on the line, decided the issue.

Prominent leaders like Messrs. Giri, Bankim Mukherjee, Guruswamy, D. S. Valdyia, Khedgikar, Kalyansundaram, Jyoti Basu, Shiv Bishal (the latter two Railway Labour M.L.A.s from Bengal and Bombay), Mirza Ibrahim, Shibnath Banerjee, K. L. Narsinh, Rajani Mukerjee, G. H. Kale, Maqdam, Ramchandra Rao, etc., were present.

Jamnadas Mehta, ex-President of the AIRF, now High Commissioner for Burma, had a hot time of it when he tried to attend the session "to meet his old friends."

Jamnadas Forced To Quit

D. S. Valdyia, Vice-President of the G. I. P. Railwaymen's Union challenged the right of a Government servant to be present at the session.

4-Hour Strike Of 70,000 NWR Workers

For four hours on May 1st, seventy thousand workers of the North Western Railway were on strike. Not a single train moved. Armed police in large numbers filled the stations and "protected" the cabins and trains. Arrests were made up and down the line.

FULL FEATURE STORY NEXT WEEK

For some time, however, Giri, the President of the AIRF allowed him to sit on. But as soon as Giri resigned his Presidency (because he is now a Congress Minister in Madras) Mehta found it impossible to continue inside. He left the hall to the accompaniment of cries of "Shame", "Down with Jamnadas Mehta" from the delegates

inside and visitors outside.

The meeting then continued under the Chairmanship of Khedgikar, Vice-President of the AIRF. When Guruswamy, General Secretary of the AIRF, read out his report and harped persistently on the legality or otherwise of the strike, the delegates visibly resented it. For they knew that such views were also being expressed by high officers of the Government of India.

Voices were raised, nevertheless, on this question. But the confusion was cleared as delegate after delegate got up to report on the strike ballot on his railway. Those Unions which had suspended their ballots under instructions from the General Secretary also voiced their complete readiness for General strike. Facts which were the biggest expression of the unanimous verdict of the 10 lakh railway workers, forced the doubting souls to lie low.

Shibnath Banerjee's Resolution

When the session commenced the next day, six resolutions were on the agenda. It was clear that they all, except the one moved by Mr. Shibnath Banerjee, agreed on the vital issue of strike. Differences existed on whether or not to fix the date of strike, when to give the notice of strike, etc. Mr. Shibnath Banerjee, Pre-

sident of the E. I. Railwaymen's Union, moved a resolution which wanted the matter to be taken up by a Convention. Also, it did not refer to a notice for strike. Moreover, it wanted a Committee of Legal Experts to be consulted over the legality of the strike. It did not matter if the workers had to wait helplessly till then.

But when he moved it, he made such amazing contradictions, that it became a matter of ridicule with the delegates. He was even asked whether he supported his own resolution, or opposed it. Amidst general laughter, the Chairman remarked that Banerjee had "actually withdrawn it."

For three hours the resolutions were discussed. A closure was then moved and a Draft Committee was appointed to draft a common agreed resolution.

In an hour and a half the agreed resolution, mainly on the lines of the resolution moved by Jyoti Basu, General Secretary of the Bengal-Assam Rail-Road Workers' Union was drafted by the Committee.

Strike Decision Hailed

The news that a unanimously agreed resolution was coming up before the session created a stir. Faces beamed with joy. It was greeted with wild ovation lasting two minutes. It was read out by Jyoti Basu and moved by the

Draft Committee.

Some minor amendments regarding the personnel of the Council of Action were moved, the resolution was passed unanimously—once again amidst deafening cheers, lasting over two minutes and amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm and fraternisation among the delegates!

It was their biggest victory, the most faithful reflection of the will of the men they represented.

The session has ended. The decks are cleared. The call for action has sounded. Ten lakh railwaymen have marshalled their forces for their biggest battle against the mightiest enemy, the Government of India.

Bureaucrats Must Be Made To Yield

They will fight if they are forced to. Let there be no mistake about it. And win, they surely will. For theirs is a just cause. Their forces are united.

But the issue cannot be just left to be fought out between the workers and the Government of India. The 40 crores of India are more vitally interested in the outcome of this struggle. The people's parties must, therefore, take sides. They must force the bureaucracy to yield, either to grant the workers' demands or refer them all to Adjudication.

That alone can avert a General strike.

Strike Ballot On MSM Railway

"WE ARE ALL, EVERYONE, FOR STRIKE"

Record Rise In Union Membership

The tumultuous response given by the railwaymen all over the country for the All-India Railwaymen's Federation's (AIRF) call for a strike ballot has belied even the wildest expectations of the leadership on every railway.

WHEN the General Council of the AIRF met in the first week of May to take stock, it was this overwhelming verdict of the workers that they echoed in their unanimous decision for an all-India railway General strike on June 27th.

It has been the most glorious example of working-class unity for the greatest working-class action the nation has so far witnessed.

The MSM Rly. Employees' Union represents every political party in the country. On its Central Executive Committee (CEC) are Congressmen, Leaders, Communists and non-party working-class leaders. And yet when the CEC met on April 2nd, it unanimously decided for a strike ballot.

Of the 28,786 members of this Union who voted, 23,760 voted for strike, only a meagre 26 voted against. The Union registered a record rise in membership during the campaign, jumping from a little over 19,000 to 31,629. The total number of employees on this railway is 63,000.

Week Organised To Popularise Demands

The enthusiasm of the workers was clearly marked during the week the CEC had organised to popularise the demands. From April 16th to April 20th the workers at every centre rallied in thousands under the banner of the Union, against all vacillation and hesitation.

On April 17th, 2,500 workers of Perambur marched in procession for the rally.

The same day GURUSWAMY, the General Secretary of the AIRF (who is also President of

FULL ALL-INDIA RESULTS

-- WORKERS' VERDICT

	For	Against
G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union (report incomplete)	16,151	74
E. I. Railwaymen's Union	43,319	16
E. I. Railway Employees' Association	19,570	70
B. A. Railway Employees' Association	82,321	244
B. A. Rail-Road Workers' Union	19,595	25
B.B.C.I. Railway Employees' Union	7,623	11
B.B.C.I. Railwaymen's Union	11,178	15
S. I. Railwaymen's Labour Union	23,536	61
M. S. M. Railway Employees' Union	23,760	26
G.I.P. Accounts Staff Union	622	18
B. P. T. Railwaymen's Union	387	2
Darjeeling Himalayan Railway	1,506	26
B. N. Railway Employees' Union	5,240	27
N. S. Railway Employees' Union*	3,000	—

*Suspended as per Guruswamy's letter.

this Union) had issued, owing to confusion over the ordering of an Adjudication by the Government, instructions to suspend the ballot.

When these instructions were read out in the meeting, the workers were furious. "If our leaders are afraid, let them at least keep quiet. We cannot stop now. We must proceed with the ballot, and we will," they said.

Clerical Staff Joins

On the 23rd, the clerical staff from the General Manager's Office, 1,500 strong, marched in procession. In the meeting that followed, they unanimously decided for strike. And it should be noted that these men represented every political section in their ranks.

The same story of big processions, meetings and unanimous

support for strike came from other centres of the Union, Guntakal, Bezwada, Bitragunta, Hubli, etc.

At Guntakal, the clerks at first hesitated, thanks to the suspension orders of Guruswamy. But the workers stood firmly by their decision and convinced the clerks of the correctness of their stand.

At Bitragunta all engine drivers, including Anglo-Indians, were very keen on strike. Their complaint was that no date had been fixed till then. "Fix the date soon and begin the strike. We are all for it," they said.

Spontaneous Donations

Between Dronachalam and Nandyal, workers put in coins along with ballot papers. No call for a strike fund had been given, and yet when the boxes were opened they were found to contain Rs. 14-3. The workers

later asked the Union leaders why the call for funds had not yet been given.

At a number of places workers on their own, took leave and campaigned among fellow-workers for strike.

Thus at Guntakal, 22 workers took leave and campaigned on the line, six more on the stations. The former covered their zone on foot covering every gangman for the ballot.

A similar story of 20 workers taking leave was reported from Bezwada.

Even the senior staff, like Station Masters, Asstt. Station Masters, etc., all voted for the strike.

"Throw Out The Black Box"

At Raichur, the Union leaders had a hard time convincing the workers about the necessity of keeping the black box (for recording votes against strikes) also in the booth. The workers suggested even burning the black boxes. "One box, the Red one, is more than enough. We are all, everyone, for strike. Then why must we be made to see this black box?" they would demand. At Guntakal the black box was seen to have been spoiled. Inside the booths the workers had vigorously spat on it.

Against this mighty flood the local branch of the All-India Muslim Railway Employees' Association tried to erect a dam. They condemned the strike and called upon the Muslim employees not to vote for it. The only reply the Muslim workers gave was to vote solidly for strike.

by
P. B. RANGNEKAR

NEITHER INDEPENDENCE NOR DEMOCRACY NOR SELF-DETERMINATION

Will the Simla Conference fail or succeed, this is the question on every lip. Very likely the answer will already be there before these lines appear in print.

LEADERS and correspondents all agree that the situation is 'critical', but some add, 'not hopeless'. Going by one's own hopes and fears is, however, not being objective.

What It Is

The Cabinet Mission has the whip-hand. The Conference has been called on its initiative. It has supplied the agenda. The way it is seeking to shape Indian destiny is clear enough from the formula it has submitted for discussion.

