

REJECT THE BRITISH PLAN - COMMUNIST

APPEAL TO THE A.I.C.C.

PEOPLE'S AGE

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After three months of haggling, which have exposed British claims of sincerity but proved their imperialism, which have brought no honour to Indian citizenship, but only the humiliation of one British ruler after another, which have produced in our free-loving people the mood of cynicism or disgust, the way is faced with a critical choice.

Congress leadership decided to go into British-manufactured Constitution-making Body "with a mandate from the people of a free, united and democratic India." (Working Committee Resolution). The British plan provides for these historic names, or is the Congress going into an imperialist trap? There is every reason to be deeply critical of this ship whose long record years has been one series of nursing illnesses that have always burst more and more until they have rallied behind Congress, despite greater and greater demands for freedom of the country. The British plan is proposed, it is not a matter of words of that matter, but the British-offered Constitution-making Body, for that reason, is a trap to be avoided. The mission's basic decision of May 16 and the numbers exchanged is: British opened the their Indian prison-

by **P. C. Joshi**

mism, viz., that "after dealing with the British we will deal with the Princes." It is in the States that the British are creating the new material means to stay in India. State armies are being trained and strengthened, new cantonments and airports opened as also naval yards, new war industries started.

The British proposals are an imperialist conspiracy against the independence of our country and the future of our people. Maulana Azad, however, has declared that they mark a "decisive step towards our goal."

It will be the bounden duty of the AIOC to ask the leadership, ● Where have the British quit India?

British masters of the situation. Responsibility Of AICC.

An unprecedented responsibility rests on the A.I.C.C. It has to lead and not be led by the Working Committee. It has to save the Congress from falling into the British trap. It has to direct how to force Indian freedom out of British hands.

It can do so only if it calls for a decisive break from the compromising policy and disruptive tactics that the Congress leadership has been pursuing so far.

It must call for mobilisation of Indian strength and stop all talk of British sincerity.

It must call the people into action. It must give quit orders to the British rulers and call for preparations for the final bid for power.

The issue is grave beyond words.

Will the oldest and greatest of our freedom organisations lead the battle for freedom or will its leaders walk into the imperialist trap at the cost of Indian independence and the immediate future of our freedom movement?

just basis that the Muslim masses will see through the tactics of their own reactionary leadership in relying upon the British, and the Congress will be able to get their support over the heads of their own leaders, if they resist.

If the Congress can combine acceptance of self-determination together with prompt measures by the Congress Ministers for the abolition of landlordism and ending profiteering, it will not only rouse the common Mussalmans, allay their suspicions about Hindu capitalism within the Congress but make it difficult for the Muslim feudal landlord leadership within the League itself to escape unity.

The Birlas have got to be thrown out of the Congress fold before expecting the common Mussalmans to see that the Ispahani and the Noons are also thrown out of the League fold.

The most important issue facing our freedom movement and which the British are able to exploit to stay longer in our land is the controversy

confidence in vested interests and bureaucracy, while discouraging and repressing the masses.

All this must immediately cease if the new forces rising to challenge imperialism are to be united in a single battle.

Every aid and encouragement must be given to people's movement in every State in their fight for popular representation, responsible Government and self-determination. Rapid development of the States' peoples' movement will not only expand and strengthen our freedom movement but knock down the central pillar of the British plan.

Similarly every encouragement must be given to the mass struggles of the workers and peasants for their immediate demands. The Ministries should not be a party to repressing their struggles. On the other hand they must support mass initiative for mass demands.

Besides they must take immediate measures guaranteeing better standard of life, better housing and social services to the workers. They must help the peasant in his fight against landlord oppression and for irrigation facilities and announce moratorium on all peasant debts.

Such a policy would line up the entire mass of workers and peasants and common people against the British plan, for freedom's battle.

- ★ All Power To The Constituent Assembly!
- ★ Unequivocal Declaration Of Self-Determination!
- ★ All Support To People's Struggles!

How are you not going into the British trap?

How are the Cabinet Mission's proposals any different from the Cripps' proposals? Except that some details have been filled in? The Congress weaker in 46 than it was in 1942 must accept today what it must accept today what is rejected? How can we trust British sincerity and your stateship when you have come empty-handed, without an Interim Government? There will be no straight answer from the Congress leadership because there can be none. The fundamental issue is simple straight. The Congress leadership wants to give a trial to the British imperial plan. It must be decisively rejected, lock, stock and barrel.

Fusing Basic Issues

Every effort will be made by leadership to confuse the basic issues also. Following are the issues:

(1) Virtues of the British plan should not be sung and should be pointed out as much as was possible has been achieved.

(2) Acceptance of the British plan will be veiled as saving India from partition.

The League put forward the notorious unjust demand of provinces. Should not the Congress have taken the initiative to declare acceptance of self-determination on a just basis?

The League leadership played a British favour by declaring Dominion Status, agreeing to keep the British army and offering good trade to the British rulers. Is League leadership any justification for the Congress putting recognition of independence and transfer of power in the background?

Both weakened of independence against the British, the League leadership went all out to get partition through British aid and the Congress to save unity of India the same way. The competition for British favour made the

All Power To Constituent Assembly

The very basis of the British-made Constitution-making Body must be challenged and the British plan blown sky high.

The very first thing the Congress delegation should demand is ALL POWER TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, so that Indian independence is recognised to begin with, its structure built through the Assembly so that its reality emerges out of it. They must demand:

- * (i) Immediate recognition of complete independence.
- * (ii) Withdrawal of British troops within six months.
- * (iii) Blunt refusal to let the Princes come into the Constitution-making Body. Only elected representatives of the States' people can represent them.
- * (iv) Transfer of power to a free Provisional Government.
- * (v) Settlement of Sterling Balances within six months.

If the British refuse, the Constitution-making Body should be broken up and the struggle called upon to prepare.

The British will expose the face to the whole world and bring the British face to face with our irreconcilable aim. If they dare refuse they take its own consequences but will not get the chance to act the arbiters of our destiny.

Declaration Of Self-Determination

The Congress should call upon the League for co-operation in the above demands for immediate power and offer guarantees for the rule of justice in our land based on people's will, and realising people's welfare.

To inspire confidence in all communities, above all among Muslims, and open the prospects of a joint front for a joint struggle the Congress must declare for unconditional acceptance of the right of self-determination, including secession, on the basis of just national boundaries of every Indian nationality.

Only when the Congress puts its case on an equal

Against Compromising Policy

The chief responsibility for fighting against the British plan inside the Congress and for a policy of encouraging mass struggles lies on the Left elements. The Left elements stand for no compromise. They see through the diabolical British plan. They see how the temper of our people is rising. Will they muster sufficient clarity and courage to speak and fight for a policy which alone saves national honour, is based on just democratic principles and becomes the practical platform for the next phase of our freedom movement?

All Support To People's Struggles

The Congress leadership has trimmed its sails for compromise with the imperialist plan of slavery and division precisely when the stage in India is set for a long-drawn out and final battle against an imperialist rule and its unendurable exploitation.

The events of the past few months offer an indication of the rising temper of the Indian people.

The INA strikes, the RIN mutiny, the strikes of the police and military personnel, the gigantic strike-wave that is sweeping across India and throws tens of thousands of workers into the fight against exploitation and poverty, the growing battles of the peasants against landlord oppression, and finally the outburst of the States peoples' discontent in States like Kashmir, where the entire people is in revolt, clearly prove that a big upsurge is on and if the Congress but wills to unite it the entire force of our people can be thrown in a final battle against imperialism.

But instead the Congress leadership pursues a policy of discouraging mass actions and people's struggles in its hurry for compromise with imperialism.

It discourages the big struggles of the States by this is getting breaking out of the Princes feel the autocratic rule of India. To save its Ministry

Launch Country-Wide Campaign

The present policy of commanding the people to hold back and trust the leaders should be reversed by a country-wide campaign calling upon the people to use their own limbs against their immediate oppressors and for a better life for themselves.

All the forces of our people must be released and prepared for the fight and for power set afoot and abiding foundation. The gravest danger faced our freedom is to say has to be avoided, a gentlemen banned from the cheek to comprehend the party in the food. You have brought on our and are doing your swinish best to intensify? What have you to say about it? Or are your stomachs too well-lined with the fat of our land for you to reply?

Ramesh Chandra

FOOD IMPORTS--ILLUSIONS AND REALITY

Recent weeks have been weeks of the great illusion of 'Indo-British co-operation'. The British, we thought, had given us independence. We thought we were getting an Interim Government which could really look after all Indian interests and put India first.

NATURALLY, there were illusions about importing food. There was 'optimism' when the Press splashed news about increased Anglo-American 'allocations' to India.

What was the guarantee the food ships would actually arrive at Indian ports? They had broken promises all through from January to May. The coming Interim Government, it was thought, will stand no nonsense and see that there was no last-minute hitch.

But now there is darkness where there was light. There will be no Interim Government operating as a go-ahead Free Government. Instead, there will only be a 'Caretaker Government' of officials!

It is time, therefore, to take a sober look at the food imports balance-sheet in this honeymoon month of June.

American Blackmail

Members of People's Age will remember that early in June, I reviewed the position in May and said that a world food war was on. The chief actors were the United States and the British Empire countries (Canada and Australia, led by Britain)—which are the world's biggest exporters.

The American big banks which control American food production had vetoed exports to India and the starving world because they wanted 'free trade' and cut-throat profits.

They gave first preference to American cattle and pigs because they got more profits that way than by feeding men and women. They were feeding nine million tons of wheat to cattle—enough to prevent a single death in India in 1946 and leave one-third again to spare for their precious cattle.

Their second best 'customers' were American families who were eating more than is necessary for good health and three times as much as we in India.

The United States Administration accepted this veto because President Truman is the office-boy of American Big Business. He refused to commandeer wheat and feed American pigs on inferior grain. He refused to make Americans eat a little less by giving them rationed bread in reasonable quantities.

Japan-Only Exception

The only exception he made was in the case of America's new colony Japan. There American rule was being made popular by giving the Japanese bigger meals than they had before the war (they had, and had the best diet in Asia).

According to the American 'Britain's business', America's concern.

on the other also playing a big game. Canadian harvests and

most as high as the American meal. Besides, they wanted to do in the British zone in Germany what the Americans were doing in Japan: give them the highest rations in Europe to make Germans fond of British rule.

Food Power Politics

So enslaved India was the starving football kicked about in the devilish Anglo-American game of food power politics.

The upshot was that out of every 25 Indians who would starve in 1946 without imports, less than nine would be kept alive if imports go on at the rate at which we received them from January to May.

Such were the 'blessings' of Indo-British cooperation which was so much in the air when the Cabinet Mission was carrying on negotiations.

Let us now see whether there has been any radical change in June. There is no doubt that there is SOME improvement. Twelve ships have left American shores and are expected to arrive in India by the end of July or the beginning of August, carrying about 85,000 tons.

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao of the Indian Food Mission at Washington has said that India has been promised 232,450 tons of

grain in June from the United States, Canada and Australia.

For the May-September period, India has been 'allocated' by the Anglo-American Combined Food Board, 1,165,000 tons as against her demand for 2,336,000 tons.

Anybody can see that the January-May policy of bluntly re-

fusing to promise India anything has been given up. The USA shipped almost as much in June (85,000 tons) as she shipped in the five months from January to May (99,000 tons) to India.

No Real Change

But is this improvement likely to continue for the rest of the year?

It cannot, unless there is a clear break with the whole policy of appeasing American big farming interests and of using food as a weapon in power politics.

And there are no signs at all that food is being given up as a weapon of power politics.

First of all, let us study American and British export policy. The Americans and Canadians are exporting more all right. But there is no change in their basic policy of giving Japan and Germany preference over India.

This is borne out by a state-

ment by Bajpal of the Indian Food Mission at Washington in New Delhi on June 6th:

'All is by no means plain sailing... paper allocations and the arrival of foreign food in India at a time we need it most are two different things... the fact that food remains an important political weapon and the needs of former enemy countries get the highest priority makes the situation not so rosy as far as we are concerned.'

Our Competitors

Then take the question of our competitors—American cattle.

It seems that American cattle are going to be favoured more than ever before and probably wreck whatever export programme is now in hand.

