

# At The Feet Of Imperialism

## RADICAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN CONFERENCE

THE Radical Democratic Party of Mr. M. N. Roy held its annual Conference in Bombay over the week-end.

Their key formulation is: "British imperialism is virtually liquidated."

(Central Secretariat's Report). Their political resolution declares that there is "no foreign factor now in a position to prevent the attainment of democratic freedom by the Indian people."

From this follows everything else.

"The goal is darkened by the predominance of reactionary forces within the country itself." (Resolution on the Indian Communal Situation).

These forces are the "Fascist" Congress and the League; and all the 'Leftist' parties, "in effect, play no other role than that of consolidating reaction in the country."

And so only the RDP can come to the rescue.

"None of the other political parties are so constituted and so inclined as to lead the Indian people to freedom and democracy. We shall have to rely upon ourselves, which also means that the people will have to rely increasingly upon us for their progress." (Report of the Central Secretariat)

After all this, what lead did the Conference of these 'radicals' give?

It did not have one word to say about the heroic anti-imperialist actions of the people which have taken place since it last met.

and Travancore.

In fact, the resolution on "Work in Indian States" said: "The Conference points out that the demands and campaigns of civil disobedience conducted by upper-class parties have achieved, we think, little practical result, and they are calculated, if successful, only to bring into power governments representing the landed and moneyed classes.

"On the other hand, the campaigns of direct action conducted by some Leftist elements have resulted in severe repression and the strengthening of autocratic and Fascist tendencies in the States."

### Their Practice

In practice, of course, we know that in Kashmir, the Royists have consistently and viciously fought in support of Premier Kak against the National Conference during the present struggle.

Their organ Hamdard has been the bitterest opponent of Sheikh Abdullah and the movement, has labelled the Sheikh and his followers 'Fascists' at a time when they were being tried and hunted by the Maharaja.

The attitude of the RDP to the revolutionary upsurge is the attitude of not merely effete liberals, who are scared stiff of 'repression', but in practice of actual agents of vested interests, who oppose every revolutionary action of the common people against exploitation on the ground of their being only 'partial' and 'sporadic'.

What has the RDP to say

about the Cabinet Mission proposals? Mr. Phillip Spratt in his Presidential address declared:

### Good Old British Plan

"A peaceful settlement was possible on the lines of the Cabinet Mission's grouping scheme, which both parties have accepted at different times and in very slightly different versions. Indeed, if they really preferred peace, they could settle it now on that basis.

"This compromise would lead to the most stable bourgeois regime possible in the circumstances. It would allow those who honestly believe in the progressive possibilities of capitalism and liberal democracy to try their method.

"If it worked well, they would have no need to fear any opposition for a long time to come. If it were found unsatisfactory, in an atmosphere of free discussion and open economic experiment, a constitutional Socialist opposition would arise which might bring about a peaceful transformation. It is hard to see why anybody should be afraid of that perspective."

The British Plan could hardly have a better advocate.

During the war, the RDP lay at the feet of the British. It continues to do so today—in its thesis of the liquidation of imperialism, in its complete opposition to every anti-British action of the people, in its unqualified support to the British Plan.

(By Romesh Chandra)

### No Lead

In fact, the view of the last two years presented to the Conference by the Central Secretariat does not even mention the RIN revolt.

The campaign for the release of the INA is labelled "nationalist jingoism", the British are condemned for not having "the moral convictions to go through with" the trials and the report regretfully mourns that the release of the INA officers was "a triumph for the Congress."

The report proudly states that in those days of "riots in different places, particularly in Calcutta and Bombay", (the RDP has a particular knack for using imperialist phrases—they call the glorious anti-British battles of November to February 'riots'), the Central Secretariat of the RDP declared that "it was the responsibility of revolutionaries in such a crisis to discourage partial insurrections and sporadic violence."

The Conference had nothing to say about even a single one of this period (the postal strike, the S.I.R. strike), about the great kisan upsurge all over India, about the States' peoples' movements in Kashmir, Hyderabad

## THIRD-CLASS FARES GOING-UP?

FROM April 1, III-class fares on the Indian railways will be raised.

This decision was taken last month in New Delhi by the Indian Railway Conference Association, the organisation of the General Managers and other senior officials of the railways.

Mr. J. F. C. Reynolds, General Manager of the South Indian Railway (notorious for his part in the terror employed against the workers during the historic SIR strike) presided and revealed that the railways would have Rs. 10.4 crores deficit this year. Reynolds expressed the fear that the deficit would increase from year to year and would reach a figure of Rs. 80 crores in 1949-50.

To meet this deficit, Reynolds and the railway officials decided to take certain steps, among which the most important was to increase the present III-class fares from 3.3 pies per mile to 4 pies.

Side by side they decided to abolish the present first and second classes and have instead only one upper class—paying only two pies more

per mile than the present second class. This in effect means cheaper travel for the rich first class passengers.

Mr. Asaf Ali, the Railway Member, was present at this conference and it seems that Reynolds and Co. were able to make him endorse this suggestion for making up the supposed deficit. In fact, Mr. Asaf Ali in his speech paid Reynolds—a "tribute for his thoroughness in preparing this review."

But the fact is that this review differed not one iota from the reviews prepared annually by the Railway Officials. All the work and mismanagement, all the expenses of top-heavy administration which have made our railways so notorious, were present.

### Reynolds' Calculations

In Reynolds' calculations are:

- Rs. 30 crores for "Interest Charges"
- Rs. 10.7 crores for "Special Items" like maintaining imperialism's strategic railway against the Pathans on our North-Western frontier.
- Rs. 13.3 crores for "Depreciation Fund" when experts put the annual needs at Rs. 6 crores and when Government have already piled up Rs. 103 crores under this head (apart from a "Reserve Fund" of Rs. 17.5 crores).