Let us have a look at it. **FIRST**, it is proposed to set up a Union Government at the Centre to deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

SECONDLY, there will be two groups of Provinces; one of predominantly Hindu Provinces, and the other of predominantly Muslim Provinces, dealing with all other subjects which the Provinces in the respective groups desire to be dealt with in common.

THIRDLY, there will be Provincial Governments dealing with all subjects and having all residuary and sovereign rights.

FOURTHLY, it is contemplated that the Indian States will take their appropriate place in this structure on terms to be negotiated with them.

Not A Via Media

Without losing our way in constitutional technicalities, let us understand the meaning of these proposals in terms of the freedom of our country and the future of our people.

The British Imperialist game was simple enough.

The Cabinet Mission began first with the "unity of India" and raised high hopes in Congress circles that it would agree with the Congress against the League.

In the second stage of negotiations, they swung over to the line that the League demand could not be totally rejected, genuine Muslim fears and aspirations had to be met, etc.

And the final result is the proposals they have put forward.

They have the guileful form of being a practical via media between the irreconcilable stands of the Congress and the League, but, in reality, they are nothing of the sort. They embody the new Imperialist plan for the changed conditions of today. It is not a plan to Quit India, but to 'Stay in India' in a new guise and in a different form.

The Union Centre

The key to the whole plan is the Union Centre of a type that has not been known anywhere in the history of the world's democracies.

* It is a Centre without a Legislature and, therefore, irresponsible and autocratic.

* It is a Centre based on two warring Federations—one Hindu and the other Muslim—and, therefore, the balance of power will always stay in British hands or their stooges.

* It is a Centre based on a permanent division of India as Hindu and Muslim, and the wedge between them stabilised through the Princes.

The present Simla Conference itself is, perhaps, the first glimpse of how the Centre will be composed and will function.

Today it is four Congress, four League and four British representatives. When the Union Centre is formed it may consist of four Congress and four League nominees, four Princes, and with the British Viceroy as the thirteenth member, whose

designation may, however, be changed if it hurts us.

It is such a Centre that will deal with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; i.e., all the issues that will make India a power in the new world.

Who will doubt that India ruled by such a Centre will be weak, divided and indirectly controlled by the British power, that it will be a pawn in the British Imperial game of world power-politics, and not an independent power, strong and united, playing its own independent role.

Two Federations

Such a Union Centre will be based on two Federations—one of Hindu majority Provinces and the other of Muslim majority ones. It is not enough to see that our people will thus get artificially and permanently divided into Hindus and Muslims, and how their mutual relations are expected to grow in the Imperialist scheme.

The Congress leadership has been preaching that the League is the main obstacle to the independence and integrity of India.

The League leadership has been preaching that the Con-

gress is the main obstacle to the achievement of Pakistan.

Now when the Congress and the League leaders get stabilised as leaders of Hindu and Muslim Federations, they are naturally expected to see the other Federation as coming in the way of their own and common advance.

Thus the political squabbles of today will become the great crisis of tomorrow.

From blaming each other's organisations to blaming each other's Governments, is expected to be the natural development in which the British representatives through the Union Centre, and in other ways, will always be able to act the role of 'mediators.'

The States

Hindu versus Muslim is not the only plank in the Imperialist plan of multiplying divisions and giving them State forms.

There are the Indian States too, which keep one brother people divided from their own blood brothers across the border. The biggest ones are likely to come directly into the Union Centre, the middle ones, as independent units, will enter either of the two Federations, and the smallest ones alone will be absorbed in the Provinces.

Thus the wedge of pro-British feudal reaction will be introduced in all the three State apparatus at all its stages, inside the Centre, inside the two Federations, inside the Provinces.

Imperialist Plan

Let us be under no illusions about the full implications of the Imperialist plan. What do they hope to achieve?

● By dividing up the country into Hindu and Muslim, they hope to escape a joint Hindu-Muslim struggle against them in the new period. All hopes of a unified All-India Freedom Movement will become a memory of a past age.

● By dividing up the country into Hindu and Muslim, they hope to weaken the country economically, and naturally expect Hindu and Muslim vested interests to get entrenched in their own Federations, and, in their competitive war with each other, come to British Big Busi-

ness for aid and assistance.

A countrywide economic plan that will mean joint war against poverty and its perpetrators, the profiteers and the feudal parasites, will disappear from the immediate agenda of the day.

● By dividing up the country into Hindu and Muslim, they hope not only to weaken the country generally and keep our people divided, but get the ideal opportunity through the Union Centre to influence and shape our foreign policy.

They thus hope to control our defence plans in British Imperial interests as part of the world plan of Anglo-U.S. reaction against the rising strength of the block of Democratic States led by the U.S.S.R. and the rising tide of the colonial freedom movement of Asia.

Capitalising On Our Differences

It is obviously not a plan of Indian freedom, but a plan to keep India subordinate to British Imperial power by making Indian fight Indian.

And it is not a very new plan either. Our Party exposed it as early as November 1944 in G. Adhikari's pamphlet, 'The Imperialist Alternative.'

In our Election Manifesto once again, we forewarned all

ers have acted so far, they have demonstrated Indian differences to the whole world as being irreconcilable, and are trying to show their own proposals as the only possible practical compromise between two mutually-exclusive standpoints.

Thus if the negotiations succeed on the basis of their proposals, it will be put across as the triumph of British statesmanship, and if they fail, Indian differences will be blamed for being the only obstacle to Indian advance!

One has only to listen to the B.C.C. or read the despatches of foreign correspondents for the last few days to realise how skilfully and systematically Indian name is being blackguarded before the foreign freedom-loving world.

Again, the issue of Interim Government on which the Congress is the keenest has been kept open as the second bait.

settling our own differences in a brotherly way.

They made proposals exploiting our differences and evolved a plan to keep us permanently divided, and thus always at each other's throats, and at their mercy, even if formally independent like Egypt.

They are now engaged in keeping the initiative in their hands and getting round the Congress and the League both to agree to their proposals.

The simple question is, will the Congress and the League leaders see through the Imperialist aim and strategy and not unwittingly play into their hands, or will they just come back empty-handed with the negative cry of the helpless that they have been cheated.

The British rulers hope to succeed because of the apparently irreconcilable differences of India's two main parties. The table can immediately be turned against them and their plan only by the two parties facing them with a united front.

Way Out But --

Our Party in its Memorandum to the Cabinet Mission has made practical and constructive proposals for immediate national unity, to make the British bureaucrats and army bodily quit India in the way every freedom-loving Indian desires, and suggested truly just principles and a really democratic method for settling our internal differences through the verdict of our people.

For the only way out, ours is the lone voice now too, as it was against the danger of the Imperialist Coupland Plan before, but which is under our very nose today.

There is hardly any hope of the existing Congress and League leaders breaking away from their own strategy of separate settlement with Britain and coming together to turn the tables on the British rulers, and face them with an agreed Indian plan for immediate Indian independence on the basis of true self-determination to every nationality and in which the real voice will lie with our people themselves, Hindu, Muslim, all.

Sectarian pride in one's own organisation and hatred of your own brother people who differ from you have been the characteristic outlook of upper-class politics the world over, but in a slave country they divide and weaken the common freedom movement.

The boat of Indian freedom is being rowed in two contrary directions by its traditional leaders, and the common people are sitting like loyal passengers hoping to be led ashore.

This is how the British rulers have got on to the scene again and are taking command of the situation. Where they propose to lead us should be clear enough to all, and will become clear like daylight when the British proposals are officially published.

The Alternatives

Everybody is confused, but expectant and hoping against hope that something may yet come off. This is yet living in the world of illusions.

The alternatives are just two: EITHER Indian leaders succumb to the British plan OR they evolve an Indian plan to make the British quit and to settle the shape of Free India ourselves.

All the strength and efforts of our Party have been and will be directed to ensure that the British plan is foiled and an Indian plan evolved instead.

IMPERIALIST GAME TO EXPLOIT OUR DIFFERENCES

our freedom-loving, countrymen against just this very plan. But ours was the lone voice.

The other two major parties did not see what was coming. Both the Congress and the League leaderships were themselves confident of, and had loudly assured the people of, two things:

FIRST, that after the elections, they would realise their aim on their own strength.

SECONDLY, that the British would have to come to a final settlement this time, and there was no other way out for them.

It is clear enough now that both calculations have been proved wrong. Where is it that they went wrong?

The Congress and the League have no doubt great popular strength behind them. They thought only of their own strength and denied the common weakness in the Indian political situation as a whole—our internal differences despite our common freedom urge.

The British Imperial rulers knew the utter weakness of their own position in India before the unparalleled tide of anti-Imperialist upsurge as shown in the INA demonstrations, the R.I.N. Mutiny, in the election campaign, and before the threatening catastrophe of the coming famine and growing industrial unrest.

To get round their main weakness that no section of our people would tolerate them in our land, they capitalised on our main weakness, the acute differences between our two main parties, seized the initiative, despatched the Cabinet Mission and led the Congress and the League leaders up and down the garden path for over a month, and ultimately faced them with their proposals.

Indian disunity emboldened Imperial reaction to face Indian leaders with its plan for the future of India. The grim tragedy does not end here. The British have won the first round and are manoeuvring their hardest to win the game.

FIRST, by the method of their negotiations and the way the Congress and the League lead-

ers have acted so far, they have demonstrated Indian differences to the whole world as being irreconcilable, and are trying to show their own proposals as the only possible practical compromise between two mutually-exclusive standpoints.