A Reuter message dated June 19th from Washington says:

'The Senate version of the O.P.A. (Office of Price Administration) Bill is considered to offer two serious threats to the famine programme.

1) If controls over meat are lifted all present measures adopted to cut down the feeding of grain to livestock will virtually be wiped out and,

2) an amendment in the Senate version will direct the Agriculture Department to release Government grain—bought under the recent bonus plan for immediate shipment abroad—to domestic

poultry-raisers and dairy-men'.

It looks as if we have a new army of competitors to deal with—American poultry!

Bread Rationing

Finally, there is no real advance towards cutting down American and British bread consumption to a reasonable level—which alone would help tide over the world food crisis.

For weeks now, Truman has been 'appealing' for 'voluntary rationing' and one of his departments—the Office of Price Stabilisation—is known to have prepared 'plans' for the introduction of bread rationing.

The following piece of news from New York in the Times of India, dated 11th June, shows that there is no progress:

'Following the failure of New York's voluntary bread rationing, a scheme of the U.S. Government to ration wheat and flour, if the country's present shortage of bread continues, was made known on Saturday....

'In order that more grain may be shipped to famine-stricken areas abroad, potatoes instead of bread will be urged upon consumers throughout the nation... a Government-backed program aimed at placing history's get potato crop on the American dinner-table'.

Vague Talk

This been the T. R.

ANGLO-DUTCH IMPERIALIST HOLD-UP OF INDONESIAN RICE FOR INDIA

Nothing shows up more maddeningly our plight as Britain's slaves than the Anglo-Dutch imperialist hold-up of Indonesian rice offered to India as long ago as last February.

DR. SJAHRIR, of the Indonesian Republic offered Pandit NEHRU 500,000 tons of rice—or half as much as the Anglo-Americans have 'allocated' to India for the second half of 1946 (July-December).

In fact, if Anglo-American promises are kept, this Indonesian rice is enough to finally put India above the safety margin for 1946. Any sane Government would have jumped at the offer and brought shiploads of Indonesian rice home long ago.

Not so the British Government which rules Indonesia for the Dutch, nor the India Government, which rules India for the British.

For five months they did nothing, nor let others do anything. Pandit Nehru was banned from going to Indonesia to clinch the offer.

What Is Behind It

What was the reason? Their Dutch friends, it seems, were 'alarmed'! This would mean 'de facto recognition' of the 'rebel' Republic. Unthinkable! There was another reason too.

The Republic wanted textiles, foreign exchange and agricultural implements from India in return for the rice. If this went through, the Republic would be put on a sound economic footing and give ten times more trouble to the Dutch.

So the British drifted. They pretended they were dying to get Indian aid for India. But after all, could not let down their Dutch

But by the end of May, the British were panicky that the Americans might really let India blow up and leave the British to burn their fingers there. Besides, at New Delhi, the atmosphere of 'Indo-British co-operation' was being 'created'.

So they talked of the Bombay Food Minister DINKERRAO DESAI being sent to Indonesia to clinch Dr. Sjahrir's offer.

Nothing was heard of Desai's visit for some time. But a Government official, K. L. PUNJABI, was actually sent off by air.

Propaganda Stepped Up

After that, they stepped up the propaganda that Indonesian rice was on the way and the Indian Press also joined in.

On June 6th, the Batavia correspondent of the Bombay Free Press Journal reported hopefully:

'The Indonesian Government have been informed... according to reports current here, of the departure from India of four ships, to bring rice from Indonesia'.

The British Food Secretary to the India Government, HUTCHINGS, gave the official 'stamp' to this news when he said at New Delhi on the 7th of June:

'A 9,000 ton ship will shortly leave Calcutta for Indonesia and he hoped it would be loading by the third week of June.'

An API message from Madras dated June 14th also struck a very optimistic note:

'Indonesian rice should reach this country very shortly. The first consignment of 30,000 tons of paddy is expected to arrive in Madras some time in July....'

There is no harm in hoping that the British are getting some rice simply because there is no other way to get it.

want to put off a break-down as long as possible.

But it is very unlikely that the new 'Caretaker Government' is going to do anything beyond getting only symbolic amounts at best.

There is nothing to show the Dutch have 'softened' their stiff opposition. Nor that the British are going ahead in spite of the Dutch.

A Free Press Journal report from New Delhi, dated June 4th, said 'prospects are improving'. But, it added, it all depends on whether,

1) a direct India-Indonesia agreement will be pulled off quick and,

2) Dutch help will be got in arranging transport (the Dutch control—thanks to British arms—the three chief ports in Indonesia).

The report added that a delegation including the Bombay Food Minister—is expected to leave 'shortly' to negotiate the agreement but final decision is 'awaiting Dutch co-operation'.

It is not yet known when rice from Java is to be received nor is there any possibility in the immediate future of the Food Minister of the Bombay Government going to Java to negotiate the import of rice from there....

It is too early, therefore, to start crowing about Indonesian rice and feeling relieved.

Nothing except a Provisional Indian Government with full powers can break through the Anglo-Dutch death blockade and put India out of danger. The least that can be done immediately is for the India Government to guarantee shipping facilities for an Indian All-Party Food Mission to go to Indonesia to clinch the deal. Punjabi has been wasting his time there long enough. It is time he got the sack.

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OUR MONTHS OF UNCHECKED REPRESSION

Communist Memorandum Demands Full Civil Liberties

In Delhi, under the shadow of the Four White men, who pose as our "Liberators", a reign of terror has prevailed for the last four months.

FILE the Four White the 7th March (anti-Victory Men played at being Day) demonstrations; volunteers' parade and display of assistants—the I.C.S. sahibs weapons; and the return of Delhi—gave us a glimpse of fines imposed in connection with the Rashid Day demonstrations.

en all over the country, Those undergoing imprisonment in connection with the above include, among others, White man's rule in Delhi, Muslim League leaders like Mr. Anis Hashmi and Mr. Ayub Ahmad Kirmani, and Communist trade unionists like Ram Chander Sharma (President, Delhi Trade Union Committee), Ismail Farooqi (Secretary D.E.S.T. Employees' Union), Maulana Abdul Wahid (Office Secretary, Delhi Provincial Shop-Assistants' Federation), R. G. Mitra (a leader of railway workers) and Ali Dad Khan (an active worker of the D.E.S.T. Employees' Union).

increase, in Delhi meetings processions were banned Section 144.

side the jails, inhuman treatment was meted out to political prisoners. Under the repression continues to unabated.

Delhi Committee of the Communist Party has begun a campaign to end this reign of terror. At a meeting, on June 16, attended by representatives of all of Delhi's unions and other leaders, a special memorandum on Civil Liberties in Delhi, the Communist Party demands:

Release Prisoners

Release of all the political prisoners convicted in connection with the Rashid Day and the Defence of India Rules and

other Sections of I.P.C. in connection with the demonstrations of the 7th March.

Better Treatment

3. Better Class (C.D.M.) treatment for all political workers in jail.

(This particularly and immediately applies to Mr. Ismail Farooqi, Secretary D.E.S.T. Employees' Union; Mr. R. C. Mitra, a railway trade unionist; Maulana Abdul Wahid, Office Secretary, Delhi Provincial Shop-Assistants' Federation and Mr. Ali Dad Khan, a tramway worker and a trade unionist.

These four Communists have been convicted under section 38 D.I.R. They are well-known political workers and have been convicted for a political offence. They are being treated as "C" class prisoners. We demand that immediate orders must be passed for their better class treatment.)

4. Release of all the August '42 prisoners, whatever the nature of their "Crime". (Congress Ministries have released all the political prisoners, irrespective of the "seriousness of their crime").

5. Lifting of bans on the Congress-Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc.

6. Lifting of ban on processions and the use of loud-speaker for public announcement.

7. Withdrawal of Section 144.

Withdraw Cases

2. Withdrawal of cases against Mr. M. Farooqi, Secretary of the Delhi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India, Mr. M. Yamin (Provincial Communist leader); Mr. Shakil Ahmad (Provincial Communist leader); Messrs. Bawa Ram Chander, Ram Chander Tiyagi, N. N. Manna, Ram Singh (leaders of the Delhi textile workers) and Sikh leaders like Sardar Bhagat Singh Kirti and Sardar Amar Singh, and others.

They are being tried under the Defence of India Rules and

Malabar Welcomes K.P.R.

And His Other Released Comrades

K. P. R. GOPALAN and his fifteen other comrades, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1941 in the famous Morazha and Mattannur cases, have been released by the Madras Congress Ministry. They arrived in Calicut on June 23. In torrential rains, fifteen hundred people gathered at the railway station to receive them.

THESE Communists, veteran Kisan and Congress workers of North Malabar, were arrested after the incidents of September 15, 1940, when the people responding to the call of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee to observe that day as an anti-repression day, held meetings throughout Malabar defying the ban of District Magistrates.

In many places there were clashes between the people and the police. At Morazha, a police Sub-Inspector was killed; at Mattannur, a Head Constable died.

Among those released are MOOLA POKKAN, a 65-year old peasant who was subjected to inhuman tortures in the police lock-up when he refused to shout "Congress Murdabad, Imperialism Zindabad" after arrest; P. SANKARAN NAMBIAR, whom the police could arrest only after disabling him by shooting; T. Raghavan, who refused to turn approver against K. P. R. and was beaten till he became unconscious; and K. Achutan, who went to jail as a stout young man and has returned a rheumatic, walking on crutches.

The local Communists organised a grand reception for the released heroes in the evening. K. P. R. Gopalan spoke to a vast audience of more than eight

thousand people who had come inspite of rains to welcome their leaders.

He told the story of his arrest and trial. The Session Judge of North Malabar had sentenced him only to seven years' rigorous imprisonment and had clearly stated in his judgment that there was no case of murder against him.

The Judge had remarked that many of the witnesses produced by the police against the accused had given false evidence and could not be relied upon.

Still when the police appealed to the Madras High Court, he expected that he and his comrades would get justice and be released; but on the other hand he was sentenced to death and his comrades for life. It was the united agitation of the people that saved him from the gallows.

He thanked the Congress Ministry and the people for his and his comrades' release and appealed to the people to forge greater strength, unity and save our entire country from the gallows of famine and prison of imperialism.

The Madras Government have also cancelled warrants pending against nine Communists in Malabar and six accused in the Morazha Case, one accused in the Kayyur Case and two for escaping from jail.



Where Dirt Collects

THE hierarchy of the Chamber of Princes is discussing the question of appointing two new "advisers". It's all very hush-hush yet. But a friend has sent me the full story.

Can you guess who are the two hottest favourites for these adviserships?

Well—think of the biggest toadies in India....

Yes, you are quite right. The first is Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, who has made SUCH a big name for himself in the UNO that the London Times has been praising him to the seventh heavens. (We know whom the Times eulogises and WHY).

The second? No...NOT Sir Firoz Khan Noon...he missed this time, and hasn't landed this job.

The second is that champion famine-creator Sir J. P. Srivastava.

These two prize boys of the British, now that they are no longer to be Wavell's Executive Councillors, are to become 'advisers' to the Princes.

Mudaliar, with his "international contacts", will fix up treaties with foreign powers for the "Independent" States! And, of course, his high credit with the British will stand the Princes in good stead (so the Princes think). And his key job among the Princes will doubtless stand his masters, the British, in good stead. So everybody is very happy about it.

Srivastava is to be the economic expert. Doubtless because of his over-successful handling of India's food situation! BUT may be also because he is so closely linked with Indian Big Business. And our Princes are desperately anxious to make a closer and closer "strictly business" alliance with the Birla-Tata tribe.

And so—Mudaliar and Srivastava are off to the Chamber of Princes....

By the way, have you noticed how all the dirt in our land is making a helter-skelter drive to the comparative 'safety' of the States?

Worry In G.H.Q.

ON May 23, the Quarter Master General up at GHQ in New Delhi had to send out instructions about the use of the military in ports. He was very worried according to a report I have just received on the state of his mind. And this is what he was worried about.

You see a number of similar orders had been sent out about the use of troops for civilian jobs "in case of emergency". And the way the troops had reacted to these suggestions sounded a bit like "mutiny."

"Strike breaking?" growled the troops, "NOT WE."