All the usual fat salaries for the Railway Board bosses, against which the people have so often protested through their MLAs in the Central Assembly.

From 1939 to 1946 alone Rs. 202 crores as profits and Rs. 224 crores as "Interest Charges" have been earned from the railways. And yet today the figures are manipulated in such a way as to make out a case for an increase in the fares to be paid by the common people.

The Interim Government and Mr. Asaf Ali's successor can and must explode the bogus arguments of Reynolds and Co., reduce the burden on the III-class passenger and clean up the whole bureaucratic method of running the railways.

In their battle to secure cheaper fares and better conditions of travel, the III-class passengers will have as their firm allies, India's nine-lakh railwaymen who also demand an end to the bureaucratic control and management of the railways, in order that they may secure a living wage.

## J. P.'s STATEMENT ANALYSED

(Continued from page 1) are able to estimate them and test them. Let them come to their own conclusion about their leadership.

This would again involve a complete break with Congress Socialist traditions towards the peasant movement; towards hinduism and towards faith in the Muslim masses. But without it, revolution will only be a word, to be toyed with from time to time.

Sjt. Jai Prakash Narain, in spite of his forecast of the revolutionary struggle and its course, is still far behind the masses and their actions. He does not see the great happenings taking place round him. He still thinks of offering the land to the peasant in the coming struggle. But the peasant is already in the field, attacking the bastion of landlordism.

He also utterly misses the importance of the strikes which, if the workers are not allowed to be crushed, will lead into a general strike for national freedom.

Herein his outlook lies rooted in reformism which talks about revolution in the abstract; he does not recognise its progress in the concrete.

Sjt. Jai Prakash correctly sees the militant forms which the struggle will assume but he has no independent on the Right-wing politics on the struggle. His plan is dependent on the Right-wing politics on what happens in Constituent Assembly.

His call is yet a mere expression of a wish, without any plan to translate

it into action. He does not know what preparations have to be made. He gives no rousing call to the people against the Imperialist Plan, but on the other hand, creates the illusion that the Constituent Assembly will draft a constitution worth fighting for.

He rejects immediate struggle against the compromising policy in any shape or form, and thus allows disruption to grow—the main purpose of the Plan.

Nonetheless his urge for revolutionary struggle expresses the mood of the Congress Left and ranks. To develop that urge into action, to develop a common plan is the task of all the forces who are against compromise. The Communist Party, the Kisan Sabha and the trade unions are big forces ranged against compromise and are fighting it through partial struggles, through States peoples' actions and through political campaign.

The Congress Socialist Party, which according to Sjt. Jai Prakash, claims 50 per cent of Congressmen, if it is serious about struggle and defeating compromise, must join hands with these forces and forge Left unity, to support partial struggles, protect democratic rights, to defeat the policies of compromise and open the way to final struggle.

Division in the Left ranks only strengthens compromise and aids disruption. Those serious about struggle can no longer evade the issue of Left unity or a joint front for action.

## Editorial

# CRISIS IN THE STATES

THE resolutions passed by the Standing Committee of the All-India States Peoples' Conference (AISPC), which held its session in New Delhi in the last week of December, have faithfully recorded the serious crisis that is brewing between the States' peoples' movement and organisations on the one hand, and the Princes and the Political Department on the other. But one looks in vain in these resolutions for a firm and decisive policy for coping with that crisis.

The Standing Committee records in its resolution that it has "observed a marked unanimity of repressive action against the people and a deliberate attempt to oppress and repress the States' peoples' organisations."

It has condemned the "excessively reactionary policy of the Political Department and denounced its all-White personnel as working to maintain imperialist footholds in the States."

It has laid the finger on the developing crisis in the States, where "the people were demanding some form of direct action in order to protect their organisations and interests."

But it has learned nothing from the experience of the past three months, the experience of the mounting tide of States' peoples' struggles on the one hand and the rising repression by the Princes on the other.

### Repudiating Mass Struggles

In the face of all-round repression by the Princes it recommends retrained mass struggles in the name of banning premature actions.

True, it warns the Princes that "it must advise the people of the States not to submit to repression of their basic principles" and calls upon the States' peoples' organisations to keep themselves ready for all emergencies.

But the main concentration is on the condemnation of the Political Department and on the demand that it should be Indianised and be placed under the Interim Government. These are, of course, correct demands, but the imperialists can never be forced to concede them by pursuing a policy of curbing the States' peoples' struggles.

The bankrupt policy of appeasing the Princes and of repudiating the heroic struggles of the masses of the States peoples in the face of direct repression, will only encourage the imperialists to carry on all the more merrily with the all-White Political Department.

In Hyderabad, the military and the police have intensified their veritable reign of terror in the Telengana countryside.

In some 800 villages, they have carried out total arrests, accompanied by bestial torture. Some 2,500 villagers have been arrested including several Andhra Mahasabha workers and trade union leaders. Fifty-six State Congress workers have been arrested including three members of its Working Committee.

The Standing Committee has failed to do the most elementary duty of exposing the full details of the horrible repression in Hyderabad. It has given no lead except approving the boycott of the constitution and of the elections under it, which the State Congress has organised. It has only asked the State Congress to strengthen its organisation.

### When Will Blind Anti-Communism Help?

But it has devoted a para to condemn "the harmful and anti-national" policies pursued by the Communists, and has taken special care to make it known, presumably to the State authorities, that "Communists cannot associate themselves with the workings of the State Congress."

This amounts to showing the green light to the State authorities to go ahead and suppress the Communists who are today leading the most heroic resistance of the thousands of Telengana people against the dark forces of feudal autocratic repression.