Thus if the negotiations succeed on the basis of their proposals, it will be put across as the triumph of British statesmanship, and if they fail, Indian differences will be blamed for being the only obstacle to Indian advance!

One has only to listen to the B.C.C. or read the despatches of foreign correspondents for the last few days to realise how skilfully and systematically Indian name is being blackguarded before the foreign freedom-loving world.

Again, the issue of Interim Government on which the Congress is the keenest has been kept open as the second bait.

For the only way out, ours is the lone voice now too, as it was against the danger of the Imperialist Coupland Plan before, but which is under our very nose today.

There is hardly any hope of the existing Congress and League leaders breaking away from their own strategy of separate settlement with Britain and coming together to turn the tables on the British rulers, and face them with an agreed Indian plan for immediate Indian independence on the basis of true self-determination to every nationality and in which the real voice will lie with our people themselves, Hindu, Muslim, all.

Sectarian pride in one's own organisation and hatred of your own brother people who differ from you have been the characteristic outlook of upper-class politics the world over, but in a slave country they divide and weaken the common freedom movement.

The boat of Indian freedom is being rowed in two contrary directions by its traditional leaders, and the common people are sitting like loyal passengers hoping to be led ashore.

This is how the British rulers have got on to the scene again and are taking command of the situation. Where they propose to lead us should be clear enough to all, and will become clear like daylight when the British proposals are officially published.

The alternatives are just two: EITHER Indian leaders succumb to the British plan OR they evolve an Indian plan to make the British quit and to settle the shape of Free India ourselves.

All the strength and efforts of our Party have been and will be directed to ensure that the British plan is foiled and an Indian plan evolved instead.

by P. C. Joshi

BATTLE FOR A NEW UNITED NATIONAL FRONT FOR FREEDOM

Pitted Against Congress Prestige, Big Money - Bureaucrat Combine

One would imagine from the treatment of the elections in the Congress Press and the part of the Communist Party in them that it was a rout for us and we had been finished off as a political party.

The very persons who write in the Press and the very leaders and workers who organized the campaign, know it in their own hearts that it was not so; they know the frantic calls they sent for cash and more cash, for leaders and more leaders. They know all that they had to do to win the contest.

To stand our ground, in the conditions the elections were fought and poll about seven lakh votes (exactly 6,85,026) should tell its own story to any serious political worker.

We put up 106 candidates in 161 in General seats, seven in Muslim, 10 in Sikh, two in Christian, two in Women and 27 in Labour, and we won only nine (7 Labour, one general, one Christian). We had hoped to win at least 24. It is clear enough that we suffered from serious illusions about what we were up against.

Background of Freedom Uprising

These elections were held in a period of unprecedented popular upsurge for freedom. Immediate freedom was not only the most dominant urge of our entire people but the main plank of every popular party. We underestimated how immensely difficult the situation would become for us when the object, beyond and above the immediate freedom organization sought to exploit the common freedom sentiment against us, the young patriotic organization.

Now The Leaders Looked At Them

For the leaders, however, it was the last opportunity to snatch at what, as the main plank of the anti-Communist campaign, was the most immediately available. For the leaders, the main problem was not how to solve our internal differences after the elections, but how to solve our external differences after the elections, for our British rulers.

Table I FINAL RESULTS

Table with 4 columns: Province, Total voters, Total votes, Percentage. Lists provinces like Grand Total, Andhra, Bengal, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, etc.

Table II LABOUR SEATS

Table with 4 columns: Province, Total Poll, Total, % of Total. Lists provinces like Grand Total, Andhra, Bengal, etc.

with a joint front behind the demands to quit. In contrast, they only thought of how they could come out triumphant and then see what was possible and simple what the British were offering.

In such circumstances, the political life of the country as a whole is not raised to a higher and nobler plane but divided and disrupted further apart. We underestimated the nature of the campaign that was bound to ensue in this situation, a campaign of an anti-democratic and anti nature.

Our national political life was turned to its very bottom ground and wide emotions were appealed to on the one hand, while, on the other, all the dirt and filth that is within our social life were hurled against each other, when we as the third popular political party of the country stood on a platform of unity and sought to warm both Hindus and Muslims that it was the British who would win this way and not the Congress or the League.

The masses thought that they were voting for freedom when they voted either for the Congress or the League. The masses voted emphatically in their own interests with the hope that they would not only liberate our country from the British but tackle the most urgent problems of our daily life, such as food, cloth, education, etc., which had been becoming worse and worse during all the war years.

For the masses, it was an expression of their freedom urge and the confidence in their popular organizations.

Why Communists Contested

Why did we contest the elections? The aim of the Congress leadership was to liquidate our Party as a political force by doing a whirlwind propaganda that our party was a traitor party. The aim of the anti-Communist leadership was to exploit the situation, demoralize the masses and physically exterminate us. We called it a 'life-and-death' battle for our Party, and fought it as such. We lived down the leader propaganda.

We decided to contest the elections not only for the sake of our own Party, but for the sake of our National Movement, to defend the patriotic demands of our Party, and not let anti-Communism be established as a feature of our freedom movement.

The areas where we are a strong force are also the areas where most anti-Communist propaganda is being spread. The Congress led by the slogan, the total voters who want to vote in all the 108 constituencies we contested were 20,50,000. Of these 2,05,284 votes were cast for our Party, i.e. out of every 100 votes one decisively came out not only against the traitor leader, but also for the entire programme of our Party.

All these who know India's patriotic past and the strength of the Congress ought to realize the full meaning that is in our vote out of every 100 against the great Congress masses when the franchise covers only 23% of the adult population and when the main slogan of our Party is directed to the very elements who are disenchanted, for ours is the Party of the working-peasants.

For Patriotic Unity For Final Bid For Power

We contested the elections in order to turn our people away from the war among leaders, which alone can ensure that the working-class of the country will be as the right side. The Indian bourgeoisie were against this by making the Congress the main political force of the working-class and the main political force of the masses of patriotic unity and

Facing Congress Might

The Congress made us face all that the reactionary parties of the right used to hurl against us in the elections in the past. During the election campaign we went through the fire of test and trial in our own house as a political Party and for its own place in the life of our country. The Congress did not have to face any opposition from the reactionary right this time. It had either moved in or out of the Congress.

Primary Defensive Battle

It was for us primarily a defensive battle to hold our organized working-class and peasant bases, cooperating both Hindu and Muslim workers, as the basis of the future campaign for national unity for national liberation, as the basis for the new United National Front for the new post-war period. On the whole we not only held all our bases but made new significant advances, especially among the poor peasantry and landless labourers, drawn from the most oppressed communities.

PARTY EMERGES AS INDEPENDENT POLITICAL FORCE—9 SEATS WON, 7 LAKH VOTES

Our Assets—Courage, Patience, Endurance

It needed the patience of the hour-long for our very young comrades to continue to preach the need for national unity, with greater and bolder regard of national sacrifice, they had to bear being called traitors and not being thrown against us (that is, had despite all the force of our own brother parties thrown against us—which we demonstrated during the elections.

Every single Communist had to undergo all these and our people saw our Party organizing the campaign on the basis of principles and not appealing to common prejudices but fighting them instead. Our people saw our comrades organize our campaign as a stern democratic campaign, with the money of the common people, with the efforts of common men and women, born of our own freedom movement and in the ranks of workers, peasants and intelligentsia.

Our supporters were very respectful for our Party from lakhs of neutrals who attended our rallies, heard our leaders, read our literature, paid for our funds. All this gave us greater faith in the future of our Party and our people than ever before.

Labour Seats

While for us it was a defensive battle, for the Congress leadership it was an all-out offensive against our Party, and they directed their biggest forces against our main bases in the working-class areas. All the lessons that were being taught the working-class and the main political force of the masses of patriotic unity and

The Congress was a formal matter (see Chart No. II). When there was Congress-Communist unity, or even when the Congress as an organization was present, the issue used to be the working-class as a whole against the Government or the Government or the other side.

In the different Provinces the results were particularly bad in Assam and the Punjab. In Assam there was no organized working-class movement and we decided to contest the elections because the Congress leaders themselves wanted us to fight the European planters, which they themselves could not do. To begin with, they promised neutrality, but later a secret deal was negotiated between the Congress and the European planters and the balance was turned against us. (See People's Age of 17th February, 1940).

In the Punjab the working-class movement is now weak and at a very elementary stage. Thus the Congress and the League both came in to contest the Labour seats, with the aid of Hindu or Muslim voters, both hoping to win by winning Hindu or Muslim sentiment. The working-class got split and a couple of hundred conscious militant workers alone remained.

Why the Boss Helped Congress

During these elections the boss helped the Congress in order to make the Communist workers in the post-election period and thus manage to keep his profits safe. The Congress used the boss to defeat the Communist Party and that was the secret and subtle way they knew.

This development of even greater danger not only for the future of the working-class movement, but ending the fulfillment of every single task of urgent national reconstruction, which the Congress Ministries have pledged to take in hand.

Having functioned hand-in-glove with the biggest financiers and black-marketers during the elections in order to achieve their electoral victory, the Congress Ministries are likely to go to sleep over people's needs, it will need the greatest vigilance on the part of working-class leaders to reforge working-class unity, reforge start mass campaigns for the popular needs, and not let the

hilled all the vested interests of the village to fight us. Not only the local landlords and the black-marketers' influence was used but their entire machinery was used for black-mailing and intimidating the peasants.