So the old man, the Quarter Master General, sat and wrote a highly confidential letter to the headquarters of the Northern, Southern and Eastern Commands. This is what he wrote, according to my report:

"In the event of strikes and disturbances occurring in ports as a result of which military traffic and other vital traffic as for instance the import of foodstuffs is threatened, it may become necessary for the Central Government to issue an order under Sub-Rule 3A of Rule 81 of the Defence of India Rules, directing the employment of persons subject to the Indian Army Act in public utility services in ports."

How Touching!

And then as a sweet sugar-coating, the old man wrote an apologetic second para:

"It should be realised by all concerned that it is not intended to use troops for strike breaking. The object of such action is to ensure that military ships and ships bringing food to India are cleared and unloaded, and that the port is kept in operation to the extent required. To enable this to be done, would you please ensure that this is generally understood?"

Not strike-breaking....oh NO! All in the interests of India. To save

OUR Motherland from famine. What nobler task could there be! Not strike breaking at all...."Please ensure that this is generally understood."

It's the devil quoting the scriptures.

How touching that your dirty imperialist souls, responsible for our starvation and our hunger, are worried about our famine now.

Only it's funny your worry only comes when you want to use the threat of famine to throttle our upsurge for freedom....Funny but quite simple to understand.

Food Ships

TALKING of famine and food-ships....on June 11, the Press flashed the news that the S.S. Jalaveera was to sail from Calcutta with two million yards of textiles for Indonesia, which it would exchange for FOOD.

It certainly looked as though the British had yielded to India's agitation and were being forced to fetch the Indonesian Premier's promised five lakh tons. But no! The whole plan was blown up....

The S.S. Jalaveera sailed on June 20 all right. And for Indonesia all right.

But not with textiles, not for our food.

It went with a secret cargo instead....a secret cargo of British and American ammunition loaded right to capacity, escorted by a squadron of planes.

Now what do you have to say about it, you prim White gentlemen of New Delhi who have the cheek to lecture us on our duty in the food crisis you have brought on our heads and are doing your swinish best to intensify?

What have you to say about it? Or, are your stomachs too well-filled with the fat of our land for you to reply?

Ramesh Chandra

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 - National Book Agency, 12, Bankim Chatterjee Street, CALCUTTA.
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CONFIDENCE TRICKERY NOT SINCERE NEGOTIATIONS TO TRANSFER POWER

Cabinet Mission's Double-Dealing To Impose British Plan Exposed

When the curtain went up on the last scene of the British Cabinet Mission's drama on Indian soil there was a sensational denouement.

The publication of the Azad-Wavell and Wavell-Jinnah correspondence exposed, for even the blindest to see, that Wavell not without the full knowledge and active support of the Cabinet Ministers had made parallel but mutually exclusive promises to the Congress and the League to induce them to accept the British plan.

None who had done such a thing could lay any claim to sincere intentions or honesty of purpose. In fact this is the role played by the Cabinet Mission throughout the three-month long negotiations.

group assemblies B & C comprising the six provinces demanded by the League.

The Cabinet Mission cleverly kept silent on all those issues which had raised big controversy at the Simla Conference, such as how the Union Centre and Legislature were to be constituted, whether the Centre would raise finances through the power of taxation or on the basis of voluntary contribution, etc.

Powers Of Interim Govt.

With regard to the powers and status of the proposed Interim Government Wavell, with the complete approval of the Cabinet Mission, played the same game.

In order to induce the League to accept the final proposals, the League was assured that the Interim Government would operate under the existing constitution and that the League need have no fear of the Congress sabotaging its Pakistan as Wavell would still have the power of veto.

To the Congress on the other hand, Wavell made assurances that though no constitutional changes could be made because of the League opposition he would, however, function like a constitutional head and would not interfere in the majority decisions of the Interim Government.

It is in fact to this that Maulana Azad refers in his letter of May 25 to Wavell.

The Cheating On Parity

It is, however, on the question of parity in the Interim Government that the Cabinet Mission's hand was crudely revealed.

There is not the slightest doubt that Mr. Jinnah was induced to hurry the League acceptance of the final proposals with the definite assurance that the Interim Government would be based on the ratio of 5:5:2, thus assuring parity of both sorts, party and communal.

In fact, Mr. Jinnah himself seems to have thought this too good to be true, and, therefore, insisted on more than one occasion as to whether this was a definite assurance which could be communicated to his League Council as a fait accompli.

Wavell assured him that it was so and in fact went further and said that even the important portfolios would be distributed on the basis of parity between the Congress and the League.

For the first time in many years Mr. Jinnah did not care to wait for the Congress decision but went ahead and accepted the final proposals and all those who were present in Delhi

for the League Council session noticed the sense of exultation among League Councillors over the fact that their Qaid-e-Azam had played his tactics superbly, leaving the Congress trailing far behind.

Having led the League up the garden path Wavell had no hesitation in disregarding the assurances given to Mr. Jinnah.

The problem that faced the Cabinet Mission and Wavell was not at all the formation of an Interim Government to solve immediate problems but one of securing the acceptance by the Congress of the final proposals. That is why the Interim Government issue was used as a bait to secure Congress acceptance of the final plan.

Therefore to the Congress Wavell offered 5:5:2 by giving one more seat to a Congress Scheduled Caste representative.

When the Congress rejected the scheme Wavell wrote quite shamelessly on June 15 as follows:

"Our discussions in regard to the Interim Government have been on the basis of political parties and not communities. I understand that this is regarded as preferable now as it was at the first Simla Conference.

"In the proposed Interim Government of myself and thirteen others, there will be six Congressmen and five Muslim Leaguers. I do not see how this can be called parity. Nor is there parity between Hindus and Muslims there being six Hindus to five Muslims."

At the same time Mr. Jinnah was being assured that the new formula was 5:5:3, and that parity would not be disturbed.

The Final Award

In spite of this, when the Congress rejected the 5:5:2 formula, the final award on the Interim Government was given.

It is significant that the award said not a word about parity. It was in fact the main controversial topic for several days. The award increased the total number of members to fourteen, gave the Congress six seats, but attempted to win League acceptance by including Engineer who was by no means pro-Congress.

In fact it gave only a list of names so that each side could claim that its basic demand had been granted, the League could maintain that it had parity with Caste Hindus and the Congress could with equal force maintain that parity had been smashed.

During the last stage of negotiations the cynical selfishness of the British ruling class stood completely exposed.

Mr. Jinnah finding that the Congress had been granted a straight majority and that the assurances given to the League had been given up demanded:

FIRST, that the majority should not be able to set the League wishes at naught and that Wavell should exercise his veto;

SECONDLY, that no changes be made in the award without consulting the League; and—

LASTLY, that no Nationalist Muslim be allowed to be nominated by the Congress.

It is significant that even at this stage Wavell was quite ready to give all the assurances asked for.

During the first half of the week after its announcement the majority in the Congress Working Committee

was inclined to accept the award except for a few minor changes and without insisting on a Nationalist Muslim being included because the Congress had a majority and they felt that the Government would be allowed to function like a responsible cabinet. It was only when Mr. Jinnah released his letter to Lord Wavell to the Press on June 16 that the Congress suspicions were roused to examine whether Wavell had given any secret assurances to Mr. Jinnah. That is why Maulana Azad asked for the Wavell-Jinnah correspondence.

It was clear then that Wavell who had promised to function like a constitutional head had also promised Mr. Jinnah that he would use his veto in favour of the League.

The entire Congress Working Committee therefore veered round to an attitude of complete rejection and backed the demand for inclusion of a Nationalist Muslim as a sledgehammer blow at the deal between Wavell and Jinnah which would have meant a subservient council not a responsible cabinet.

The Congress was however in an extremely strong position because it had not yet accepted the final proposals.

Assurance To Congress

It is for this reason that the Cabinet Mission met the four top Congress leaders, Maulana Azad, Pt. Nehru, Sardar Patel and Rajendra Babu and put their final plan.

This was a clear assurance that if the Congress accepted the final proposals on the assurance that it would be completely free to fight for its own interpretation of them in the Constituent Assembly the whole Interim Government award would be scrapped and with it all the assurances given to Mr. Jinnah.

They were told that negotiations for an Interim Government would be started de novo, a version that was put forward by the A.P.I. evidently inspired by Sardar Patel.

The Congress, therefore, accepted the suggestion, agreed to the final proposal unconditionally and rejected the Interim Government award.

Mr. Jinnah feeling secure that the Interim Government with the League alone, and that the Congress would be bypassed met Lord Wavell only to learn that the Interim Government award was no longer in force.

He, however, hastened back to his Working Committee and got it to accept the Interim Government award hoping that this would make Wavell's game more difficult.

It did not turn out as he had expected.

British Victory

In the farewell statement made by the Cabinet Mission there was a clear note of exultation at the fact that the British plan had been accepted by both the parties.

It also made the astounding statement that further negotiations in regard to setting up of Interim Government would be undertaken only after the elections to the Constituent Assembly were complete.

This was in direct contravention of the statement made by the Cabinet Mission in its award of May 16 in which they had stated:

"We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim government having the support of the major political parties."

The way they put this debarment into effect as soon as the two parties accepted the final proposals was to form an Executive Council composed of trusted stooges of Wavell, the secretaries of various departments.

The long negotiations thus ended in an all-round British victory.

A Muslim boy hawking newspapers at Fatehpuri in Old Delhi attracted customers by shouting, "Buy and read the paper and see how four Angrez have cheated forty crores of Indians!"

It is a fact, however, that we could never have been cheated if our leaders had less faith in the British rulers, and more faith in the possibility of Indian agreement on a just basis.

AT the very first Press conference it will be remembered that the Cabinet Mission sought to make it appear that the problem of Indian freedom was already settled and that the only problem that remained was to secure Indian agreement.

During the first phase of the Cabinet Mission's talks with the Indian parties it took up this strictly non-committal pose, and sympathetically gave each side to understand that it supported its basic stand.

All Pressmen who covered the Cabinet Mission know that every Congress leader who met the Cabinet Mission returned with the firm conviction that the Mission was sincere about transferring power, that its attempt at securing agreement was only to ensure a peaceful transition and that finally if no agreement could be had, they would transfer power and along with it the problem of agreement to an Indian government and quit.

On the other hand, every League leader who met the Cabinet Mission returned equally convinced that no power would be transferred to the Centre unless the problem of Pakistan was settled by an enforced agreement or an imposed award.

United Or Divided India

Similarly on the question of whether India should remain united or be divided up the Cabinet Mission gave parallel promises of sympathy to both views.

Here again Congress leaders were quite definite from their talks with the Cabinet Mission that they appreciated the need to preserve the unity of India through one common Centre and without any disruptive features like separate Federations or sub-Federations.

As reported by me previously in my weekly diary Lord Pethick-Lawrence in informal talks with Muslim Leaguers categorically assured them, "I am not worried so much about preserving Indian unity, but I am only concerned about India's integrity."

One Or Two Centres

It is in the negotiations in respect of a common Centre for the whole of India that the Cabinet Mission played its tactics superbly.

It knew that the Congress desired to have a strong organic Federal Centre and that the League was opposed to any common Centre except to such a joint body as might be set up by the willing and equal consent of Pakistan and Hindustan.

In discussions with Congress leaders, I understand, the Cabinet Ministers expressed complete agreement with the Congress on the question of a strong Centre, but argued that the Muslim opposition could be weakened a good deal if the Congress made a declaration that except for certain minimum subjects, which would be compulsory, the provinces would have complete liberty to deal with the others either themselves or voluntarily concede them to the Centre.

by
A. S. R. Chari

It was not long before the Mission secured such a declaration from the Congress (Maulana Azad's statement of April 15, published his formula of two lists of subjects, one compulsory, one optional) the Cabinet Mission then proceeded to the next stage of the Tripartite Conference for which the basis of discussion suggested was the broad outlines of the Coupland Plan, namely, a Union Government dealing with Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; secondly, communal grouping of provinces.

Communal Grouping

It is significant that in dealing with this communal grouping the Cabinet Mission in its letter of April 27, said that the group would deal with all other subjects "which the provinces in the respective groups DESIRED to be dealt with in common," and the Congress was being assured that this was no more than a particular form of applying the general principle already conceded by the Congress of compulsory and optional subjects.