This blind anti-Communism and this open sabotage of mass struggles will not bring the Standing Committee the reward of a peaceful settlement in Hyderabad, through the good offices of Sir Mirza Ismail, but only the necessity of even more repression on the State Congress itself and the dispersal of its fighting forces.

The Standing Committee has passed no resolution on Travancore, where Sir C. P. staged a Jallianwalla Bagh to suppress the workers fighting to preserve their trade union rights.

Not less than 250 were killed there and several hundreds, including State Congressmen, Socialists and trade unionists, are in jail.

Is the Standing Committee silent against all this repression just because the struggle was led by the Communists?

The other resolutions of the Standing Committee record a similar tale of repression everywhere—in Kashmir, in the Eastern Agency States in Gwalior, in Kolhapur, Nagad, Datta and Bilaspur. But everywhere the Committee has counselled patience and postponement of direct action.

The Standing Committee of the AISPC and its political mentor, the Congress leadership, have pinned their faith on a compromise, a settlement with the Princes within the framework of the Imperialist Constitutional Plan.

They have appointed a States' Peoples' Negotiating Committee, to assist the Princes' Negotiating Committee and to see that at least half the representatives from the States to the Constituent Assembly are popularly elected.

### Illusions About Princes Falling In Line

The policy of appeasement is based on the illusion that as the British are quitting and handing over power through the Constituent Assembly, the Princes could not but fall in line.

But the recent developments prove that exactly opposite is the case. As even the resolution of the standing Committee admits, it is the imperialists who are "using the States and other reactionary elements to check India's progress towards independence."

The crisis in the States is deepening; thanks to the arrogance and growing aggressive policy of the Princely autocrats. But against it is rising the challenge of a new wave of States' peoples' struggles. Telengana and Travancore are its flaming signals.

In both these cases, the masses have fought back the repression with an initiative, resourcefulness and heroism, which are characteristic of the new spirit that is opening the phase of decisive struggles against these decrepit centres of feudal reaction.

The new spirit, of which the fighting people of Kashmir were the pioneers, is seen in the rising unrest and militancy among the peoples of the States throughout India. It was visible in Alwar and Bharatpur; in the Punjab States of Patiala and Jind, in the States of Central India, in the Eastern States, and in Mysore.

It is up to the young and fighting workers of Prajamandals and the States' Congresses to come forward as the champions of this new spirit, to come forward to develop workers' and peasants' movements and struggles in the States, to build the united front between them and the Prajamandals for the fight against autocracy.

It is time for all revolutionaries within and without the Prajamandals and the States' Congresses to join hands to develop a strong Left-wing within the latter to put a stop to this disastrous compromising policy of the Right-wing leadership in the States' Peoples' Conference.

It is time that all Left-wing parties and groups who seriously want to fight the compromising policy of the Congress Right-wing leadership join hands to develop a fraternal solidarity campaign in support of the struggles of the States' peoples against autocracy.

# MR. JINNAH'S ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

## WILL IT STRENGTHEN OR WEAKEN BRITISH IMPERIAL

### ★ CONTROL OF MIDDLE EAST? ★

The close ties existing between the freedom struggles of the Eastern countries and the Indian national movement, born out of common anti-imperialism, have always been recognised by the Muslim leaders of India.

Maulana Mohammed Ali repeatedly emphasised the freedom of India as a necessary pre-condition for liberating the entire Muslim peoples. This is as true today as it was during the Crimean, the Libyan and the Balkan wars, or during the Khilafat movement.

**BRITISH** imperialism has still a grip over these countries and is again busy consolidating its position.

During the last war, imperialism secured 'mandatory' rights over the Arabian speaking countries by playing the Arabs against the Turks. Today, when the entire Arabian peoples are rising to gain complete independence, British imperialism is again engaged in suppressing and disrupting these movements.

#### Playing One Against The Other

It is playing the Sudanese against the Egyptian national movement, and the Jews against the Arabs in Palestine.

It has plans of fomenting civil war between Christians and Muslims in Transjordan.

On top of all this, British and Indian troops are being kept in strategic positions for the direct suppression of the movements in these and other countries.

Now, with the help of its age-old notorious stooges, imperialism has succeeded in floating a new organisation—the 'Arab League'—through which it hopes to stabilise and extend its influence over the entire Eastern countries, particularly the 'strategic' Muslim countries.

Through the Arab League, itself, attempts are being made at forming some sort of a pro-British Eastern Bloc; pressure is being brought upon Syria, Lebanon and Egypt to accept the 'Anglo-Egyptian Defence Council.'

It is in this background that Mr. Jinnah is calling his 'Oriental Conference'. Undoubtedly, if it were convened with a view to help these countries in their freedom struggle, the Conference, attended by anti-imperialist leaders of these countries, could yet defeat imperialist conspiracies.

#### Will Strengthen British Influence

But the present disunity in the Indian national movement itself nullifies all such promises. Under present conditions, the fear is that this Conference will lead to the strengthening of British influence in these countries rather than to their freedom.

Just because Mrs. Pandit led the Indian delegation to UNO, Mr. Jinnah, not worried about the adverse effect it would have on her brilliant presentation of India's case before UNO, decided to send a parallel delegation to America to do anti-Congress propaganda under Begum Shah Nawaz.

This Oriental Conference, too, is a result of the same politics. It was originally convened by Mr. Jinnah merely with a view to counteract the proposed Asiatic Conference of Pandit Nehru.

It is significant that in spite of the resolutions of the League on Palestine, Mr. Jinnah did not speak of the Middle East or propose any Oriental Conference till after the League entered the Interim Government.

Immediately following the League entry into the Central Government came a revealing

proposed Conference, to be effective, would require to be attended by influential representatives and leaders of the countries."