In the scattered areas the peasant coming to vote for the Red Flag ran the risk of eviction and where they had money or rights they had to brave the fear of molestation by landlords' agents. Except in the areas where we were overwhelmingly strong, local black-marketers made it known that if the peasants voted Red their property would be out of their hands, their houses be burned.

At the election day came nearer, we saw the powerful steam roller of Congress participation plus landlord-black-marketers pressure going in to action against the peasants.

In the earlier elections the Congress could smash through because by reactionary parties but this time the Congress went in for mass organizing and could do it unbalanced because of its mass support and because of the direct aid given by the officials. Our peasant comrades were not to all the technicalities of an election campaign and all business.

The Congress agitation was simplicity itself: vote for the Congress and Swami is guaranteed this time; vote the Congress in power and all sufferings will end as soon as the Mahatma gets returned.

Our vote is in the U.P. and Bihar we unexpectedly had, and this is primarily because the terms used against us were worse than even in the Calcutta Labour cases.

Voting in our favour was also had in Bombay-Maharashtra. Here we collected some rural votes in order to be able to weaken the peasantry to the need of Kisan Sabha and activate our Kisan contacts.

Other Seats We contested one Christian seat in Andhra and supported one programme. These were purely Hindu labourers with a very small sprinkling of middle class, where communal and caste offensive could not be used against us. It was a straight appeal for freedom and democracy and the results are revealing.

One of the total poll of 5,000, the Congress polled 1,176 while we polled 15,107. In other words, the Congress polled 23.1 per cent, our Party 31.2 per cent of the total and 13.7 per cent of the Congress.

We contested two Women seats, one in Andhra and the other (Madr) in the Punjab. We got 24.5 per cent of the Congress vote in Andhra and 29.8 per cent in the Punjab.

The story of the Sikh seats in the Punjab reveals how when the Congress sets out to fight our Party it is inaction that wins it. In fact, the Congress, Akali and Communist all contained the assets.

How Peasants Thought And Voted

On the whole, our mass rallies were so good and effective that in several places the Congress stopped holding mass rallies except when the our leaders came because their sufferings were not only smaller in number and less desperate, but their own following - but here the peasants heard nothing of all this and were very slow to vote confidence in the Congress. They heard nothing of our mass rallies.

To our rallies thousands more than voted for us came, heard our programme patiently, even at the sitting the whole night. But the common sentiment was:

(Continued on page 7)

Table III RURAL GENERAL SEATS

Table with 4 columns: Province, Total Poll, Total, % of Total. Lists provinces like Grand Total, Andhra, Bengal, etc.

Table IV MUSLIM SEATS

Table with 4 columns: Province, Total Poll, Total, % of Total. Lists provinces like Grand Total, Andhra, Bengal, etc.

SHARPENS CONFLICT BETWEEN ARAB AND JEW

Lays Basis For Continued British Colonial Rule

The report of the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine has been condemned outright by every section of public opinion in the Arab world; only a few days after its publication all Palestine was shaken by a complete Arab General strike, organised by the Arab Higher Committee.

In fact, though the appointment of the Commission arose from the need of British and U.S. Imperialism to tackle the rising demands of the Arab national upsurge, the report itself, as the expression of Anglo-U.S. policy, emerges directly out of the importance of Palestine for the two countries.

Key Strategic Position

For Palestine occupies a key position in the world strategy of Imperialism.

1. At the South-Eastern end of the Mediterranean, through its port Haifa, it provides one of the best naval bases for the control of the Southern Mediterranean.

2. Through Palestine, ending at Haifa, runs the great oil pipeline from Iraq, the only major British-controlled pipeline for the transport of Middle-Eastern oil to the British Mediterranean fleet.

3. Palestine is not only one link in the chain of British-controlled Arab States which is designed by British Imperialism as a mighty base against the Soviet Union and for the preservation of British domination of the Arab world; more than that, because of its six lakh Jewish population (in contrast with 11 lakh Arabs); it is the only Middle-Eastern State where a substantial non-Muslim minority is available for use as a fifth-column to disrupt the upsurge of the Muslim peoples and to preserve British domination.

Main Points Of Report

It is with all this in view that the Anglo-American report has been framed, and the report itself bears out Anglo-U.S. anxiety to preserve Palestine as an Imperial base.

Here are its main points:

Simla Talks

(Continued from page 8)

The Cabinet Mission will discharge its responsibility by giving an award satisfactory to Muslims.

From a source very close to an important Congress leader, I reliably learn that the situation is not without hope. Gandhiji's meeting with the Cabinet Mission is interpreted here as being connected with talks on the next step, failing agreement on the final solution.

In case as is inevitable, disagreement continues on Wednesday, it is said that it is likely that the Cabinet Mission will discuss the question of the formation of an Interim Government.

Among the high-ranking League leaders there is expectation that the Cabinet Mission will accept the principle of Pakistan and indicate a Constitution-making machinery which will assure the League that no Constitution will be imposed on them. In such a case, the League, it is said, would be prepared to co-operate in the Interim Government.

I understand that Pandit Nehru has drafted a statement explaining the Congress stand with respect to the Union Centre and also with respect to other issues. The dominant feeling, however, among the Pressmen today is that the Conference will break up by the end of the week.

by Mohan Kumaramangalam

● No independence for Palestine "now and for some time to come" as this would only "result in civil strife," i.e., Arab-Jewish conflict.

Thus Britain and the U.S. who, over the last twenty years, by allowing Jewish immigration to increase the Jewish percentage from 11% to over 33% of the total population have themselves planted the seeds of Arab-Jewish conflict, now plead that this conflict is an insuperable bar to Palestine attaining independence.

● A continuance of the British mandate until a trusteeship agreement under U.N.O. can be arranged.

This means, simply, a continuance of British colonial rule, and we can be sure Britain will agree to no trusteeship agreement which does not safeguard its own rule of Palestine.

● There is no mention at all even of the establishment of democratically-elected local bodies.

Palestine is to continue to be ruled by a purely colonial regime, not "responsible in the slightest degree to the people of Palestine.

● The immediate admission in 1946 alone of 100,000 Jews into Palestine.

Already there are six lakh Jews as against 11 lakh Arabs; the introduction of another lakh Jews will certainly considerably strengthen the Jewish section—and also encourage them to dream of becoming a majority of the population in the near future, and thus to become more adamant in their refusal to co-operate with the Arabs.

Thus by this recommendation, which goes directly against the expressed will of the Arab people, Britain and the U.S. will successfully ensure continuance of the Arab-Jewish conflict while simultaneously strengthening the position of the Jewish fifth-column in the Arab world.

Preserving Police State

These main recommendations show clearly enough the completely reactionary nature of the report; it denies the people of Palestine the right to decide their own future; it increases the conflict between Arab and Jew; and, on the basis of making Arab fight Jew, it ensures the perpetuation of British colonial rule and thus the use of Palestine by Britain for putting through its Imperialist plan for the Middle East.

Of course, the outcry in the Arab world against the report has made the British move cautiously.

They have made clear that there can be no one-sided British implementation of the report's recommendations; they have sharply countered President Truman's welcome to the proposal to admit 100,000 Jews (obviously a cheap attempt to win the applause of the wealthy and powerful Jewish minority in the U.S.) by asking for U.S. practical help in working out the future of Palestine.

It is reported that this request has already been officially made and almost every newspaper in Britain has supported the sug-

gestion. Only the Communist Daily Worker has come out with a clear condemnation of the report and a demand for Palestine's independence.

And the immediate way in which U.S. help is wanted is shown by the report of May 2 that "in the next few days the British will ask for U.S. military reinforcements to allow a doubling of the present garrisons in Palestine."

In any case, the only immediate outcome of the report is likely to be a strengthening of Imperialist military rule of Palestine—on the ground, of course, that Arab-Jewish conflict is increasing; the Jews will demand more immigration, the Arabs will bitterly oppose it, and the British, happy and satisfied at the continued division (as with Hindu-Muslim conflict in India), will remain sovereign.

The Anglo-American report and British policy in Palestine is only one more example of the favourite British strategy of "Divide and Rule"—by which they work their hardest to increase divisions inside the people of a subject-country and then plead that these divisions are themselves the bar—the only bar (!)—to the granting of freedom to that country.

"Hands Off Palestine"

All India must condemn this report, and condemn British policy, which, in fact, hits not only the people of Palestine but also

We Dip The Red Banner

BAHAL SINGH

WE dip the Red Banner in memory of BAHAL SINGH, beloved leader and founder of our Party in Delhi, who died last week. For years Bahal Singh had been a victim of T. B., but he refused to rest and give up his work. His tremendous faith in his people, his country and his Party kept him alive.

Loved and respected by every single political worker in Delhi, even by those who violently disagreed with his views—Bahal will be remembered always as a martyr who died for India, died slowly and in constant, long-drawn agony, but never complained and stuck steadfastly to his job.

The Communist Party salutes Bahal Singh and sends its warm sympathy to his wife and children.

(Next week we hope to be



able to give a life-sketch of Bahal Singh, written by one of his closest comrades).

our own real Indian interests.

For the British strategy of fostering Arab-Jewish conflict and thus continuing police-rule in Palestine is one part of the British plan to keep the Middle East safe under British domination, and of building an anti-Soviet Imperial-dominated cordon from Turkey to India. As in Simla today, basing themselves on increasing divisions inside every country, the British are trying to keep their domination safe, their Imperial anti-Soviet strategy secure.