In their award, dated May 16, they argued,

"We do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other provinces which did not desire to take the optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way."

To induce the League to accept a Confederal Centre it was given two assurances;

FIRST, that the Centre itself would be based on parity between the Pakistan provinces and the Hindustan provinces.

SECONDLY, that the League would have the whole of its undemocratic demand for six provinces with existing boundaries completely satisfied.

Concessions To Both

In fact in the amended proposals of May 8 at the Simla Conference, the Cabinet Mission had attempted to draw both the Congress and the League towards accepting the British plan by giving concessions to both.

To the Congress the amended proposals gave fundamental rights and the power to raise finances for the Central Government.

To the League it gave parity both in the Union Legislature and Executive.

It is by such tactics that the Cabinet Mission succeeded in moving each a little towards accepting the British plan.

But their efforts did not prove quite successful because Indian parties did not so easily agree to yield.

And so they finally imposed their award, the dominant feature of which was the simultaneous concession of an all-India Constituent Assembly embracing all provinces as the Congress demanded and compulsory

Week In Review

(Continued from page 5)

the interpretations of eminent jurists and inculcate servile faith in the imperialist federal court.

League Press

The League Press reflects the chagrin and confusion in which the League leadership was thrown by the Cabinet Mission's last move.

The tone is set by the statements of Mr. Jinnah and of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. They are bitter that "responsible British statesmen should break their pledged pledges to placate and appease the Congress." Not a word about British refusal to transfer power but only piteous whining that the League has been more 'reasonable' than the Congress.

Of course, the League leaders and their papers talk of shedding blood if a "peaceful solution" is not available but the peace offers are directed towards the Government and the war threats towards the Congress.

Though outwitted and betrayed by the Mission and the Viceroy they learn nothing but still pin their faith on the British "to divide and quit."

Manshoor, the official organ of the League, reiterates that the only way out is partition and that Hindus and Muslims can never agree on the question of one government at the Cen-

tre. (29-6-46).

Many Urdu papers write that the Qaid-e-Azam and the 'Muslim nation' have been insulted and call for struggle.

But there is hardly a League paper which says that both the Congress and the League should join hands together to oust the British, our common enslaver.

Both Look To British

There is only one exception: Inquilab of Bombay, edited by the old Khilafat patriot Rais Jafri which writes:

"There is only one way out that the British Government accept the full independence and the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly and give the right of self-determination to every province to remain independent or join the Union Centre... Congress must settle with the League and start the Quit India Movement in all seriousness." (1-7-1946).

Such a call and slogan would surely find a response from the masses of the common Muslims. But this is not how the leading circles of the League are thinking. They are busy with the scramble for seats in the Constituent Assembly.

Lists of probable selections from the Punjab and Bengal have appeared in the Press.

Tories and safe reactionaries are being pitch-forked into these Assembly seats. Significantly enough Leaguers who spoke for unity or stressed upon the demand for self-determination for provincial units in the secret session, seem to be carefully eliminated.

It is quite clear that the fight has now shifted to the arena of the

Constituent Assembly—not the joint fight of the Congress and the League together to demand and assert the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly against the British. No. The League leadership is preparing to fight the Congress, and against the sovereignty of the Assembly, against the transfer of real power to the Provisional Government.

League leaders hope thus to prevent the British from surrendering to Congress!

The Congress leadership too is building on vain hopes.

Sgt. C. Rajagopalachari says that the appointment of an officials' Caretaker Government is not a bad sign but a good one, which shows that the Viceroy and the British Cabinet are not reviving the old Executive Council but are determined to create a political one enjoying the support of the main political parties which have accepted the State paper of May 16.

Here too the list of probabilities for the Constituent Assembly is being discussed—several non-Congress Liberals are reported to be on the Congress list as Constitutional "experts or jurists!"

Among Congress circles too there is the facile faith that the battle for sovereignty of the Assembly and against grouping would be successfully fought in the Constituent Assembly with the aid of experts!

Similarly, a new award about a new Interim Government is being expected from London—one which holds up the Congress demands as against those of the League.

Not a bold bid to assert the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, offering to forge a joint front with the Muslims on the basis of unconditional self-determination to redemarcated provincial units—not the perspective of a common struggle to win independence, but the talk of compromise with British imperialists, illusions of peaceful wringing of freedom and flamboyant talk of crushing the Muslim League with British help—this is what the bankrupt leadership of the Congress is offering the people on the eve of the AICC.

INTO THE NEW YEAR

WITH this number People's Age enters its fifth year. Last year was the year of our greatest trial. We had to face unprecedented opposition not only from the hated police but organised violence from the biggest political organisation of our country.

Our press built from the rice and wheat of the peasants, coppers of the workers, rupees of the intelligentsia was damaged. Sixty out of the hundred members of our editorial, managerial and press staff were severely wounded in the biggest single raid.

Countless voluntary sellers of People's Age and its Hindi, Urdu, Marathi and Gujerati editions were repeatedly attacked in different parts of the country. It was a desperate effort to physically destroy us, beat us out of the streets.

We survived because we are the organ of the Communist movement, an indestructible force within our freedom movement itself. Those who attacked us only sold their own mouths and only got our blood on their hands and that did not make them stronger!

We survived because we were supported by the devotion and discipline of numerous comrades which is the envy of every other party.

We survived because we are rooted in the soil of our own people, in the affection of workers and peasants whom we have organised, whose demands we formulate, whose voice we are.

We survived because our cause is immortal.

We were attacked because we had refused to become the tail of an opportunist political leadership which was negotiating its own difficult turnover from the policy of gambling in the war period to one of compromise during the post-war period.

We were attacked because the entire gang of profiteers were fighting their own battle for profits by getting behind the Congress and fanning anti-Communism in their own interest.

The battle is on and not over. It is a part of the battle for freedom itself.

Would the coming period become the period of the final bid for power of fatal surrender to the British Imperialist Plan? This is the biggest single issue before the entire country today. People's Age will concentrate all its fire against British imperialism, expose all its designs and reflect the undying will of our freedom-loving people for the final battle.

In the period which is now opening the Congress and League leaderships hide their own policy of compromise with the foreign rulers by putting the blame on the other side. People's Age shall mercilessly expose this unprincipled game which is resulting in the victory of the British and the splitting of our freedom movement into two hostile camps.

We Shall Popularise The People's Way Out

People's Age shall popularise the just application of the principle of national self-determination as the only democratic solution of the age-old Hindu-Muslim differences, as the only possible basis for a Joint Freedom Front against the British Plan.

We shall patiently and tirelessly endeavour to persuade the League patriot not to demand self-determination on a religious basis which only splits the freedom front. We shall plead with him not to make unjust but just claims, and shall try to persuade the Congress patriot to advance from a partial to a complete acceptance of self-determination for linguistically and culturally homogenous units.

The big political issue before every patriot today is: can we apply true democratic principles to our political life and to solve our biggest political problem or else provoke the common people into breaking each other's heads while the leaders rival each other in salammung to the British Sahabs.

People's Age shall popularise the way out.

The people are already astir, the rising forces that must grow and grow and become the army of the people breaking the British chains and challenging its hold over our country.

Kashmir has been the first to go into action. Other States will follow. 385 British puppets will know no peace and the British Plan will never be stabilised. Only People's Age will dare publicise the horrible conditions of the people and their heroic struggles and do its best to work up solidarity campaigns in their support.

From the working class sector a mighty strike-wave is rising, challenging the corrupt profiteers and demanding democratic measures. People's Age will popularise not only the valiant actions of the working class but also their demands.

Every victory of the workers is so much less in the profiteers' stomach, and one step forward in the move to rescue our industrial economy from the hands of the profiteers and run it in the people's interests. The stronger the working-class movement the nearer the final battle for freedom.

Famine threatens our countryside. People's Age has already earned a name as food-expert. It shall endeavour to live up to its reputation and be the first to give not only true food facts but popularise the food movement of the common people against the food thieves and show how it is growing into the mass kisan movement, the organiser of the kisan army for freedom for the country, food for the people and land for the peasant.

People's Age is unlike every other paper and liked by all who read it. It must reach more and more people in this year of decisive events for our country and our people.

We greet and thank all our readers and supporters and look to them for greater and greater support. It is upto them to see that People's Age reaches larger and larger number of Congressmen, Leaguers, intellectuals, workers and peasants.

We are planning a better People's Age, more suited to the needs of the new period. Within a month of the Bombay AICC session our readers will find almost a new People's Age in their hands and a new appeal to them all for help.

LEFT CONGRESS GROUPS

THE All-India Congress Committee will be deliberating on the proposals of the Cabinet Mission this week. The main responsibility of fighting against the acceptance of these proposals by the Congress and defeating the compromising policy of the Right-wing falls on the two groups inside the Congress who are considered to be Left groups—the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc.

It is, however, too much to expect that these groups will either succeed in putting up a strong fight, except verbally, or putting before the session a clear-cut programme of rallying the people for the common struggle against the new Constitution.

For while verbally they take their stand against the Right, in practice they only toe the line of the Right and forget all differences.

The leadership of the Congress Socialist Party as well as of the Forward Bloc declare that they are against all compromise. They reject the treacherous proposals of the Cabinet Mission and would boycott the elections to the Constituent Assembly. They stand for struggle and speak in the name of wresting power from the British Government.

But the practice of these groups betrays their professions. In the last few months a big wave of mass-upsurge, which began with the INA trials and the RIN mutiny, has been sweeping the country. It is evidenced by big working-class strikes. The forces against compromise are already on the move. The place of every honest Leftist is with them. But the Socialist leaders have done nothing to organise or lead these struggles.

On the other hand they have often opposed them by appealing to the anti-Communist prejudices created by the Right and checked the initiative of their own ranks to participate in the struggles.

WEEK IN REVIEW

- ★ British Press Boost To Mission's "Achievement"
- ★ New Illusions In Congress - League Camps
- ★ Looking Londonwards For Another Award

If one were to ask an ordinary Britisher what he thought of the outcome of the British Cabinet Ministers' Mission, his answer would be that it was a big success.

Reflecting truthfully what has been dinned into his ears by the dailies of the powerful Press monopolists he would tell us that the Mission had achieved a big job in bringing the Indian leaders together in a Constituent Assembly which would enable India to frame the constitution of a free India.

If a Provisional Government enjoying the confidence of the Indian people has not been formed, it is due entirely to the insoluble Indian differences, he would add.

THIS would be the opinion of the average common man including the bulk of the British workers under the influence of the Labour Party and the trade unions. And no wonder.

All the British papers, Tory, Liberal, as well as the monopolist-owned Labour Party organ Daily Herald, all excepting the Communist Daily Worker—have been selling him this yarn.

The Daily Herald with its one million circulation was foremost in this bamboozling. It wrote that the successful conclusion of the talks was,

"More than just a diplomatic triumph for the Labour Party policy; it was the first great victory of the peace—a sign that there are still men of goodwill on earth."

It remained discreetly silent on the failure of the interim arrangement and praised the conciliatory attitude of both Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah!

Even Progressive Labour M.P.'s like Driberg, who stand for the independence of India, have been taken in.

The Liberal Manchester Guardian boosts "the great achieve-

ment", "that both the parties and the States have accepted the long-term arrangement."

by G. Adhikari

It is unhappy that an Interim Government of Indian party leaders is not formed and blames it on the Indian jealousies.

The comment of the Liberal News Chronicle is similar.

Tory Press

The Conservative papers find it quite convenient to join in this general chorus of praise of the success of the imperialist plan coming from Labour and Liberal organs.

The Times noted for its polished hypocrisy, greets the general acceptance of the long-term plan as "a notable advance towards the establishment of India as an independent power" and opines that "the creation of an Interim Government from men enjoying the confidence of

the Indian people is the supreme need of the moment."

It concedes 'in principle' the force of the objections raised by the Congress to the administrative proposals of Wavell but chides it for "the failure to show a magnanimity, appropriate to the stronger party," to the Muslim League.

This mouthpiece of British monopoly capital surely wants the Congress to be magnanimous enough to fit itself in the imperialist scheme as a junior partner.

The other lesser Tory organs are more outspoken.

But it is the Labour and Liberal papers which are sel-

ling the plan as a freedom plan to the broad masses of the British workers and common people by hiding the reality behind round and hypocritical phrases.