Explaining further the purpose of this Conference, he declared that the biggest gain of this Conference would be to promote "mutual, cultural and ideological understanding and the advancement through contacts that such a meeting would give" for the people of the participant countries have much in common.

"It would be inevitable, however," he declared, "that political problems would be discussed at such a gathering and it would be a good thing for us to hear and understand the political problems of the Middle East countries."

Of course, Mr. Jinnah declared that it "would not be a political meeting in the sense that the Bloudan Conference was." (Middle East Opinion, Cairo, November 11, 1946).

#### Changed Position After London Conference

As is clear from the above, in the beginning, Mr. Jinnah was not much concerned about the political aspect of this Conference, despite the intense Congress-League conflict. The Conference could have been expected to ponder seriously over the problems of Middle East countries. But now after the London Conference, all such illusions have been dashed to pieces.

Having assumed the responsibility for seeing through the grouping clause of their plan successfully, the British Government has today come to be regarded in League circles as the defender of Muslim inter-

ests. As expected, the Government wants to make full capital out of this.

Immediately after the declaration of December 6, the imperialists started direct negotiations with Mr. Jinnah, who stayed back in London for some days. It is generally known that during his stay in London, Mr. Jinnah met Mr. Churchill, Mr. Eden and other imperialist spokesmen and Conservative leaders.

On his way back to India, Mr. Jinnah broke his journey at Malta and stayed at the Governor's guest. At Cairo, he was welcomed by the staff of the British embassy. He stayed at the honoured guest of the Arab League, interviewed King Farouq and others.

#### Wafd Party's Disapproval

He was particularly welcomed by the Egyptian Fascist leader, Hasan-ul-Nabawi, who even presented him with a copy of the Quran.

All these activities and movements of Mr. Jinnah were seriously disapproved of by the leaders of the Wafd Party and all anti-imperialists in the Middle East.

Before leaving Cairo, Mr. Jinnah dilated upon the dangers of Hindu imperialist domination in India. The existence of British imperialism, its domination over all the Eastern countries, Muslim and non-Muslim, leading to their utter ruin, were forgotten by Mr. Jinnah.

He was only conscious of the "dangers of Hindu imperialism" in India. He did not refer to the heroic anti-British

struggles of the common people in the Eastern countries. He did not bother about the fact that just a few days before Mr. Jinnah's visit, King Farouq's police had lathi-charged the University students, that hundreds of people were killed on the streets of Cairo and Alexandria as a result of British firing.

Strangely enough, Mr. Jinnah kept quiet even about the Arabs in Palestine, despite the fact that the Muslim League has passed many resolutions against the imperialist conspiracy in Palestine.

"Hindu imperialism" makes no sense to the people of the Middle East, who are engaged in a life and death struggle with British imperialism. They cannot understand how right in the midst of the anti-imperialist battle, the leader of the Indian Muslim League can raise issues which only serve to divide and split the anti-imperialist movement.

#### Will Further Imperialist Designs

It is quite clear that in the present circumstances, with 'Hindu imperialism' as the keynote of Mr. Jinnah's invitations, the proposed Oriental Conference will only succeed in helping further the designs of British imperialism both in India and the Middle East.

Only the notorious enemies of the democratic movement in the Middle East will come to the Conference. They will together seek to split India still further by making the cleavage between the Congress and the League greater.

#### Demand Withdrawal Of British Troops

They will use the great name and tradition of the Indian Muslims to further their own pro-British aims in their own countries against the progressive and democratic forces.

Today the peoples of the Middle East are rising in revolt against imperialism. Men, women and children are preparing to launch the final attack.

It is our duty today that we, with our strong national movement, with our masses too in revolt, carry forward our past traditions and support the national anti-British movements of these Middle-Eastern countries. Forging unity with them we must free not only our land, but also theirs.

The anti-imperialist Muslim masses, the vast majority of whom are followers of the Muslim League, have a special role to play in this historic task.

They have always been in the forefront of the battle for the freedom of the Middle East. The days of the Khilafat have not been forgotten.

In more recent times it is they who have sought hard to make their leaders take practical steps against the British conspiracy in Palestine.

Today they must foil the attempts to use the Oriental Conference to widen the differences inside India and to help to prevent the solidarity of the Indian National movement with the freedom movement in the Middle East.

They must demand that the Oriental Conference should voice the anti-imperialist feelings of the peoples of the Middle East and India and put forward as its first and major demand the call for the withdrawal of British troops from Egypt, India and all Eastern countries.

by  
**Dr. K. M. Ashraf**

statement by Mr. Jinnah. In an exclusive interview to the representative of the Arab News Agency in New Delhi, Mr. Jinnah declared:

"Closer ties between Muslim India and the Middle East are very desirable, particularly in view of the participation of the Muslim League in the Interim Government of India."

He especially emphasised:

"In my view, the Muslims and the Hindus cannot cooperate any more—or come into any closer association—than they have done so far. (In my view they are two entirely separate nations, who must approach their destiny as two separate nations."

#### First Proposal From Cairo

During the course of this interview, Mr. Jinnah agreed that the proposal for such a Conference came first from certain circles in Cairo (these were the pro-British leaders of the Arab League). According to him, "this

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

#### Blackmail And Sahibs

A FRIEND of mine, who is in close touch with the Secretariat in New Delhi, writes to say that as soon as Badshah Khan made his allegations that the Political Service officers were responsible for staging the anti-Nehru demonstrations in the tribal areas, the Indian Political Service bosses in New Delhi rushed to Pandit Nehru, and threatened him that they would resign and leave by the first boat for Britain—if he insisted on making a public enquiry.

Blackmailers usually threaten their victims with grave consequences, if they do not carry out their orders. But all that the Sahib-blackmailers "threaten" us with is "resigning" and "quitting"—not a VERY "grave consequence", I must say!