It is against India's interests that this infamous plan should go through; from all parties in India must come the demand: "Hands off Palestine."

Hindus and Muslims together oppose this report, irrespective of their differences inside India. Let them come together jointly to fight its implementation, and to demand freedom for Palestine.

For ours is the greatest Freedom Movement of the colonial world; and if the peoples of the Middle East see that India's freedom-loving people and their popular parties are behind them in their battle against Britain's Imperial plan, they will get new strength; and we in India too in our fight against the British game of "Divide and Rule" in the Middle East, will gain a new insight into the British game for our own country.

May 7.

COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE ELECTIONS

(Continued from page 7)

and the Communist Party. As we became aware of this disastrous situation we withdrew from some seats and turned our support towards the Congress, and saw it win as against the Akalis.

In Muslim Seats

In the Muslim seats we fared much worse at the hands of the League than at the hands of the Congress. This is primarily because the peasant movement is much weaker and political awakening new and, therefore, more elementary.

The figures of Bengal are no true index of our strength among the Muslim peasantry in Mymensingh and Comilla because of the mass terror organised by the League, which was as bad as, and in some ways worse than, that adopted by the Congress in Monghyr and Allgarh villages, reports of which our readers must already have seen in P.A.

We contested a Moplah seat, took the message of the Red Flag to Moplah villages for the first time and our appeal was very well received.

Among Sind Haris

In Sind, where the Kisan movement is very new, we contested the elections only to stir the peasants. The Haris liked our programme, listened to our campaign but they did not vote for us because the vast majority of them are tenants-at-will and they dared not go against the zemindar's desire, when there was no organised kisan movement to defend them and help them to fight his battle.

In Bijapur we set out to till vergin soil, roused and organised Muslim, town poor, though the Muslim peasant dared not vote for us but he heard our programme keenly and wants to get organised.

The League propaganda was primarily that we were traitors to Islam, and its method of campaigning was much more anti-democratic than that of the

Congress, and this was as could be expected because sectarianism and reaction are much more entrenched inside the League than the Congress.

Post-Election Situation

The elections have settled nothing, and in fact accentuated every problem facing our freedom movement.

After the unprecedented freedom mobilisation that was the election campaign, the initiative has been seized by the British Government by the despatch of the Cabinet Mission. Where internal strife, instead of national unification, leads an enslaved country is being demonstrated at Delhi and Simla: viz., to either a British award or back to where we were, if nothing worse.

Every one can not only smell but see unprecedented Hindu-Muslim tension.

Every ounce of strength that every Communist has will be needed to stem the tide of communal riots, and not only to heal the breach in the working-class but use the organised and unified Hindu-Muslim working-class as crusaders for communal amity and fighters against communal riots.

The middle class is yet looking towards Simla but the working masses have begun to say that the Congress and the League made all sorts of promises during the elections but their Ministries don't seem to be making a move.

Against the famine, the peasant is only hearing the old type of 'Grow More Food' appeal but sees no actual concessions that will really help him to grow more food being made. The bureaucratic plan of procurement kept ready by officials for Popular Ministries to sign up, is being regaled out in bits.

There is widespread panic and nothing seems clear—when, how and where the famine will come and what really the people can do. Appeals for popular co-operation are yet only words, no hoarders are being hanged.

In the cities, industrial unrest is mounting and the workers are

only made to listen to sermons against strikes and warned against 'Communist mischief.'

Hope is being replaced by panic and confusion in the countryside, and in the towns the urge to forge ahead despite political and communal divisions is growing among the workers, and in more backward and disrupted places how to overcome them is becoming the main problem before the working-class.

Every issue, food, cloth, wages, employment, that concerns the daily life of our common people is crying for urgent solution.

New Period, New Tasks

It is in such a situation that the Party has to get on its feet and get going again in the new period and for new tasks.

It is in such a situation that our comrades, from top to bottom, are yet nursing the scars of battle.

There are political gaps inside the head, in our own understanding, appearing and crying for answers, as inevitably happens when illusions burst and revolutionary sons and daughters of the people have not only to face terror but to wade through mud, holding the Party banner high.

There are urgent organisational tasks, of empty Party treasuries, leading cadres physically played out if not ill, new militants waiting to be educated. Re-education and reorganisation of the entire Party to be able to fulfil our urgent political and practical tasks is the FIRST task before our Party leadership.

Our Freedom Movement is negotiating the most difficult turn of its life. About the same time an unprecedented famine and strike wave is coming sweeping along. Our Party would need not only all its traditional unity and discipline, for which it is famous, but greater understanding, greater efforts and greater patience than it has ever displayed before to be able to fulfil an effective role in the new period that has opened out, and not get swept off its feet.

WORKERS FOIL POLICE-BACKED OWNERS' OFFENSIVE

Heroic Struggles Under Red Flag

Perhaps the worst election clashes in the whole of India took place in the Calcutta industrial belt, a little over a month ago.

Police terror, backed by 'storm troops' organised by the mill-owners, on a scale never seen before, confused and divided the working-class.

ATTEMPTS have been made to excuse this terror as 'election excesses' which would pass off automatically. But the police and the mill-owners have tasted blood and are out to crush the fighting strength of organised labour once and for all.

One such 'plague-spot' of anti-labour terror is Metiabruz, which has lived and fought through thirty days of uninterrupted terror since polling day. Only determined, organised action by workers is acting as a check.

Here is the full story as related by RANEN SEN, Labour leader of Metiabruz for the last ten years and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. He was himself arrested there and refused bail until the 8,000 workers of the biggest factory in the region—Birla's Keshoram Cotton Mills—downed tools and refused to resume work till he was bailed out.

How It Began

Giving the back-ground to the recent happenings, Ranen Sen said:

The principal factories in the region are two jute mills, two ship-building workshops, a power house, the Lever Brothers Soap Works. But the biggest factory is Birla's Keshoram Cotton Mills, whose 8,000 organised workers lead the Metiabruz working-class.

Even six or seven years ago, Metiabruz workers were considered to be 'safe' and 'backward' by the millowners. But they were set aflame not long ago when the Keshoram management started throwing out workers from their bustees—because the land was wanted for the management's use. Hindu and Muslim workers and artisans round about the Keshoram Mills became Birla-haters from that day onwards.

The factory managers first tried to crush the growing labour movement with a frontal attack by the police. In 1945, several leading workers were arrested on totally false charges under the disreputable Section 107 which is usually used against vagabonds. The police tried hard to prove their charge—but they could not produce a shred of evidence. All the arrested worker-leaders were acquitted in court.

Meanwhile, Communist worker-leaders in the factories spread the message of fighting trade unionism far and wide. Large sections of the 35,000 Metiabruz workers built up their trade unions. Ninety per cent of the Keshoram workers joined the textile trade union.

The first real show-down came on the eve of the elections. The workers launched and won three great strikes for their post-war demands for higher pay, dearness allowance, etc. The Keshoram workers led the way and the workers of the Lever Brothers and of one of the jute mills followed.

This was something quite unknown and unexpected in Metiabruz.

The owners and managers decided they had to use new methods in crushing the workers' offensive.

They decided to give up the old-fashioned technique of sole reliance on police repression, which did not scare the work-

ers any more. So they put the Tricolour into the hands of mistries and jobbers to drive a wedge into labour ranks in the name of the National Congress. The wave of hysterical anti-Communism in the Congress camp came in very handy for them.

All the same, their first attempt to gain a foot-hold among the workers misfired. The mistries and jobbers rallied a few hundred workers (out of the 8,000 on strike) to break the strike with cries of 'Jai Hind'.

This made Keshoram workers feel a little puzzled about 'Jai Hind' as a battle-cry of freedom and the strike-breakers were damned in their eyes as 'puppet workers'.

Feeling was so strong against them in fact, that the strike-breakers had to be housed 'safely' in tall fortress-like buildings close to the mill compound, guarded by durwans.

Election Set-Back For Owners

The next trial of strength came during the elections. The managers backed the Congress labour candidate against the Communist candidate and tried to 'uproot the Red Flag' and the fighting trade unions of Metiabruz.

In the Calcutta Labour constituency as a whole, the Communist candidate, SOMNATH LAHIRI, lost to his Congress opponent. But the vast majority of the Keshoram workers voted solidly for the Red Flag.

The polling stations were right inside the factories—so the dice was loaded heavily against the workers from the start. The management wanted to 'capture' the polling booths inside the mill and keep out Red Flag voters.

But the night-shift workers saw through the ruse and decided not to go out of the factory at all so as to be numerically strong enough to help other workers to get in during the polling hours. The night before the elections, the night-shift workers did not leave their posts at 2 a.m. as usual but stuck on till voting began in the morning.

As the polling hour drew near, there was a tense situation at the factory gate. Hundreds of day-shift workers had gathered to go in to vote. Suddenly, there was a shower of stones thrown at them from the top-storey of a tall building near the gate (where the 'puppet workers' lived). Not only Keshoram workers but also other workers going to the Clive Jute Mill next door were injured.

The police force posted at the gate did not lift a finger to stop the stone-throwing. Instead, they sent for reinforcements from a police station near by, fell on the workers at the gate and arrested several injured workers.

This was the last straw, and there was a fight in which several workers and one police officer were hurt.

That night, the police ran wild and spread the lie that the Communists were inciting Muslim workers to a riot against Hindus.