It is the British Communists and their organ the Daily Worker who are explaining to the British workers that the much-boasted plan, if it is put into practice, would not be "the first victory of the peace" (The Times) but a step towards consolidating subject India as a base of a new imperialist war, and are rousing the British workers to support the struggle of the Indian people for complete independence.

The popular Press in India, reflecting the lines of the leadership of the Congress and the League, is sowing new illusions and accentuating the bitterness and the conflict between Hindus and Muslims.

It does not seek to mould the common frustration of both into a joint anger against imperialist trickery but only into mutual hatred and helpless faith in imperialism.

Congress Press

The Congress Press generally greets the rejection by the Congress of the interim plan and the acceptance of the machinery of Constitution-making imposed upon by the Mission as "a master stroke of diplomacy."

Birla's Hindustan Times is in ecstasy over the "Mission's Success" (Editorial title on 27-6), and says

"If the Labour Government and the Viceroy maintain in faith and honour the spirit shown by Lord Pethick-Lawrence and his colleagues, India would before long enjoy independence and peace."

The same paper in another editorial expresses the "hope that the firmness shown by the Delegation on the eve of their departure for London will have a sobering effect on the League leader."

All Congress papers give expression to their justified anger at the League leader's refusal to allow the Congress to nominate a Nationalist Muslim to the Executive Council.

But there is not a word of criticism against the sordid double-dealing resorted to by the Mission and Wavell in order to deny real power to both popular parties in the interim government.

On the other hand, Wavell is patted on the back for the kick he has given to Mr. Jinnah and the Cabinet Ministers congratulated because they have conferred upon India the historic State paper of May 16 which is hailed as "a big step towards complete independence."

While these papers admit that the Congress interpretation of the State paper may not be that of its authors, they tell their readers that the imperialists are bound to accept

(Continued on page 4 col.3)

Leaders Move In A World Of Illusions

Scrapping Of Interim Govt. Plan Rude Shock To Rosy Hopes

When the League Council met at New Delhi on the 5th and 6th of June, and the resolution accepting the Cabinet Mission's proposals was passed, an amazing atmosphere of triumphant joy prevailed among the upper ranks of the League.

They imagined that their bargain with the British Government had been struck and the Congress cornered. Mr. Jinnah had Wavell's "written" assurance in his pocket in regard to the Interim Government on a basis of parity with the Congress; the six "Muslim" provinces had been grouped compulsorily; the Sikhs had been disposed of.

It was whispered (loud enough so that even I could over-hear) that Mr. Suhrawardy had got Bengal Europeans' assurance that they would support the League in the C Group of the Constituent Assembly; leading Punjab Leaguers were saying that the Unionists were on their last legs, and that as soon as the Interim Government was formed at the Centre, they would join the League.

IN short, the League leadership felt that it had by clever manoeuvring, secured the British Government as an ally and the road to Pakistan lay clear before it.

Enemy No. 1—A Friend

The policy of alliance and friendship with the British imperialists was not something hidden or implied—anyone who was present in New Delhi during the session of the League Council could hear it openly propounded by the League leaders in all its murky and miserable details.

In his closing speech, recommending the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals, Mr. Jinnah rebuked those Leaguers who still imagined Britain to be their Enemy No. 1. According to him, Muslims had two enemies "of equal status"—the British and the Congress. "And it may be," he is reported to have said, "that Enemy No. 1 (British) may become our friend and then the only remaining enemy of Muslims would be Enemy No. 2 (Congress)".

This basic concept led, naturally, to other concrete steps. What was the reason given by the League leadership for the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's proposals:

Grouping Liked

First and foremost it was the compulsory grouping of the provinces in Sections B and C of the plan. From Mr. Jinnah downwards, every League leader emphasised, with approval, the compulsory nature of grouping.

All pretensions to democracy, to ascertaining of the opinion of the peoples concerned were given up.

Grouping was liked precisely because of its 'evil', undemocratic chauvinistic nature; first, because it was 'compulsory', and secondly, because Sikhs, Assamese, the Hindustani-speaking people of the Ambala Division (Eastern Punjab) and the Pathans of the N.W.F. Province were deprived of the right of self-determination, and, as it were, handed over to the majority of the Constituent Assembly.

Some League leaders were not ashamed to say openly that by the Group System they were being given lands over which they had no real claims even according to the Pakistan resolution of Lahore (e.g., Assam, Ambala Division, Burdwan Division).

It was, therefore, legitimate for them to sing hosannas to the Cabinet Mission who had given them more than they deserved. How wonderful and how very 'friendly' of the British, thus to lay the foundation of Pakistan!

Never mind the anti-Pakistan statements of the Mission; that was part of the Cabinet Mission's 'friendliness' to Muslims; who only wanted, in the words

of Mr. Jinnah, "to sugar-coat the bitter pill" so that the anti-Muslim Congress might be made to swallow it.

What about the Centre? For the last six years, League leaders have preached that a Central Government in India, whatever its nature, would be negation of Muslim freedom; it would mean Hindu domination; it would be the anti-thesis of Pa-

kistan—and as such, could never be acceptable to the League.

How were they to justify their agreement to enter an All-India Constituent Assembly and eventually a Union Centre?

First, the League leaders argued, the Constituent Assembly would not be a sovereign body—the British, our friends, would be there to protect us from Hindu domination;

Secondly, Mr. Jinnah, is reported to have assured all, that even though 'Defence' would in name be transferred to the Centre, yet he knew it for a fact that actually the British would control the armed forces. Why should the Muslims be afraid then, when all the might of British imperialism would be behind their back?

By Britain's Grace

I am reliably informed that the gallant Sir Nazimuddin, expatiating over the theme, said during a private conversation at New Delhi that if in the future, the Congress or Hindus created 'trouble' then they (the League) could crush them with the help of British troops.

Thirdly, as far as the Interim Government was concerned, there again the protecting hand of the British Viceroy, with his power of veto, was there to save the Muslims.

Fourthly, there was the assurance, again from the British solicitors of protecting the Muslims, that on all major communal issues decisions in the Constituent Assembly as well as in the Interim Government would not be made by simple majority—in such cases, the minority's opinion would be decisive.

And lastly, there was the provision that after ten years, the position could be reviewed and provinces could secede from the Union Centre if they so desired.

Here then, is a picture of Pakistan as visualised by League leaders, a Pakistan by the Grace of British imperialism, based not on justice, democracy and independence, but on the very opposite of these—injustice, denial of democracy and servile subservience to the White rulers.

To the feeble voices raised against this policy from the ranks of the League, the leaders' reply was that they were merely taking the first step towards

Pakistan—they had got the groups, now the next stage would be full, sovereign Pakistan.

The Qaid-e-Azam himself is reported to have declared quite brazenly that they were not bound by their electioneering speeches; all that they were bound by was the Lahore resolution of March 1940. And when did he say like another leader that swaraj would be achieved in one year?

This, in effect, amounted to saying: it did not matter if we told the Muslim people that Pakistan was complete independence which we shall 'leke rahenge' (take, come what may); it cannot be helped if some foolish people imagined that Pakistan was round the corner, let them understand now that that was merely the ideal, the goal. Meanwhile there was nothing wrong in compromising with Imperialism, so long as it could be made out that it was a step towards Pakistan.

So long as one could make them believe that the foundation of the palace of Pakistan was being laid, the people could be made to bask in the sun and bathe in the rain, in the palace

grounds, even without the protecting walls and roofs. Hope would sustain them!

Such downright cynical disregard of the people could hardly be imagined.

Is This Freedom?

But the Muslims might well ask: Is this a step towards freedom, towards an independent democratic Pakistan or is it a step away from it?

Do not the proposals of the Cabinet Mission create a Centre which will be under the thumb of the British (through their hold over 'Defence', and through the Princes), and do they not create groups where the denial of legitimate democratic rights to large and powerful

non-Muslim minorities sow the seeds of perpetual feud and strife?

This would prevent the common people from uniting and give a new lease of life to reactionary Muslim and non-Muslim feudalists, profiteers, hoarders and blackmarketeers to lord it over all and oppress and exploit the people.

Will not millions of common Muslims be thus deprived not only of freedom but also thrown at the mercy of of feudal cum profiteering sharks?

Another argument put forward by the League leadership was: What other course is open to us? If the Congress had accepted Pakistan, we would have formed a united front with it against the British, but instead of that the Congress wants the League to be bypassed and come to terms with the British. Therefore we also have to proceed on a unilateral basis.

Undemocratic Tactics

But can it be said that the League has made a serious effort to come to terms with the Congress?

Does the League leadership think that they are creating a good atmosphere for settlement with the Congress when they let loose a most violent anti-Congress and anti-Hindu campaign, treating the major political organisation in the country, not as a potential ally, but openly declaring it to be an enemy; insulting its President-elect day in and day out; abusing respected non-League Muslim patriots in the most offensive language.

Can it win support for the Pakistan demand when it presents it not as the democratic demand of the entire Muslim and non-Muslim peoples of Muslim majority zones of North West and East, but merely as the demand of the Muslim majority population of those areas?

In addition they made preposterous claims over Assam, over the whole of the Punjab and Bengal, without reference to the will of the people living in these lands.

No democrat could accept the

Pakistan demand as it was put forward by the League leadership.

By adopting these undemocratic chauvinistic tactics the League leadership strengthened the hands of such elements in the Congress who stood for Akhand Hindustan—they could always say: Jinnah is impossible, it is no use treating with him.

Mr. Jinnah's tactics gave them the excuse to deny full self-determination to homogenous national linguistic zones, it weakened the hands of those like Maulana Azad and Nehru who were moving in the direction of self-determination.

Thus a vicious circle was created when each party began to look towards the British for salvation. The common enemy was turned into the common friend; potential and natural allies, one's own fellow countrymen, treated as foes.

Such a policy must always—sooner or later—end in fiasco and disaster. And in this case it has been sooner rather than later. All the high hopes of Mr. Jinnah are dashed to the ground.

Less than two weeks ago he was sitting supremely self-confident; with all the written and unwritten assurances of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission in his pocket, he could snap his fingers at the Congress and tell his followers of the League Council, "Forget the Congress".

"Friends" Betray

The League organ Dawn, pompously quoting the imperialist scripture, following Mr. Jinnah's precedent, asked the British to bypass the Congress in these words:

"A truculent and intransigent majority cannot be allowed to veto the progress of the minority. To that principle the British Government are unequivocally committed in terms of Prime Minister Attlee's announcement in the House of Commons."

But the 'friendly' British instead of acting up to their principles and fulfilling the solemn pledges given to the League leaders, scrapped the whole plan of Interim Government without bothering about what the Qaid-e-Azam might think of them.

Pathetically, he writes on June 27, that the statement of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy issued "on Wednesday June 26, a copy of which has not yet been furnished to me."

He fumes and frets and tells the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission that they "have gone back on their word within ten days of the publication of their final proposals..." (June 29).

Will They Learn

However, it is not likely that the League leadership would draw the obvious lesson from this episode; never to trust imperialism, but to treat it and its agents as our enemies.

Imperialism's occasional show of friendliness is always with a view to divide and disrupt the national forces so that it may rob us' all of our freedom.

To build one's hopes on such friendliness, on the sense of justice and truthfulness of imperialism is to build castles on sand.

But millions of freedom-loving Muslims can and will draw the correct conclusion that only through building unity with the rest of their fellow countrymen on the solid principles of self-determination for each homogenous national area; of complete solidarity with all Indians in demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from our land; of a sovereign all-India Constituent Assembly based on adult franchise on the one hand, and on free units on the other—can they achieve their independence and the independence of the Motherland as a whole.

The passage from the world of bourgeois-feudal illusions based on reliance on imperialism, to the world of fraternal unity of all the peoples that inhabit our great land in order to defeat the common enemy and his devilish plans, will be hard and difficult. But it will be effected.

S. AFRICAN INDIAN LEADERS SENTENCED

European Hooliganism Continues

Durban, June 29, 1946.

PRISON sentences on two Indian leaders in the struggle against the "Ghetto Act" were passed on Thursday, June 27, under the Riotous Assemblies' Act.

Dr. G. M. NAICKER, President of the Natal Congress, was given six months, with the additional seven days of the previously suspended sentence.