Yet, the blackmailers boast, I gather, that their blackmail worked.

And the truth is that the wretched blackmailers still continue to rule the roost, and the enquiry into their conduct (promised by Pandit Nehru in the Central Assembly) does not seem to have materialised yet.

I do not know what answer Panditji gave these chameleons fellows, who first organised stone-throwing and shooting at him, and then had the nerve to blackmail him.

I know what the Indian people would have liked him to tell the Sahibs:

"Get out, quick, as fast as your legs can carry you. We do not want you and your kind to remain in your offices and continue bombing our tribal brethren. Badshah Khan and his colleagues will take your places and build the unity of all Pathans against imperialism."

An announcement has been made this week that Sir Akbar Hydari, a member of Wavell's 'Caretake' Government, has been

appointed on special duty in the External Affairs Department "in connection with the preparation and organisation of a scheme for the recruitment of personnel to the proposed Foreign Service of India."

Mr. Asaf Ali's appointment as Ambassador in the United States was a welcome sign of the proposed patriotic character of the new Foreign Service.

But the imperialist bureaucracy has its own plans for the Indian Foreign Service. A letter from London reveals that the Viceroy and other British officials in India have been instructed to see that as many 'reliable' men as possible are pushed into the Foreign Service. The following steps amongst others are to be taken.

#### Chosen Progeny

● "Loyal" (to the British) Indian ICS and other officials are to approach Congress leaders, assure them of their patriotism and ask for appointments.

● The Political Department is to prepare lists of "suitable" relatives of the Indian Princes who can be made to offer themselves for service. I understand that there is quite a furious learning of foreign languages going on among a certain number of Princelings, at the instructions of the Residents.

● Lower posts of "vacant" positions, officials and others are to be ordered to apply at once.

The whole purpose is obvious. Britain wants India to be its camp-follower in international politics. It is scared stiff of Pandit Nehru's independent Foreign Policy, which won such a high place for India at the recent session of UNO.

In order to fight Panditji's policy, it wants to park the Foreign Service with its own 'chosen' progeny.

The appointment as organiser of recruitment to the Foreign Service of an ex-ICS official like Sir Akbar Hydari (who was so acceptable to the British as to be appointed member of the 'Caretaker' Government and is often tipped as a likely Governor) is the first step the imperialist bureaucracy has taken in this direction.

#### Landlordism

THE Maharaja of Darbhanga is one of the biggest landlords in Bihar. I understand that he has been doing a great deal of talking recently. And some of his talk has trickled through to me.

The main subject of his talks, I understand, is the question of the future of landlordism. The Congress Ministry is going to abolish landlordism and his co-landlords are pretty scared.

But Darbhanga is not. He tells his fellows:

"Don't worry. I have an assurance from important leaders of the Congress, that this abolition will take some years yet. And by that time, we can 'arrange' things."

When pressed to mention the names of the 'leaders', Darbhanga is said to be audacious enough to mention even the name of Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Of course, no patriot will believe that any such assurance has been given to the Maharaja. But the very fact that legislation for the abolition of landlordism is being delayed from day to day all over India is giving the Maharaja and his ilk the opportunity to "arrange" things.

The sooner steps are taken to stop the Maharaja's continued overlordship of his tenants, the sooner will he talk about "arrangements" from national leaders' end.

Ramesh Chandra

# JIND PRIME-MINISTER REMOVED

## Popular Movement Sweeps The State

ON December 28, in a special firman, the Maharaja of Jind announced that he would take the following steps.

- Remove the hated Premier, Sir Ganganath Kaula;
- Reconstitute the Executive Council in order to give representation to various parties in the State;
- Revise the land revenue rates so as to bring them in conformity with those prevailing in British India;
- Improve the irrigation system;
- Increase the number of educational institutions and libraries; and
- Appoint a Pay Commission to revise the salaries of public servants, including the police and military.

### Heroic Struggle

Behind the announcement of these concessions was a long and heroic struggle against the repressive measures of Premier Kaula.

Jind is a small State in the Punjab with a Sikh Ruler. It has a population of four lakhs, the territory being 1,275 square miles. The Maharaja is old and decrepit, and Sir Ganganath Kaula was the Ruler all but in name. Jind's repression was in line with the best of the States!

In November, the State Prajamandal held its Conference and decided to launch a struggle to achieve Responsible Government and civil liberties.

### Akali Chauvinism

When the people were getting against the Ruler, the State ready for an all-out offensive communal chauvinist Akali leaders intervened with the slogan:

"Jind is a Sikh State; it must be for Sikhs."

With this cry they launched their Sikh 'marcha', directing their attack on the fact that the Premier was a Hindu and not a Sikh. The Akalis captured two 'Gurdwaras'. Their main slogans were:

First, replace Premier Kaula by a Sikh Premier;

by  
**Our Correspondent**

Secondly, there should be no increase in water tax; and

Thirdly, reservations of 55 per cent seats in the Praja Sabha for the Sikhs (who form only 11 per cent of the total population!)

It was a definite attempt to sidetrack the real issue and disrupt the united struggle the Prajamandal was about to launch.

On November 12, a Sikh procession headed by seven of the biggest jagirdars of the State including the son of the Home Minister was taken out. Leaders of the procession were arrested "for defying the State ban on processions."

### Loyalty To Ruler

The Akali party organ Ajit flashed the news under the caption: "Leaders of Sikh landed aristocracy under arrest." These leaders, however, were immediately released as the Maharaja was satisfied that they always have been traditionally loyal to His Highness. (1)

So much for the real character of the Akalis' 'struggle'.

The people of Jind, however, went ahead with their plans. December 8 was observed by the Prajamandal in the State as "Direct Action" day.