Days Of Police Terror

The next morning, the police struck according to plan. All

trade union offices in Metiabruz were searched, locked up and trade union leaders found there were arrested. The branch office of the Communist Party, the Garden Reach Textile Workers' Union, the Metal and Engineering Workers' Union and the Jute Workers' Union—all came under the police axe.

All the arrested workers and trade union leaders—including the beloved textile workers' leader FAROOQUI—were kept in the lock-up on non-bailable charges of 'rioting', etc.

But the Keshoram workers showed their strength at once. The police took out warrants for the arrest of 2,000 leading workers in the mills and swore they would 'bury the Red Flag'. At once the 8,000 Keshoram workers downed tools demanding the release of their leaders.

At this stage Professor K. P. CHATTOPADHAYA of the Calcutta University (a Congressman of long standing) and I went to settle the strike on the basis of a guarantee that there would be no victimisation of workers and those arrested would be released.

The Keshoram management were panicky and eager to get the mill started again. So they climbed down and agreed not to victimise workers and promised to make a 'strong representation' for the bailing out and release of the arrested workers.

We agreed to ask the workers to call off the strike on this assurance. But when I was going to address a workers' meeting in

the evening, I was suddenly arrested near the police station.

After this, the workers would not trust the police and the management one inch and remained on strike till I was released on bail the next day. The Keshoram management was so scared that they themselves arranged to bail me out in the end.

But a few days later, there was another police raid on the offices—this time on the pretext of seizing banned literature.

They went from bustee to bustee and department to department trying to round up the wanted workers. Strict watch was kept at the tea-shops against any Communist or trade union talk.

But the Keshoram workers called a halt again with a protest strike. The police were forced to lift the ban on the bailed out worker-leaders visiting the factory and bustee areas.

Tug-Of-War

Ever since then, a tug-of-war has been going on between the police and the workers.

The police hunt continued in April and matters came to a head again on the 21st. On that day, the first workers' rally at Metiabruz after the elections was held to protest against police and manager's zoolum.

The police spread a rumour that there would be 'trouble'—firing was not ruled out. But that did not prevent 1,500 workers attending the meeting with a grim determination to have it out with the police. Baffled, the police made the best of a bad job by arresting two Keshoram workers—ALTAH and NASIR—and beating them up in the lock-up later.

By the 23rd April, the police had gathered steam and were out for revenge again. Another Keshoram worker, ALI AHMED, was arrested while going to work at about 2-30 in the afternoon.

This time, the workers moved very fast. By 3-30 p.m. there was a strike. They insisted on

an undertaking from the management that

*1) There would be no victimisation of workers.

*2) Hired anti-labour goondas would not be allowed to enter the mill.

*3) Arrested workers were to be released.

By 6-30 p.m. the management gave in. They agreed to the first two demands and agreed also to make a joint representation to the police for the release of the arrested workers and the right of the workers on bail to visit their bustees and place of work.

Proud And Sad

Anyhow, we have not heard the last of the police offensive against Metiabruz workers. There are still 88 under arrest—even though they have been properly bailed out at last. There are still about 250 who are 'absconding' according to the police—because they are 'wanted' and cannot be traced.

We are naturally very proud of the way the workers have made up their minds to fight this thing out to a finish. The lightning strikes at the Keshoram Mill have put heart into Metiabruz labour, steered them and made them feel their power.

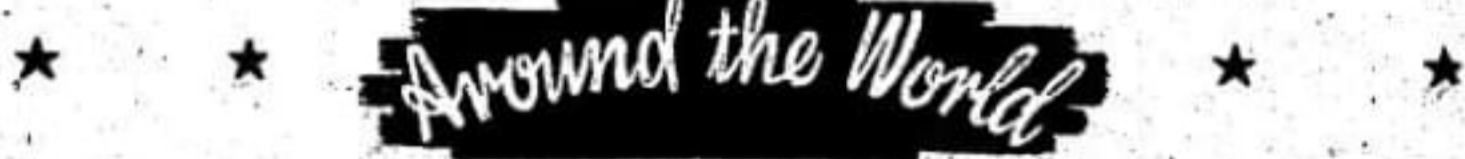
The police are beginning to understand that the workers are in a dangerous mood and will not stand any nonsense. So have the Keshoram management.

The recent mass protest rally has also shown us the immense support of the petty shop-keepers, tailors, etc., in this area. When the fight began, they were more or less onlookers. Now they stand up for the workers, are fed up with police zoolum which was becoming more and more indiscriminate. Workers and others together are raising funds for defending those being sent up for trial.

What is sad is that the Congress and its flag has been identified in the eyes of the workers with the Birla-police terror against the workers and the town poor. It finds expression in a number of ways.

After Congress-minded workers in Keshoram tried to do black-legging with the 'Jai Hind' cry—the workers have begun to take this cry to be the enemy's battle-cry. Anti-Congress feeling is rising to such a pitch that the workers warned Congressmen not to take their 'Congress Election Victory' procession through the factory and bustee areas. And the warning was heeded.

Metiabruz workers' resistance to police terror is our glory. But it is a tragedy for us all that Birla and the police should be able to use the name of the Congress and drive the workers increasingly anti-Congress.



LIBYA -- LATEST VICTIM OF BRITISH BRAND OF 'INDEPENDENCE'

LAST week Britain's fire-eating Foreign Minister, ERNEST BEVIN, told the world of another of Britain's post-war plans to preserve her Empire.

On April 30, he suddenly announced on behalf of the British Government that they favoured a 'revolutionary' solution of the question of Tripoli and Libya; the solution, he said, was that 'immediate independence be granted to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in the form of a united Libya.'

It sounded very good—on paper. But after all, we have just heard about Transjordan becoming 'independent'—with, of course, the proviso that British troops would remain in British-controlled bases in that country!

So it is worthwhile examining a little more carefully what really lies behind the sudden sponsorship of 'independence' for colonies by the Foreign Secretary of the world's biggest Empire.

Real Objective

The fact is that these areas have been under British military administration for the last two years and, as the Hindu of Madras put it, "it is certain that British influence is paramount there and that the British are therefore unwilling to let others enter the area." (May 1).

But the British were faced with the inconvenient Soviet demand that Tripolitania should be put under the Trusteeship Council of U.N.O., with a Russian administrator. It was obviously difficult for Bevin, who is working very hard nowadays to convince everybody that Britain is the champion of democracy, baldly to reject the Soviet proposition and instead demand that the colony be handed over to her.

Therefore, came the brain-wave "Let us make an 'independent' Libyan state."

In reality, of course, we can be sure that the independence will be only in name; Libya will remain under British control.

All that will happen is that some dependable pro-British leader of the Senusi tribes will be made the Emir or the Sultan or some such thing (just as in Transjordan) of the 'independent' State and there will be a host of British advisers, military, financial, economic and so on, who will be the real bosses of the State.

Smuts Approves

And the proof that there is nothing democratic and everything Imperialist in Bevin's proposal, is that it has been approved by the champion anti-democrat and sponsor of Fascist laws, South Africa's dictator, General Smuts!

Just before making the 'revolutionary' proposal, Bevin flew to London and "in particular" discussed with Smuts "the future of Tripolitania, Eritrea and the Dodecanese." (Hindu, April 29).

And Smuts' views on this is no secret.

The Imperialist Sunday Times reported on April 21 that "over this question, Smuts "will be fighting for the preservation of Empire interests against what he considers to be tremendous forces threatening to disintegrate it."

Three days later, the very Tory Daily Telegraph reported that Smuts was coming to London to settle the question of Tripoli which he regarded as the outer defence line of South Africa!

And we can be sure that Bevin before he produced his proposal for an 'independent' Libyan State, got the approval of General Smuts which means that he satisfied the General that such a Libyan State would be a very effective outer defence line for fascist-dominated South Africa!

British Hypocrisy

But that too is not all. For the interesting fact is that side by side with this very 'revolutionary' proposal for Tripoli, Bevin also came out with the most obviously reactionary demand about Abyssinia; he proposed the integration of Italian and British Somaliland—and the detachment of a Province of Abyssinia, Ogaden, and its addition to this new State; of course, there was to be no 'independence' here; it would be very definitely British territory!

Actually Bevin's proposals for Tripoli and for the Somaliland are part of one and the same plan, all directed to safeguard 'the life-line of British Commonwealth communications' (Bevin's own words), to preserve the crumbling British Empire.

Setting up an independent Tripoli of Bevin's conception will only mean handing over the people of that country to 'the same horrors of British colonial slavery that we in India have gone through.'

The real way out can only be trusteeship—with the aim of creating conditions for the democratic movement in Tripoli to grow. Only this way can Tripoli advance to real independence, based on the strength of a democratic movement that will be able to foil all attempts of Imperialism to enslave and exploit her people.

-M. Kumaramangalam

On Palestine

RECOGNISE IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE

Equal Rights For Arabs And Jews

(The Anglo-American Commission on Palestine set up at the end of last year has just submitted its report; this report has naturally created a furore in the Arab world because it repudiates independence for Palestine and also advocates immigration for 100,000 Jews.

We give here the memorandum submitted by P. Piratin, M.P. and Jack Gaster on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Commission—which gives a sane and balanced picture of the real issues involved and the way out and thus in itself is a 'damning indictment of the Commission's report.—EDITOR).

1. Scope Of The Inquiry

THE COMMUNIST PARTY welcomes this opportunity to give evidence before the Committee, which is sitting to enquire into two problems which the Communist Party has consistently declared to merit the urgent consideration of the United Nations and for the solution of which we have put forward definite proposals.