Dr. YUSUF DADOO, President of the Transvaal Congress, and the most-loved leader among Indians, was given three months' hard labour. This is Dr. Dadoo's second term—in the early days of the war he had fought in the Anti-Pass campaign.

The two leaders headed the Passive Resisters who broke the police ban prohibiting them from assembly in the City Council land lying at the corner of the Umbilo and Gale streets, Durban, which is an excluded area for Indians under the Ghetto Act.

In a message from custody to the people, Dr. Dadoo declared:

"I call upon you every man and woman to give whole-hearted support to the Resistance campaign, which symbolises the struggle of the Indian people against the most vicious racial legislation of recent times. This is but the beginning

of the struggle. History must record that in their greatest hour of trial, our people in this country were not found wanting in courage, duty and devotion."

Thirty Europeans armed with bicycle chains, knuckle-dusters, etc., assaulted Sunday's resisters, four men and one woman, who were knocked unconscious.

The police were present, but did not interfere with this White hooliganism. (Guardian, South African Progressive weekly).

A crowded mass meeting was held at Johannesburg last Thursday which was attended by Indians and Progressive, anti-racial law Europeans. Sixteen hundred pounds was donated to the fund for assisting the Resisters' dependants.

On Wednesday a similar meeting was held at Cape Town.

The only newspaper giving the true facts of the Indians' struggle and White hooliganism is the Guardian. The capitalist Press is playing it all down.

Commenting editorially last week, the Guardian said:

"The courageous stand of the Passive Resisters will have a deep and abiding effect on all other victims of racial oppression. Not only at home, but also in other countries, the movement will have repercussions."

LOUIS FISCHER - FRIEND OF FREEDOM OR PROPAGANDIST FOR IMPERIALISM ?

"BY Louis Fischer"—this is to be seen quite frequently these days in the Indian nationalist Press in many parts of our country. It is a regular Sunday feature of the pro-Congress Bombay Chronicle.

He is a smart writer. When he writes on India, he takes pains to be pro-Indian; but when he goes further away—for instance to Germany as in his article in the Bombay Chronicle of Sunday June 23, it is quite a different story, it becomes a total denunciation of British and American policy.

And he sells his ideas neatly. The Anglo-Americans, he tells us, have tried so hard to fulfill the terms of the Potsdam Agreement but they find the system 'has not worked'. And why? Because the Russians are constantly 'wrangling' in the Allied Control Council in Berlin and 'nothing is done' therefore.

Accordingly, Attlee-Truman have now decided to scrap Potsdam altogether and to go ahead and 'pursue their own line in Germany'.

Collapsing Economy In British Zone

Of course, it is a well-known fact that in Germany today two distinctive courses of development are taking place. Here are two quotations from sources, far from friendly to the Soviet, which will explain what I mean.

The Diplomatic Correspondent of the Tory paper The Observer (London), recently visited the British zone in Germany and this is what he found:

"The first fact that strikes the visitor to this city—the official capital of the British zone in Germany—is that a dangerous crisis of confidence has developed between the local people and the British authorities.

"The second fact is that the city and a large part of the British zone are heading for economic collapse.

"It is impossible to talk with Hamburgers—and the people to whom I have talked represent generally the most well-disposed and anti-Nazi part of the population—without noticing bitterness, suspicion and downright fear regarding the intentions of the occupying power." (The Observer—May 26).

Prosperity In Eastern Germany

Now here is some interesting testimony about what is happening in the Soviet zone also from no pro-Russian source.

A German businessman of Nuremberg (American zone), visited the annual historic Leipzig fair (Soviet zone) and this is what he told a New York Herald Tribune correspondent:

"That it was the large number of factories working in the Soviet zone and the complete absence of unemployment that made the greatest impression on him.

"The Leipzig fair last week left one in no doubt about the existence of a much higher level of industrial activity in the Soviet zone of Germany than in any of the three Western zones." (Manchester Guardian, May 29).

It is quite clear that Fischer's explanation of why the Anglo-Americans want to 'scrap' Potsdam is not because of any sinister Russian designs but because the superior economic conditions in the Soviet zone are becoming so palpably apparent to the mass of German people.

For instance, since last October, nearly 5,000,000 German refugees have preferred to go to the Soviet zone to settle down, whereas only about 1,600,000 vice versa, i.e., from the Soviet to the British zone. (Reynolds News, May 16).

The real reason, then, why the Anglo-Americans want to 'pursue their own line' in Germany is not as Mr. Fischer would have us believe because of any flaw in Potsdam, but

because the German people want in Western Germany, the conditions prevailing in Eastern Germany; they want the agrarian reforms of the East (see article on this page) put through in the West; they want the activities of the big capitalist trusts blown up—as the intrigues of the giant chemical monopoly, I. G. Farben Industrie, have been blown up in the East by nationalisation.

For here is just one instance of how the trusts—U.S., British and German, survive in the West.

The American World Telephone and Telegraph Company, a monopoly giant, owns 100 per cent of the shares in FIVE German companies which manufactured equipment for Hitler's army. During the war it built a number of new factories inside Germany which has led to the following question being put by the American Press:

"Do the widows and mothers of American airmen know that their husbands and sons lost their lives through fighter-planes manufactured by American businessmen?"

Today this company's executive is demanding that the U.S. Government secure the removal of these enterprises from the reparations list!

Suppression Of Democracy In West

The second big line of argument that Fischer tries to put across is that whereas the Anglo-Americans want to build a democratic Germany—"Baconets do not educate and a military dictatorship does not conduce to democracy"—the Russians use 'blandish-

ments, bribes and coercion' to force the unity of Social-Democrats with the Communists.

And the way the Anglo-Americans do it can be shown by just three examples:

FIRST, sometime ago Morgan, Chicago Daily News correspondent, reported:

"AMGOT (American Military Govt.) has not investigated or not dismissed from their jobs over one million members of the Nazi party in the United States zone. In addition, 23,000 who are supposedly subject to automatic dismissal continue to work for AMGOT on various enterprises despite directives, and 20,000 others are employed although investigators have recommended their dismissal."

SECOND, the German newspaper Neues Deutschland published a report from Saarbruecken that on May 5, at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, six anti-Fascists, former political prisoners, were arrested because they pointed out that the speaker addressing them was a well-known Nazi!

THIRD, the agency Dana quotes a London report that in the American zone of occupation last week 25,000 former SS-men of ranks lower than Scharfuhrer have been set free (May 17).

Socialist-Communist Fusion

Of course, it is hardly necessary to refute Mr. Fischer's slander that the fusion of the German Social Democrats and the Communists into the

FRENCH INDIA LEADER GREETES COMMUNIST PARTY

On June 8, LAMBERT SARAVANE, candidate of the National Democratic Front was elected by the citizens of French India as their representative in the French Constituent Assembly by the great majority of over 66,000 to 20. Here we give his reply to a telegram of congratulations sent to him by P. C. Joshi, General Secretary, Communist Party of India:

"En route to Paris I thank you for your congratulations and send through you my greetings to all Communist workers in India who are putting up a relentless fight for the emancipation of the Indian masses and also to the militants of French India Communist Party who through years of work along with other patriots have awakened the political consciousness of the labourers in French India and rallied round a common programme of all the patriots and democrats, setting an example of unity for the welfare of our population and for forging a free and democratic French India."

United Party of Socialist Unity in Eastern Germany was under 'Russian pressure.'

There is not a man alive who does not know that it was the most natural course for the two main common working-class parties to adopt today—after the experience of Nazi rule—if the German people are to rebuild the strength of their country on a truly democratic foundation.

This party has a mass membership of one and a half millions. And it is behind the unity of the party that the German people have succeeded in carrying out the immense agrarian and industrial reforms in Eastern Germany leading to the rise in the level of prosperity in the Soviet zone and to its decline in the Anglo-American zones.

Making An 'India' Of Germany

The real truth is that Anglo-America is out to enslave the German people and harness German men and resources to the cause of world domination. This is how they are doing it, according to the London representative of the Hindustan Standard:

"Britain is gradually 'Indianising' Germany," said a very renowned German Social Democrat. "As she is losing India, she is building up an alternative 'power' in Germany for those bureaucrats and officers

who have been labelled on the back 'Quit India'." (Hindustan Standard, May 24).

Now, after all this, I am sure, the 'clarity of intentions' of the Anglo-Americans in Germany cannot be denied. But it is certainly not as Mr. Fischer, propagandist of Anglo-American imperialism, has tried to show it.

The real truth is to be sought in the appeal which a former Hitlerite radio commentator, Karl Schnadning, gave out in his recent letter to the B.B.C.—proposing "that Germany be allowed to become a part of the British Empire." This letter saw the light of day in Neuer Manoversche Kurier, a pro-Nazi paper published in the British zone of occupation!

True enough Mr. Fischer, "two worlds are struggling for mastery in Germany, in China, and in many other parts of the globe."

Every honest man knows THAT for himself—from the presence of British and American troops and what they are for, in Western Germany and in Greece, in Egypt, in Iraq and in Palestine, in India, in Indonesia, and in China—in short, in about 60 countries of the world!

Shamsher Khan

Inside Germany

LANDLORDISM ABOLISHED IN SOVIET ZONE

British Imperial Support For Junkers

In the Soviet-occupied zone in Germany the big landed estates have been broken up, the power of the old Junker landlords who provided the officer-cadre of German militarism has been smashed; a new democratic Germany is appearing.

BUT in the West, in particular in the British zone, the old situation remains.

Some weeks ago, a German peasant living in Westphalia wrote a letter to British Premier Attlee; in it he has described how Baron von Oer, the local feudal lord, has acquired all the peasants' land by unfair means so that he now owns 11,250 acres of land. He also remains the chief of the peasant 'organisation' which is much the same in make-up and leadership as the organisation was in Nazi days!

The British argue that land reform has not been carried in the West because it is not necessary as there are no big land estates, while in the East there were numerous big landlords.

Figures Of Progress

Of course, the biggest landlords were in the East.

This was how according to Edwin Hoernle, Director of Agricultural Administration in the Soviet-occupied zone, their land was broken up.

Nine thousand six hundred and ninety Junker estates, representing in all 4,540,000 acres, were divided up among 3,389,519 people (including all members of families working on the land). Today there are no big landlords in the eastern Soviet-occupied zone. They have been cleaned out.

But if the biggest landlords were in the East, in the West too were big men. Like Baron von Oer of Westphalia.

According to the Statistical Yearbook of the German Reich

(1930 edition), in 1925 the number and total acreage of the landed estates in the provinces today forming the British zone, were as follows:—

*1,997 estates over 250 acres in area.

*1,012,000 was the total acreage which formed 7.09% of the total arable land.

Changes Under Hitler

In fact, the number must be larger today, for Hitler's regime looted the peasant and favoured the landlord.

In three provinces of the Soviet zone for instance (Brandenburg, Thuringia and Saxony), the Yearbook (1930 edition again) gave the total acreage of estates over 250 acres as amounting to just over 20 lakh acres; but in fact the figure of the Agricultural Administration in the Soviet zone of acreage of estates over 250 acres divided among the peasantry in 1945 is nearly 29 lakh acres.

Thus between 1925 and 1946 in these three provinces, the increase in the number of acres owned by big landowners is over 37 per cent and there is no doubt that if the conditions in the British zone are investigated, the increase will be found to be as great.

What Can Be Done

Knowing these figures, then, what would land reform mean in the British zone?

* (1) Over 2,000 big landlords, backbone of German militarism, would be rendered powerless and incapable of stemming the

march towards democracy of the German people.

* (2) On the basis of 1925 figures, at least 54,000 families would get land. This estimate is made at the rate of 13.7 acres per family; the land reform in the Soviet zone gave between 12½ and 25 acres, according to the quality of the soil, to each new family.

If the increase of 37 per cent is made (see above) and the land grabbed by Nazi racketeers and war criminals in addition to land used for aerodromes and military installations, is also taken, the number of families settled on land would most likely approach 75,000, i.e., nearly half-a-million people.

But as yet nothing has been done; not because there is no need; it is clear enough that the need is there.

Why Vacillation In West

In one of the provinces of the British zone, for instance, Schleswig-Holstein the Landtag (Provincial Council) on May 6 and 7 did go so far as to discuss the proposals for agrarian reform submitted by the Social-Democratic and Communist Parties.