Meetings were held throughout the State where the people expressed their determination to fight for Responsible Government and civil liberties.

Huge processions were brought out in a number of places. These meetings and processions were attended by kisans in thousands and the whole State was ready for action.

### Maharaja Bends

The Akali leaders of course denounced this popular and

united upsurge as 'Hindu mischief' and wrote to the Congress President, Acharya Kripalani, complaining that the Prajamandal was under Communist influence and that kisans with Red flags joined the processions organised by the Prajamandal.

But despite all the Akalis' efforts, the people went ahead. The Maharaja seeing the mood of his 'subjects' had to sue for peace. On December 10 he invited to a conference, leaders of the Akalis, the Prajamandal and the Muslim League.

The Akali leaders refused to accept the invitation on the plea that they alone should have been invited to such a conference.

But even this attempt at disruption failed. The people's movement forced the Maharaja to accept some of its demands.

### Common Victory

The firman of December 28 is a victory for Jind's Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims. But they will have to be vigilant and see that concessions that have been promised are carried out, and above all that the Maharaja with the aid of the Akalis is not able to disrupt their growing unity and strength.

# Patiala Praja - Mandal Leaders Arrested

## Action Against Tenant Upsurge

S J. T. Bristhian, President of the Regional Council of the Punjab States People's Conference; Sjt. Sundaral, President, Patiala State Prajamandal and four other Prajamandal workers have been arrested by the Patiala State authorities for the alleged defiance of an order under Section 144 which was promulgated to suppress the 'Muzhara' (tenant) movement in the State.

This action of the State authorities followed the submission of a 20-point memorandum by the State Prajamandal to the Ruler.

### Memorandum Submitted

The memorandum demanded that the two million people of Patiala should be given the right to frame their future constitution by a Constituent Assembly, based on adult franchise, joint electorate and direct election; and that immediately an Interim Popular Government should be set up. It also asserted:

"It is the right of the people of Patiala State alone to send their representatives as against the nominees of the Ruler" to the All-India Constituent Assembly.

After giving the fullest support to the 'Muzhara' movement in the State and condemning the "policy of the State of persecuting and harassing the Muzhars and their supporters", the Prajamandal demanded the abolition of landlordism.

The Prajamandal started agitation on the basis of this memorandum, and immediately the Government came out with its weapon of repression.

L. Achintraam, President of the Punjab States' Sub-Committee of the Provincial Congress Committee, in a statement on these arrests says:

"The outside public might be misled but the people conversant with Patiala politics know fully well that it is not



Maharaja of Patiala

the arrest of these leaders that is designed, but it is the arrest of the 'Muzhara' movement in the State which is intended.

"The very fact that the authorities have become panicky shows that they are finding the ground slipping from under their feet. The arrest of dozens of kisan workers has failed to suppress the movement. On the contrary, it has given a fillip to it. The arrest of these beloved leaders is bound to lead all the 'Muzhara' villages into action." Reports received here show that hartal is being observed in Patiala today as a protest against the policy of repression of the State authorities.

—From Our Correspondent

put-down the turbulent people of Kashmir. The grand literacy figure of the Jammu and Kashmir States stand at six per cent.

The Education Minister of the Jammu and Kashmir Government, Wazir Gansarim is said to have told a friend recently that "Ignorance is really a bliss. Education in the State has brought nothing but trouble. I stand for the principle of: 'No education, no trouble'".

SHAMLAL KAUL,  
Secretary,  
Kashmir Publicity Committee,  
Lahore,  
December 20.

### M.P. And Demob

I FEEL that some of your readers will be interested in the following letter a British soldier friend of mine received from his M.P. in reply to his complaints about the slowing down of demobilisation. I am told that many British soldiers are sending letters of complaint to their M.P.s and this is a typical reply:

"I am in receipt of your letter regarding demobilisation, and fully sympathise with your feelings in the matter. I have no doubt but that I would feel much the same and grumble in the same manner. But the fact has to be faced that we have not made as much progress in the settlement of the various peace treaties as it has been hoped to make earlier in the year. The Government may be partially to blame, but of course, cannot be wholly blamed. It requires agreement to make peace treaties and that is not always easy to get.

"In view of this the Government has agreed to the programme of release announced on November 6. Nobody likes the programme and numerous suggestions for speeding it up have been made, but on being examined they are not so good as they appear at first sight. You may be assured that everyone realises the feeling on the matter and it is being watched closely.

"I can only add this—that the Government would not be likely to follow a course which is so unpopular unless it were really necessary." That is the M.P.'s letter. I need hardly tell you, that such wishy-washy stuff only strengthens the British soldier's resolve to fight to go back home and leave India as fast as possible.

A. STURIEFF

Calcutta,  
December, 21, 1947.

## READERS Column

### Congress And The Sikhs

WHEN Sardar Baldev Singh joined the Interim Government, his seat in the Punjab Assembly fell vacant. The local Congressmen of his constituency have been very anxious to set up a candidate and win back this seat from the Akali Party for the Congress. During the general elections, Sardar Baldev Singh managed to defeat the Congress candidate by a very narrow margin, and most people here feel that if we fight this seat again, we can defeat the Akalis hands down.

But the latest information we have received is that the Congress High Command has instructed the Provincial Congress Committee not to contest the seat and leave the Akalis to count in unopposed.

### Estrangement

The argument seems to be that a fight in this constituency would "estrangle Congress-Akali relations" both in the Central and Provincial Governments. It is said that Sardar Baldev Singh's support to the Congress at the Centre has been of immense value to the Congress.

I fail to see—and there are quite a number of Sikh Congressmen who think like me—how the Congress cause is strengthened by allowing the Akalis to take the Sikh masses further along the road of communal disruption. The Congress can and must fight the Akalis and their dirty propaganda.