At the same time, however, we feel it necessary to place on record our disappointment that the authority and the scope of the Committee have been limited by confining membership to the representatives of only two of the United Nations.

This is all the more surprising in view of the close concern of many European Governments with the problem of succouring the Jews, and in view of the proved record of the U.S.S.R. in the past in dealing with precisely those problems with which the present Committee is concerned.

2. The Roots Of Anti-Semitism

WE feel that it is necessary, by way of introduction, to emphasise the historical fact that anti-semitism is NOT an ideological peculiarity of Fascism.

Anti-semitism was a disturbing and malignant social trend in a number of countries long before Fascism rose to power in any country, or was even a recognised political trend.

Excesses committed against Jews have varied in degree in different countries at different times. But it would be possible to show how, at every historical stage and in every society in which anti-semitism has most violently appeared, there have been in that society social and economic stresses and conflicts which threatened to unseat the economically powerful ruling classes.

These conflicts within society have not in essence been between the Jews as such and other sections of population, but it has been convenient for those whose dominant economic position has been threatened by rising popular discontent to divert attention away from themselves by making the Jews a scapegoat.

Anti-semitism is, therefore, not a natural phenomenon but has always been consciously fostered by certain sections of society, especially at times of social discontent.

But it was Fascism which perfected this technique and saw the monstrous potentialities of anti-semitism as a means of diverting the attention of the masses of people away from the real social issues and mobilising their energies in support of the aggressive ambitions of the ruling Fascist clique and its financial backers. With Fascism, anti-semitism became an organised system and an acknowledged part of state policy.

The Communist Party, therefore, urges the Commit-

tee to recognise that, whilst the defeat of the Fascist States has removed the most violent, bestial and organised forms of anti-semitism in the world to-day, nevertheless anti-semitism still lives and will continue to be a danger so long as its causes are not removed.

3. Is Zionism A Solution?

IT is important for the Committee of Inquiry to note the political character of Zionist Movement today.

The Communist Party understands the traditional religious significance to Jewry of Palestine as the Holy Land; and it deeply regrets that this sincere feeling has been used by politicians within Jewry to cloud the real nature of the problems that must be solved on a world basis, to secure to the Jews those democratic rights that are the essential characteristics of all citizens living as equals in free societies.

Jewish national state, Zionism, puts the Jewish people in the position of being the instrument of international and imperialist power politicians in the Middle East.

4. The Jews In Europe

(In SECTION 4 the memorandum deals with the problems of the Jews in Europe, including the Jews displaced from their original homes by Nazi persecution. It suggests that the real solution for their happiness is not immigration into Palestine but:

- (1) Full rights of citizenship for Jews in all countries of which they are nationals, and material assistance to ensure them a decent livelihood.
(2) Attempts to persuade, after a course of rehabilitation and employment, displaced Jews, to return to the countries of their origin.

- (3) If these attempts fail, entry must be allowed, "not under surfrance but as honoured guests with full and equal liberties, to all the free countries of the world." For this purpose obviously—both the American Immigration Law and British arrangements would have to be changed.—EDITOR).

5. Palestine

IT is the view of the Communist Party that the problem of European Jewry and the problem of Palestine are two entirely separate problems.

Any attempt to make the so-

asking what was the Communist view of the reasons for the failure to find in 1948 democratic and representative institutions in Palestine.

Mr. Gaster replied: "It was anticipated in the White Paper that there would be something in the nature of representative and democratic institutions within ten years. We are now reaching towards the end of that ten years, and I think it is correct to say, and you will no doubt ascertain this more fully when you visit Palestine, that there is not an adequate system even of local government based on an adequate democratic franchise recently elected and effectively in operation in many parts of Palestine.

"So far as Palestine is concerned there are causes for the differences and disputes between Arab and Jew that have not yet been adequately brought out, and I would point to this vital factor, that Palestine is not a country of two contending parties. There is a third party there which has not been adequately referred to or adequately considered, and that is the British Empire. Now I might add possibly additional American interests.

These interests have helped to create circumstances in which relations between Jew and Arab have been unable to develop within the ambit of a free Palestine.

I am suggesting that the fact that Palestine is not a free country has contributed to these conditions."

In the circumstances we declare that no country or countries have the right to impose upon another country that is not free or able to express an opinion through its democratic representative institutions, the acceptance of immigrants.

Nor do we believe that it would be in the interests of Jewish Displaced Persons that they should be persuaded to exchange their citizenship of a free country for that of colonial status.

It would be entirely at variance with the declarations

that while in some measure improved services have partially benefited the Arabs, on balance the Arabs have some reason to feel that their economic interests are jeopardised by the present uneven development.

Even prior to this development the Arab peasant had no security of tenure and had difficulty in securing a living from the land by the use of outworn methods. The Jewish development has in fact contributed to the creation of a large mass of landless Arabs who are unable to find a place in Arab industry, which has not been developed to a like extent as Jewish industry, and who are to a large extent excluded from Jewish industry and agriculture by the Zionist policy of the Jewish exclusiveness of labour.

It is to be noted, however, that Jew and Arab work alongside on government installations, and the development in recent years of Arab trade unions is of great importance for the future free development of Palestine on the basis of an equality between its Arab and Jewish inhabitants.

We would draw the attention of the Committee to what we believe to be an important new factor in the present situation, namely, the existence of organised groups within both the Arab and Jewish communities in Palestine who are aware that the solution of the problems of Palestine depends upon Arab-Jewish co-operation within a free Palestine.

Terminate Present Mandate

It is our belief that a just and democratic settlement of the problem of Arab and Jew in Palestine can be found only when the present Mandate is terminated and Palestine achieves the promised goal of independence.

It is our belief that a declaration by the Committee in favour of such independence, the guarantee of equal rights for Arabs and Jews in the future State, and the insistence that points of difference should be left for settlement freely and democratically by the people of Palestine, would immediately help to create the conditions most favourable for co-operation between Arab and Jew.

We suggest that as an immediate step the United Nations Organisation should be asked to assume the responsibility for the interim control of Palestine and should organise the immediate creation of basic democratic units of local government in Palestine which could assist in the preparation of a new constitution for a free Palestine State.

We submit that the Committee should recommend to the Economic Committee of UNO that such financial aid should be granted to Palestine as may be necessary immediately to assist in the development of Arab agriculture and industry so as to correct the present lack of balance in the economic development of that country.

We are convinced that given this basis, there will be no hesitation on the part of the Arabs, on the basis of agreement with the Jews of Palestine, to admit refugees from Fascist persecution as freely as other free countries admit refugees to their shores irrespective of race or religion.

Problem Of The Jews In Europe

We understand how the terrible suffering of Jewry, particularly in Europe, has led thousands of Jews, as an immediate reaction to those sufferings, to believe that they can only find refuge away from their homeland. It is, however, necessary to note that political Zionism, which is of comparatively recent growth, by its activities and propaganda in no way serves to solve the problems of Jewry to combat the growth of anti-semitism.

Additional distress will be unnecessarily caused to thousands of Jews who mistakenly follow the lead of Zionist politicians.

We ask the Committee to consider carefully as one of the political factors which have contributed to the present situation the real effects of the Zionist claim that the Jews must be set up as a nation in their ancient homeland of Palestine.

In our view, political Zionism has to a certain extent contributed towards an intensification of the sufferings of the Jews:—

- (a) Because Zionist policy necessarily denies the possibility of solving the problems of the Jews along the lines of democratic development and full equality of rights within the countries where they live.
(b) By declaring that the only solution must be mass immigration to Palestine, Zionism suggests that anti-semitism is a natural and inevitable evil, and thereby gives support to the contention that the Jew is a "foreigner" in the country of his birth.
(c) By implying a self-imposed alien status upon Jews in the countries where they live, Zionism undermines the consciousness of, and consequently their willingness to fight for, their democratic rights as equal citizens.
(d) By its claim to Palestine as a

solution of one depend upon a solution of the other will create inevitable confusion. We believe that the Zionists, by making this confusion, have in no way helped towards a solution of their problem.

Even if on other grounds there was no objection to the unlimited immigration of Jews into Palestine, still such immigration resulting in Palestine becoming a Jewish State would in no way solve the problem of World Jewry, but would in fact only serve to complicate the position of the Jewish communities in other countries, setting up a conflict of national loyalties and inflaming latent anti-semitic tendencies by giving credence to the idea that the Jews are "foreigners" whose life ought to be made so uncomfortable that they will "go back to Palestine."

Palestine is not a free country and, therefore, cannot be one of those countries to which (in Section 4) we suggest that the entry of the remaining Displaced Persons (displaced Jews of Europe) should be permitted (that is, no immigration should be permitted into Palestine so long as Palestine was not a free country.—Editor).

Palestine is ruled by Britain under a League of Nations Mandate. The White Paper of 1939 proposed that Palestine should become an independent State in ten years, and that in the meantime government should be gradually transferred to representative institutions of the two communities in Palestine.

The Communist Party expresses its regret that so little has been done to implement this undertaking and that neither democratic nor representative institutions are functioning in Palestine in 1946*

(*On this point, a question was put

of the United Nations that questions profoundly affecting the future constitutional, political and social structure of Palestine should be decided upon now by anybody other than the people of Palestine themselves.

In our opinion, therefore, the future of Palestine is something for the people of that country, Jews and Arabs alike, to determine; and the Committee is only called upon to recommend the machinery for them to do so.