According to the Statistical Yearbook of 1930, there are 632 estates over 250 acres in the province, amounting in all to 402,000 acres, almost 40 per cent of such land in the entire British zone!

The proposals were bitterly opposed by Herr Hakensee, a big landlord, who threatened to vote for union with Denmark to prevent agrarian reform going through—and in the end the usual British delaying trick was played; the proposals were submitted to the Agricultural Committee for "consideration." The American zone has a worse record still.

In Bavaria, 113 landowners own nearly five lakh acres of land; yet the Bavarian Minister for Agriculture, Dr. Baumgartner (appointed with U.S. approval) maintains that there are no really big landlords in his province!

Another instance is of Hitler's former Minister of Economy, one Kurt Schmidt, who was also a General in the S.S., Hitler's Special Storm Troops.

This worthy who owns 1,350 acres of land near the town of Starnberg (Bavaria) is living happily and profitably on his farm when his estates should have been confiscated and he himself put on trial for the thousands of crimes he has committed against his own people, apart from those against other peoples.

Buttressing Reaction

In fact, there has been no agrarian reform in the West because the British and American policy is not directed to help German democracy grow but to buttress German reaction.

The German Junker-landlords have big friends in Britain who are today dreaming of uniting Western Germany in an anti-Soviet Western Bloc, of which western Germany will be the military spearhead.

And for that they need to keep their German landlord-friends alive and powerful, for they are the anti-Sovieters, not the peasant who looks longingly at the democratic advances inside the Soviet-zone.

This is why it is not the German peasant in Westphalia whose voice will be heard by Britain's rulers but that of Baron von Oer, traditional hater of democracy and oppressor of the people.

Kashmir's Epic Battle To Free Jawaharlal

New Round Of Terror, New Height Of Heroism

WAS IT ALL IN VAIN ?

(Calcutta, Madras, Bombay—and all over India—the newspapers flashed the news of the tide of militant protest which surged through the country at the news of Jawaharlalji's arrest in Kashmir.

But what of Kashmir itself? Were the people silent? Not one word of news came over the wires of what was happening in the land in which Panditji was imprisoned.

People's Age today batters open the steel doors of Kashmir's censorship by publishing our Srinagar Correspondent's moving story of the events of those crucial days when Pandit Nehru was a prisoner in Kashmir—EDITOR.)

June 19

JAWAHARLAL is coming today. All India is coming to Kashmir. To free Sher-e-Kashmir, to end the terror, to help us build a free life. . . .

Along the mountain road from Kohala to Srinagar, at the little towns on the way like Pattan and Baramula, thousands of Kashmiris gathered to welcome Nehru, the symbol of freedom-loving India.

The State authorities have been telling us for so long—"Nobody from outside Kashmir will come to your aid. All the leaders are against your struggle and want you to call it off."

We never believed this. And yet, when no one came, and we got no news, there were some who would say bitterly: "They—the leaders of India—taught us how to fight for freedom, they told us to rise from our slumbers and resist the tyranny which throttles us—and now when we have risen, they remain far away from us."

Jawaharlal is Coming

But that is all over now. For Jawaharlal is coming.

The authorities are in a panic. But they are arrogantly declaring that they will stop Panditji. Kashmir does not believe that the Maharaja dares hold up the President-elect of the Indian National Congress. For if he dares, we know that all the forty crores of India will march on the Bastille of Kashmir.

That is why all down the road, along which Panditji will pass, are crowds with National Conference flags. Panditji must know, India must know, all Kashmir is on its legs, fighting.

On the streets of Srinagar, thousands are marching in processions. The military is posted everywhere and will not allow crowds to collect. They break up the processions, they disperse the meetings. But the procession is formed again, the meeting continues at another street-corner.

On The Streets

Hundreds are arrested. But

Kashmir has today an unending stream of men who can lead processions, make speeches. And as one leader is dragged away by the police, a dozen more leap to take his place, with shrouds on their heads.

... We must remain on the streets at all costs, no matter what the military do. Nehru must know they have not crushed us. And if they fire, let them fire, let Nehru see our blood. We are shedding it not only for our own freedom, but for Nehru's freedom

Our Srinagar Correspondent's Diary

and the whole country's freedom.

June 20

We Shall Free Our Guest

LATE last night came the news that Jawaharlal had been stopped at Kohala, that he had broken through and reached Domel.

And then this morning we heard that Panditji was under arrest.

The authorities laughed at us—each military soldier on the streets laughed.

"Watch," they said, "You'll see your Nehru running away in a day."

The liars! Watch out, we said, watch out, for we, the Kashmiris, are going to free our guest, whom you have locked in Domel.

The Anger Of Kashmir

We prepared for the biggest round of our battle. For this was something we were honour-bound to avenge. Kashmiris can never tolerate an insult to a guest. The anger of Kashmir rose like the water in a boiling cauldron. . . .

Throughout Kashmir there was a haral—in Srinagar, Anantnag, Pattan, Sopore, Baramula, Muzaffarabad.

At Khanqamaula, the shrine which has become the hub of our movement, the biggest meeting that has ever taken place, was held. Thirty-two persons were arrested on the spot.

Immediately after the meeting, a women's procession marched out and demonstrated for Pandit Nehru's immediate release.

Each locked shop was our reply to the authorities:

"You say you will drive Panditji out of Kashmir. We say we shall free him from your clutches and place him where he belongs—at the head of our freedom movement."

June 21

Shut Down The Radios

THE Maharaja and Kak are in a frenzy. Jawaharlal is still their prisoner. He refuses to go back to Delhi. We know that the whole of India must have risen in stormy indignation. But our Prince does not wish us to know the truth.

So, today comes a new ban. We cannot listen in to the radio any more. For on the radio

there will be news of the jathas which the Congress and the All-India States' Peoples' Conference must be sending to Kashmir.

But Kashmir does not care about the radio today. We know within us that the jathas are coming. . . .

And so once again, defying the curfew order and the ban on meetings, thousands come on the streets shouting:

"Release Pandit Nehru"
"Release Sher-i-Kashmir"
"Quit Kashmir."

Public Whippings

And with each shout, the Maharaja's soldier - hounds lash out more viciously. Today they have set up whipping posts in public places and drive the people to watch them thrash our heroes.

They expect Kashmir to be cowed and terrified. But only one thought rises in each Kashmiri head as the lash cuts into Kashmiri flesh—one thought:

those who lie in the shadow of martyrdom. . . .

June 22

Boycott The Garrison

TODAY the gang of hirelings whom Kak sent to meet Pandit Nehru with black flags has returned to Srinagar.

They look a pretty shady lot. They had to be brought back in a military lorry, for the public transport companies refused to carry them. Shopkeepers on the way refused to sell them food.

Nine employees of a well-known Kashmir transport company were arrested for refusing to carry this dirty chorus of traitors.

June 23

Starve And Forget

TODAY hundreds of shopkeepers, workers and artisans have been deprived of their ration cards for having taken part in demonstrations,

from the brave young men and women of the Punjab—which we expected would come?

Now that Panditji is no longer here, those jathas will not come.

We are left alone again. . . . Panditji, when you are back in Delhi, remember us.

Remember Ali Mohammad, the Silk Factory worker, who even as you drove out of Kashmir, was being tortured in Srinagar Central Jail for demanding your release. I will not tell you all the harrowing details of how they tortured him, for we do not want your tears, we want your anger.

The Faith Of A People

Yes, even as you left Kashmir they took Ali Mohammad's mangled body and left it in its blood on the steps of his home. . . .

He died in his mother's lap. All her mother's love, all her tender nursing of his wounds could not save him.

But he died happy. He had done his part to avenge the insult our rulers offered to our guest.

Yes you were right, Ali Mohammad. But now, your tortured body cries out for revenge. Hear him, people, hear him, Indians everywhere.

Staunch his mother's tears. Tell her, show her that her boy did not die for nothing.

Panditji must come back to Kashmir—come back soon.

No—not to save HIS "honour," as the men in high places say—but to save the faith of a people in its leaders.

INCREASED RATIONS IN JODHPUR

Hunger-March Wins

ON June 16, Jodhpur was out on the streets in a mighty mile-long procession of 15,000 citizens—workers, students, women, clerks—all. Jodhpur was marching for its stomach to the Maharaja's Palace.

This procession was the culmination of a week's campaign by the Jodhpur Lok Parishad against the rationing arrangements.

The people's demands were that the rations should be eight chattaks for citizens and 12 chattaks for workers.

The procession's slogans ran through the city, "We demand adequate rations."

"How much?," asked the slogan shouter.

"Three pous", shouted back the workers.

At the Palace, a deputation met the Maharaja, who was compelled to invite the people's representatives to a meeting of the State Council on the following day.

Here the Lok Parishad leaders—Syts. MATHURA PRASAD MATHUR, RADHA KRISHNA BOHRA and BANSIDHAR PUROHIT—explained how if the State took possession of the hoards of the big merchants and landlords, there would be plenty for all, and the popular demands could be met.

The latest news from Jodhpur is that the authorities have been forced to yield and fix the rations at the amounts suggested by the people.

Jodhpur's "Hunger March" has won.

LATEST NEWS FROM KASHMIR

June 24

Hunger Strike

IN Jammu Jail, Kashmir's political prisoners are on hunger strike, fighting against conditions of medieval slavery, in which they are abused and beaten by the brutal Dogra soldiers who are their jailors.

Mirpur Rising

Government has rushed military from Jammu. Nowshwa cantonments to Mirpur. Reports from Mirpur reveal that the entire district has risen like one man against the Maharaja's terror.

June 26

Teargas Not Education

TODAY the Kashmir Government has issued a secret circular to all educational authorities.

The Minister for Education is convinced, says the circular, that education is at the root of the people's discontent.

And so education must be discouraged. One lakh of rupees out of the already scandalously small educational budget have been appropriated for the purchase of tear-gas bombs!

June 27

Demonstrations Again

DEMONSTRATIONS and public meetings have been held today at Hazarabad, Anantnag, Baramula, Badgaum and in Amtrakadal (Srinagar). Eleven persons were arrested at Srinagar, five at Anantnag, five at Baramula and 17 at Badgaum.

June 28

Secretariat In Flames

THE east wing of the Government Secretariat in Srinagar has been burnt down. The anger of the Kashmiri people burst over in this demonstration of their hatred of this centre of Premier Kak's Terror-Raj.

PEOPLES AGE

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
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BANK OF INDIA CLERKS, PEONS ON STRIKE

SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY clerks and sepoy of the Bank of India in Bombay have been on strike since June 26.

Six hundred and eighty bank clerks and peons! They served the bank faithfully and well, helping it to reap Rs. 85 lakh profits every year of the war. In return the bank directors have persisted in a wage of Rs. 60 for clerks and Rs. 22 for peons. After about 25 years of service, with all its months of unpaid overtime, the clerks may claim a salary of Rs. 125 and the peons Rs. 50 at best per month.

Their Demands

This year they formed a union and asked for better wages—Rs. 75 rising upto Rs. 300 for clerks and Rs. 35 rising upto Rs. 105 for peons.

Other demands included adequate dearness allowance, leave rules, scheme for provident fund, etc. The directors (take a look at their names on col. 2) turned down these demands.

"Bank clerks' strike? Unthinkable!" they said.

On June 11th, the clerks, despite the advice of some of their self-appointed leaders, gave notice of strike and celebrated the day by a symbolic 15-minute strike.

With their purses bursting with cash, the directors could have offered to open negotiations. But they would not. Instead they tried to disrupt the ranks of their employees by offering a rise of about Rs. 60 to old clerks, and about Rs. 15 to the junior staff. The peons were offered Rs. 2 to Rs. 5. It was a crude trick to bypass the demand for a revised scale of wages.