If the price of the so-called "support" which Sardar Baldev Singh gives to the Congress is that the Congress will undertake to leave the Sikh masses as a sort of private preserve for the Akali propaganda, then the price is too heavy and is certainly

against all the principles of the national movement.

GOPAL SINGH

Amritsar,

December 13.

### 'Education' In Kashmir

THE teachers' strike in the Jammu Province is spreading. Two thousand five hundred teachers of all grades are on strike. Three out of these are on hunger strike. Almost all the schools in the Province of Jammu have been shut down and the whole educational system is out of gear.

Apparently the Kashmir Government is treating the situation with cold indifference. Recently Premier Kak declared that even if the strike continued indefinitely, no rise in the salaries of the teachers could be allowed.

It is interesting to note that a graduate starts his service in the Education Department of the Kashmir Government with the ridiculous salary of Rs. 55, and ends up his career on Rs. 85 per month.

For the last few years, the Kashmir Government has adopted a policy of discouraging the spread of literacy in the State.

### 'Ignorance Is Bliss'

In the last Budget meeting of the Kashmir Council of Ministers, the Accountant General while giving his financial report very strongly urged that the time had come when a halt should be called to expenditure on education.

Since then a policy of callous apathy towards the education of the people has been adopted and is being carried out with determination.

Only a few months back ten lakhs worth Rs. 1,60,000 were paid out of the education budget to

## IN THE STATES

### BHOPAL EMPLOYEES DEMONSTRATE

ON December 8, the Bhopal State employees organised in a Federation of Unions of different branches of the service, demonstrated for adequate dearness allowance on rates similar to those given to Government of India employees.

This demonstration was the climax of a long campaign for better conditions run by the State employees.

Immediately following the demonstration, the State banned the holding of meetings and demonstrations from the very next day.

### BIKANER REPRESSION

Fourteen elected office-bearers of the Bikaner Praja Parishad are under arrest. The State authorities have forcibly prevented the holding of the Tricolour at State Congress meetings at Sava, Ratannagar, Momanar despite Prime Minister Pantiker's assurances to the A.I.S.P.C. leader Sjt. Hiralal Shastri that he would recognise the rights of the Parishad to hoist the Tricolour.

The final touch to the repressive acts of the States was given on December 25 when all meetings and

processions were banned for three months.

### PORBANDAR EXTERMENT

Sjt. Vajubhai Shukla, veteran Communist leader of Kathiawar, was exterminated for the third time by the Porbandar State on December 20.

### COMMUNAL UNITY IN JODHPUR

On the eve of the Moharram on December 4, a united public meeting of 2,000 citizens—Hindus and Muslims—was held at Jodhpur under the joint auspices of the Marwar Lok Parishad (branch of the All-India State's People's Conference), Marwar Mazdoor Union, Marwar Muslim League and the Students' Union.

The meeting declared its firm resolve that Jodhpur would fight against the spread of communal poison.

### TRAVANCORE ENQUIRY MISSION

Svt. T. M. Venglass, K. A. Gendhar Menon, A. Sankaran Pillai and A. K. John of the Travancore State Congress have gone to Shertallai and Amalikulam Taluk to investigate the extent of brutalities committed by the police and the military.

# THESE ARE THE JOTEDARS OF RANGPUR

## They Seize Three-Fourths Of Grain And Demand Exclusive Price For It

The jotedars below an article by ...

**SHAROCROPPERS' LOT**  
The word jotedar is much used in the ...

**Hundreds Of Acres**  
With or two families of jotedars own ...

**Keith Barman of Gaya** had ...

**Thief, Robbery**  
Some say that 'Kallari' the ...

**Every share-cropper is a slave to the jotedar as a result**

of this indebtedness handed down from generation to generation. It is as a result of this that the little hand that the share-cropper owns, his plough and bullocks, all pass into the hands of the jotedars gradually. In reality it is a very speedy transfer.

**Serf Of To-day**  
Share-croppers are of two kinds. There are the 'independent' share-croppers and the serfs. The latter not only have no land, but no place of abode either. They cannot leave one jotedar and calculate the land of another.

**The authority and influence of these few big jotedars is not confined to the share-croppers alone. They have great control over the entire life of the village. Village administration, village schooling, money for Government relief and loans, are all in their hands; they are the money-lenders of the village and the faithful followers of the bigger landlords and rural superintendents of the bureaucracy.**

might have done with the wretchedness of these farmers.

**Iron Curtain**  
In one week, 11 Wazirs were arrested, some without warrants. Warrants against life were also pending. Women were being molested and even abducted. No case of this nature was allowed to go to court.

**Wazir Beaten Up**  
The sliver of it all came when on the 25th, about a dozen armed men, some of them wearing British uniforms, entered the village and started beating up the Wazirs.

**Red Flag Everywhere**  
The 'Pravara' which was the ...

### THE STORY IN CASH

The Jalandhar District ...

Wage of Rs. 65 per month	Rs. 65.00
Oil, salt, etc.	12.00
House rent	10.00
Food	15.00
Medical	5.00
Other	10.00
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>117.00</b>

# After Extermination Of Kisan Leaders Saukar-Police Terror Let Loose On Warlis

## PEASANTS, MEN AND WOMEN, RESIST BRAVELY

The Bombay Government's whole-hearted ...

**Struggle Spreading**  
The best instance of how the ...

**Women Beaten Up**  
The sliver of it all came when ...

**Red Flag Everywhere**  
The 'Pravara' which was the ...

# TEBHAGA BATTLE ENTERS CRUCIAL STAGE

## Jotedars Secure Police Help In Desperate Bid To Collar Paddy; Kisan Resistance To Repression

**By Nikhil Chakravarty**  
Calcutta, December 21, 1946.

The battle for the new harvest which the share-croppers have been fighting in the eleven Bengal districts has reached a crucial stage today.