Arab-Jew Differences

We are aware of the sharpness of the conflict between Jew and Arab in Palestine today and that this makes difficult that cooperation and mutual confidence that are essential for a people democratically to determine their own future and settle their differences. Nevertheless these differences owe their origin, or have been encouraged to persist, precisely because of the colonial status of Palestine and the absence of democratic machinery for settling differences.

The community of 600,000 Jews in Palestine today has in many ways developed the economy of Palestine. This community has earned the right to live in Palestine in peace alongside the Arabs, and to be free to develop their new home as free and equal citizens of Palestine. New methods of irrigation and agriculture have been introduced, power plants built, and a considerable measure of industrialisation introduced. This has largely been done by the introduction of British and American capital, both Jewish and Gentile.

It must, however, be noted

U.S. MILITARY MIGHT HOISTS LANDLORDS' AND INDUSTRIALISTS' NOMINEE IN POWER

Scales Weighted Against Democratic Movement

THE Presidential elections in the Philippines were held last week, resulting in the victory of Brigadier-General MANUEL ROXAS, the nominee of the extreme Right, of the big landlords and industrial magnates; he defeated former President SERGIS OSMENA, the candidate of the democratic forces.

Roxas has been painted as a dare-devil guerrilla leader who fought the Japanese and was imprisoned by them. Reuter, reporting his victory in the elections, lauds him as one who "was held captive by the Japanese."

Roxas-Japanese Puppet

The truth is that Roxas was the friend and agent of the Imperialists of Japan during their four-year rule of the Philippines; he is today the friend and agent of American Imperialism.

He himself is no people's man, but a millionaire landowner; he has the enthusiastic support of the hacenderos, the lords of the semi-feudal plantations who have dominated the countryside of the Philippines ever since the days of the Spanish conquest; these men are nervous at the growth of the peasant movement, born of the wartime anti-Japanese guerrilla movement.

Roxas is also the favourite of the major American and Spanish business interests, controlling the sugar centrals and the coconut oil industry.

They were anxious to see Roxas elected President as they expected him to continue the economic policy by which the Philippines have developed a lop-sided economy, with export industries catering for the American market favoured at the expense of industries catering for the home market.

The business interests, therefore, back Roxas because they expect that with Roxas in power, the Philippines though formally an independent State (on July 4, 1946 it will be so declared), in fact continues to be America's colony

Imperialist Support

This is Roxas' base of support in the Islands, and it comes from those elements who helped the Japs to exploit the Philippines from 1942 to 1945.

Roxas himself was a prominent Japanese puppet; he helped to draft the puppet constitution, he supported the declaration of war on the U.S. and Britain, and worst of all, as the Chairman of the Jap-sponsored Economic Planning Board, he worked his hardest to secure rice for the Japanese, while Filipino guerrillas were dying to keep rice out of

Japanese hands. Of course, with all this against him, Roxas should today be in jail as a traitor to his people. That he is not, is due almost entirely to General MacArthur.

The General, before the war, was for many years in the Philippines, and was closely associated with the big landlord-capitalist elements. He himself owns considerable interests in two big firms, the Ajocé Chromite Co. and the Antamok Gold Mines.

Naturally, as soon as he arrived in the Philippines, he linked up with his old friends. This was all the easier for him because the two most important men on his staff who were responsible for taking over the administration of the Philippines, were themselves closely linked with these business-landlord interests.

The first was Colonel Andres Soriano, millionaire businessman and former chief representative of the Spanish Fascist dictator, Franco; the second was U.S. Brigadier-General Courtney Whitney, who also has big interests in mining, banking, shipping and sugar industries in the Islands.

Between them Whitney and Soriano saved Roxas from arrest as a war criminal. Instead in April 1945 Roxas was put on active duty with the rank of Brigadier-General in General MacArthur's headquarters.

The tale they put out was that Roxas was not really a puppet, but that he had been leading a double-life. Yet the fact is that Roxas' name is not to be found in the list of Philippine anti-Jap fighters, issued by the U.S. Army Command in May 1945!

Democratic Opposition

Against Roxas was President Sergio Osmena; he was supported by the entire middle-class elements of the Nationalist Party, a small Pro-democratic Party called the Popular Front and the Democratic Alliance, all supporting a programme calling for political and economic independence and broad social reform.

Of the coalition, the most dynamic is the Democratic Alliance. It includes the peasant unions, trade unions, Lawyers' Guild, Civil Liberties Union, the Communist Party, and several guerrilla groups, including the strongest, the Communist-led guerrillas of the Hukbalapap or the People's Anti-Japanese Army.

The Huks—as they are popularly called—grew out of the pre-war tenant organisations which fought to improve the serf-like conditions of the peasants. During the war, these peasants fought the Japs while the absentee landlords, like Roxas joined the Japs. The Huks kept the rice from the landlords and the Japs and divided it among the tilling and fighting peasants.

After the war they have campaigned for a substantial improvement in peasant conditions and have rallied great mass support. Knowing full well the reactionary nature of the administration, they have hidden much of their arms to defend their unions against the landlord-dominated police.

Why Roxas Won

But the scales have been too heavily weighted against the supporters of Osmena. The

entire weight of the American military administration was thrown behind Roxas. American military police jailed hundreds of peasant and guerrilla leaders, and unseated democratically elected local officials, replacing them by nominees of the landlords. Worst of all, they made it almost impossible for the Left to work publicly in many areas.

On top of this, a Philippine Army and Constabulary of almost 200,000 has been trained and armed for keeping "law and order"; there are also almost as many U.S. troops still in the Islands.

All this favoured Roxas—particularly as he succeeded in getting three important anti-Roxas newspapers closed down, by effectively denying them paper and printing facilities.

It was all this together that led to Roxas' victory, but there is no doubt that THE decisive factor was the support of the U.S. military authorities.

And Roxas' victory marks the victory of the most reactionary section of the Filipino people, the big landlord-industrialists, the friends and agents of U.S. Imperialism. His victory means that Philippine democracy has a hard battle before it is successful in winning real independence and ending U.S. political and economic domination of the country.

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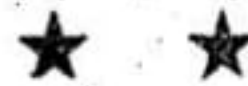
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Tan Malacca Not A Communist

I HAVE just met a British Communist, who has come straight from Indonesia with a letter for the Ceylon Communist Party from the Communist Party of Indonesia (KPI).

He told me that TAN MALACCA is not a member of the KPI, but, as far as he could ascertain, was once a member but had been expelled many years ago. Malacca had, it seems, been guilty of Leftist deviations and disruptive activity.

From another source I heard that Tan Malacca was one of the main leaders of an organisation known as the PEOPLE'S FRONT (PF) formed out of 144 parties and organisations, including the KPI.

The PF was nominally in support of the Sjahrir Government. But as far as its leadership was concerned, it was, in fact, disrupting the formation of a broad national front and the strengthening of the Government. It prevented the inclusion of all parties in the Government, by insisting on immediate social and economic changes of an almost socialist nature and by maintaining its own private armies separated both from the official Republican Army and from each other.

I gather now that the PF is in a process of disintegration, and many of the constituent organisations have withdrawn from it.

According to the same source, the immediate cause of Tan Malacca's arrest was a speech in which he said that Indonesian rule must extend to all the Netherlands East Indies, Borneo, New Guinea, Malaya, the Celebes and that its sphere of influence must cover the whole of Australia! It seems that a whole nest of Dutch

agents has been discovered sheltering under the wing of the PF.

In view of these facts, I hope you will make a correction in the P.A. informing your readers of the real position of Tan Malacca.

Pieter Koucnemann, General Secretary, Ceylon Communist Party.

Colombo, 12th April, 1946.

By Cable

We have noticed in a recent number of People's Age a mention of Tan Malacca as the Indonesian Communist leader. This is entirely incorrect. Malacca is a Trotskyite.

—Central Committee, Australian Communist Party, Sydney, 30th April, 1946.

On the 26th, a procession of two thousand marched 15 miles in the blazing sun to the city. The representatives of the Union formed at the meeting have met the Commanding Officer, but he was not prepared to move an inch.

Today there is a strong rumour that the workers' leaders will be arrested. May I, through your columns, draw the attention of your readers to the callous indifference of the Commanding Officer, and also to the criminal conditions of work in the ammunition factories in India?

Sunil Das Gupta.

Benares.

Army Rations

RATION scales for civilians all over India have been brought down to 12-ounces. But what about rations for the Army? The scale of rations for the Indian soldier is 23-ounces. He can draw 16-ozs. rice and 6-ozs. atta or 16-oz. atta and 6-oz. rice. This is the basic scale in the India Command (excluding the SEAC) and does not include sugar, dal, vegetables and meat.

Many of us soldiers are of the opinion that we should share the burdens of our people alike. In any case, a large proportion of our rations never reaches us, being eaten up by contractors, dishonest officers and others. But it is taken away from the people.

Some of us here are doing our bit to make voluntary cuts provided that what is left over goes to Indians and is not eaten up by the British and the profiteers by some trick or another.

Will you take up this question in your paper?

HAVILDAR, Indian Army Ordnance Corps, Bombay.

8 Killed In Benares Explosion

ON the 24th of April, some bombshells exploded in the Lohita Ammunition Depot, ten miles from Benares. Eight workers were killed.

It was sheer negligence as far as I can make out. The shells had to be repaired and should not have been removed. But despite this the officers insisted on removal.

The following day, the 25th, all the three thousand workers of the Depot struck work, demanding compensation for the families of the dead and for the injured, and a risk allowance to all workers.

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