They, however, got their rebuttal when an old clerk with 25

years of service in a spirited reply refused the lift of Rs. 80 for himself, saying:

THE GUILTY MEN

(The Bank Directors)

SIR COWASJI JEHANGIR
SIR CHUNILAL MEHTA
MR. AMBALAL SARABHAI
SIR SHANTIDAS ASKURAN
MAHMUD KASIM SULE-
MAN MITHA

THE BOSSES AND THE STAFF

Average daily wage:
European officers Rs. 100
Clerks " 2-12-0
Sepoys " 0-15-0

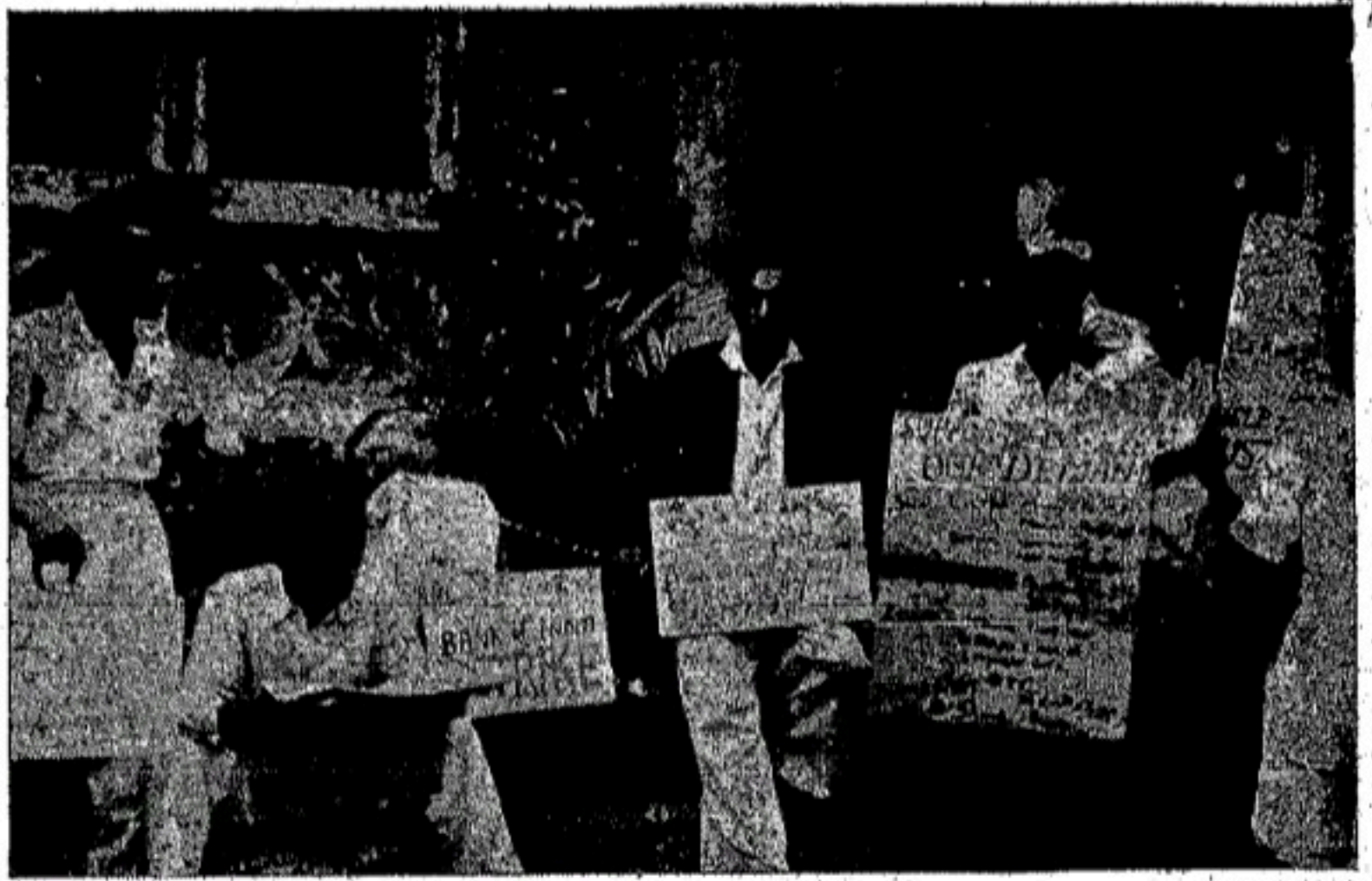
PROFITS OF THE BANK

1945 Rs. 85 lakhs
1939 to '46 Rs. 60 lakhs to 85 lakhs per year.

"I am a member of the union. If you are out to grant us a rise, grant it to all."

On June 25, the Ministry appointed Mr. Justice Diytia, a shareholder in the bank as adjudicator in the dispute—an unprecedented and inexplicable act! But there it was, for reasons best known to the Minister concerned.

The staff was furious. That evening their general body meeting rejected the adjudication. Counsels of despair that illegal strike may mean jail, etc., were promptly turned down.



Strikers outside the Bank—

(Photo: Chhajed)

Next day—Strike! One hundred per cent strike. Clerks and peons moved peacefully with posters and placards hanging down their necks.

Fifty policemen and six sergeants were sent to parade in front of the bank. The sergeants as usual acted their part. On their own they almost enforced Section 144, not allowing the clerks and peons to gather in the vicinity.

One clerk indignantly hit back:

"In 1942, we ordered these Whites to 'Quit'. Now, under the Congress Ministry, they are ordering US to quit."

One June 27, CHHAJED, People's Age photographer, was arrested for taking photographs. Perhaps the sergeant thought he would have it declared a 'protected area.' After three hours in the lock up, Chhajed's release was secured.

Black-Legging Fails

When as part of their black-legging campaign the bosses got four clerks from a Share Broker's firm, Jivatlal Pratapel, to do their dirty job, clerks from the Bank of India and clerks from the Share Brokers' Clerks' Union together picketed

the firm and the black-legs were withdrawn.

Next day the owner of a nearby restaurant just refused to serve tea to the bosses, because the "strike was on."

Wide Support

Support to the bank employees is daily gathering.

The Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress held the city's first public meeting to support this great strike.

Telegrams in support have been received from the employees of the bank's branches in Calcutta, Ahmedabad, Surat, Karachi and other places.

In Calcutta the entire staff supported the action by observing a symbolic strike for 15 minutes.

Clerks from other banks in Ahmedabad have expressed their support.

And on June 28 all bank-clerks in Bombay went on a half-hour strike to express their solidarity with the Bank of India strikers.

The men are fighting on, determined to battle to the bitter end and win.

—by P. B. Rangnekar

V. R. KALAPPA

A 'Far-Sighted' Leader

M. R. KALAPPA is a railway labour leader with a past. TALKING about strikes, he is hard to beat. LEADING them, you said? Well, here is a story from Nagpur.

The Bengal Nagpur Railwaymen's Union (BNR Union) is Kalappa's own—"Reds Not Allowed"! The All India Railwaymen's Federation May 5 had unanimously decided a strike ballot BEFORE and strike notice ON June 1.

But then Kalappa had not attended that meeting. And so he felt like exerting his "freedom of opinion". And thus it happened that the 1st of June passed, and the BNR Union took no ballot, gave no notice.

Then things started moving—things unheard of on the BNR. Angry deputations of workers waited on Kalappa. All of them talked the same language—used the same tone. All of them demanded: "Strike Ballot". And threateningly added: "Or....."

Kalappa abhors a fuss, abhors crowds. So he secretly planned quiet meeting on June 2. But somehow someone bungled and the news out. And 250 militants waited to receive Kalappa at the meeting.

On the 4th, the day of the ballot only the workers came to the booth. There were no boxes, no Union Lists, no Kalappa.

With the workers insisting that it was never too late to mend, the strike notice was eventually served on June 10th.

And then came the Delhi meeting of the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. The strike notices were withdrawn. "I told you so", thought Kalappa. And at a meeting in Nagpur on June 25, with his chest heaving with pride, the Leader said,

"Far-sighted leaders like me, Hu mayun Kabir and Shubnath Benerji got you everything without a strike. We got you nine crore and three Committees, when the people demanded only one!" Kalappa beamed and paused to listen to the cheers.

But somehow there was no clapping. Instead Reddy, a worker, embarrassingly asked him, whether it was true (as the Press had reported) that he and leaders like him had voted for the withdrawal of the strike even before negotiations with the Railway Board took place. Kalappa pained it of saying that the Press report was wrong!

But Mushtaque, a BNR delegate to the Delhi meetings, got up to firm the Press report and worse to maintain that the concessions been won in spite of Mr. Kalappa and his "far-sighted" friends: the firm stand of the rank and led by the Communists.

Anticipating trouble, Kalappa invited lorry-loads of police to by. But the workers, as it had did not seem to care, "Down anti-strike traitors," they again and again. And it was clear they meant Mr. Kalappa "far-sighted" friends.

And so Kalappa again yielded second time within a month! He had to issue receipt books, elections to the Nagpur Branch Committee of the BNR Union, if he did this before!

Kalappa has had a past, way workers. Must he have a future also?

ALL INDIA POSTAL GENERAL STRIKE FROM JULY 11 UNLESS DEMANDS MET

India's 1,25,000 postmen and lower-grade staff have given notice that from July 11, they will stop work. Letters will not reach their destinations nor will telegrams; not till the Government of India chooses to concede their demands.

WHAT do these much-maligned and rarely-publicised demands amount to? They want Rs. 100-10-200 as wage for clerks; Rs. 20-1-25 for boy-peons, with suitable grades in between for the rest of the staff like postmen, packers, runners, etc. Then they want no retrenchment, holidays as in other Government departments adequate leave rules, common rules regarding pay, leave, dearness allowance, etc.

The most regular and indispensable visitor to our house—what is life like for him?

"In some cases (work) starts at 5 a.m. ending at 10 p.m. They get no holidays to speak of and have considerable pecuniary responsibilities.He is in fact, in a small way, a cashier, an accountant and a clerk....The efficiency of the postal services very largely depends on a postman." (Postal Enquiry Committee 1920).

Sir G. V. Bewoor, Member, Posts and Air, more than supports this view, drawing pointed attention to the excessive work which this staff is compelled to perform, and which the very nature of the service forces them to execute without leaving any arrears.

And yet what about his pay? The wage of a messenger or a boy is Rs. 8 per month, rising upto Rs. 11. The highest, i.e.,

for a clerk or a sorter is Rs. 40 rising up to Rs. 115. (If he passes the grade examination).

As for dearness allowance (D.A.) employees drawing less than Rs. 39 per month got in January 1943 (3½ years after the war began) Rs. 6; today they get Rs. 20. Those drawing between Rs. 39 to Rs. 100 drew in January 1943 Rs. 9; today Rs. 22.

This was in 'A' area, getting the best of it. And in this same area the Bombay textile worker (whose dearness allowance grants only meet ¾ of the actual rise in the cost of living), got Rs. 32-11.

In other words, the best in India gets is hardly half he should have secured.

Till the March Award of this year, the lower-grade staff like packers, porters, runners, mail peons, etc., had no provisions either for a Provident fund or pension or even a gratuity!

So scandalous indeed is the state of affairs that the Krishna Prasad Committee appointed in 1942 to enquire into the revision of basic scales of pay, relief, etc., for the 'A' area, had even its reports suppressed, to say nothing of the recommendations it made.

Krishna Prasad who was then the Post-Master General in Bombay is now Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs. Certainly he could be expected

to know his business! And 'A' area, be it noted, 'enjoys' the best conditions of service!

To end these conditions, the All-India Union at its Annual Session in Madras in October 1945, gave a call for strike. The notice of strike was however not served till February 1946, giving the Government enough time to think the matter over.

On March 5, when all their secret plans to employ military personnel, etc., to break the possible strike failed, Government offered some relief by way of an increase in the "Good conduct allowance" which would have cost them Rs. 75 lakhs.

But even then they would not drop the slogan of "divide and rule." For the terms of reference to the Court of Adjudication (then appointed), were to

see "where adequate relief was to be granted to the NEW entrants!" The old staff was to be left high and dry, to quarrel with the new!

It is against such conditions and such tactics that the men are out to strike. The 200 delegates to the All-India Postmen and Lower Grade (including R.M.S.) Staff Conference held at Poona on June 23rd were unanimously of the "emphatic opinion that the same (Government) reply to their demands) is unsatisfactory, unconvincing and totally unacceptable." And they spoke for 80,000 organised staff.

It is absolutely imperative that every political party supports the postal employees wholeheartedly in this fight for their just demands.



A group of postmen outside a post-office in Calcutta.