**Armed Gorkhas**  
On December 19, in Debaghat (Jalpaiguri district) armed Gorkhas with 'chowkidars' and accompanied by the local jotedars, came to the fields and threatened to burn the crops.

At Alakhola, the police after an initial retreat, raided the village in order to seize the paddy. Unsuccessful in their attempt to unarm the paddy, the police ran amok and wounded over 20 Hindu-Muslim kisan women.

**Open Attacks**  
The jotedars are indulging in open attacks on the kisan rights in front of the police and in complete defiance of all laws. In Dabra (in Rangpur) the Mirzan Jodidar Koramul Daga set a paddy gang to assault the veteran Communist kisan leader, Manikrishna Sen, who was almost killed by them.

**Women Fight**  
On December 20, at Kanchpur, Jotedar Manindan Kanchpur a gang of 20 peasants met 200 or more kisan women, who were bringing paddy home. But the women were not cowed. They fought the jotedars and Mahomed-ud-din, though he succeeded in wounding them, had to take to his heels after firing twice.

**2,000 Warrants**  
For the whole district, nearly 1,800 warrants have been issued against kisans.

**Widespread Arrests**  
In the 24 Parganas, at Chatterji, where the movement has just started, notices of warrant have been issued against kisans.

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# KISAN ACTIONS IN WEST PUNJAB

## Communal Attempt To Split Peasants' Unity Fails

Nilbar colony forms a part of the two landlord districts of the Punjab—Multan and Montgomery. In Multan district, as much as 53.8 per cent of the land is owned by only 3.94 per cent owners, in holdings of not less than 100 acres, whereas 66.8 per cent owners own only 9.3 per cent of the land in holdings of less than 10 acres.

**Perilful Retort**  
The local story of kisan action in Multan comes from the office of the Honorary Secretary.

**Perilous News**  
The news of all this activities, which were earlier held in the presence of the landlords.

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# SOLID HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY AGAINST DISRUPTION

## Beedi And Cigar Workers' Fight For Living Wage

By V. T. Induchudan

In Malabar and South Canara for the last two months, thousands of beedi and cigar workers, Hindus and Muslims, have been fighting for a better wage against Hindu and Muslim owners, against the terror of the Malabar Special Police, against disruption by Congress Labour leaders and MLAs and also by the Muslim Leaguers.

It is a primitive industry with only a pair of scissors and crude wooden implements—the workers' own—as the tools. The working places are most insanitary and with almost no ventilation.

While the average wage is Rs. 35/12 per month (P.V.S. factory), the average expenses of a worker's family of four in Tellichery is Rs. 50/8. No bonus is paid, but illegal exactions are freely made. Dismissals have taken place as in the Ganesh Factory, even for taking leave for three consecutive days!

As against this, eight of the big owners (K. V. Kannan, Chatta, P.V.S. Vadhyar, Ummer, Durbar, Ganesh and Kuyil) have bagged Rs. 4 lakhs as net profits in one year.

### Rival Unions

As if to perpetuate this exploitation, in opposition to the Malabar, South-Canara Beedi-Cigar Workers' Union, some Congress and League leaders have started their rival unions.

For eight months, the Red Flag Union campaigned for a higher wage, uniformity of wages, end to illegal exactions, three months' wages as bonus, leave with pay, recognition of the Union, etc., and the owners sat tight.

In September, the Union held a strike ballot at Mangalore, Cannannore, Tellichery, Badagara, Ponnani, Kondatti, Kanjan-gad and Karivalloor and 96 per cent voted in favour.

Despite disruption workers

belonging to the Congress and the League Unions came out on a joint demonstration at Ponnani. A united Council of Action representing all the three groups was formed there.

And yet, on the eve of the strike, the League Union leaders tried disruption by calling the strike a "Communist affair" and the Congress-led Union yielded to the owners' petty concessions. Soon both of them were busy fighting the strike.

### Public Support

But the workers fought and people everywhere supported them. In less than four weeks, in Badagara, Cannannore and Tellichery alone they collected over Rs. 3,000 plus a lot of food materials by way of strike relief.

Owners soon started vicious goonda methods, beating up volunteers and workers, smashing up the Strike Committee's offices and the police only arrested the strikers.

The worst example is Dhar-madam where, when even after a number of goonda attacks the workers could not be crushed, the hated M.S.P. was thrown in. In a house-to-house search, they molested women and arrested about 50 people (ages between 18 and 65). About 100 armed goondas then paraded the streets to spread terror. Even the local school was closed; no children stirred out.

In four towns alone (Tellichery, Mangalore, Badagara and Cannannore) over 361 workers were arrested. A number of

them were so severely beaten up in the lock-up that they became unconscious; one had his head broken.

The arrested workers were given no chance for defence; they were summarily tried and convicted. As at Badagara, such trials were conducted even at night.

By December 6, the MSP offensive worsened. At Tellichery, before Vadhyar's works, workers lay down for picketing. With characteristic thoroughness, the MSP arrested everyone of the 87 picketers who dared to picket in their presence.

When about 4,000 citizens of Tellichery demonstrated before the local police office against this, the MSP attacked them with their rifle butts. When the prisoners inside shouted slogans, they too were beaten up.

### Partial Victories

But what was shocking was the way a number of Congress MLAs like C. K. Govindan Nair, and M. Kumaran, Congress Socialists like P. M. Kunhiraman Nambiar and T. V. Anandan; Congress labour leaders like K. P. R. Raghavan Nair etc., actively helped the police or the MSP to arrest and beat up the strikers.

But against all this, the workers, scattered under countless number of masters in two districts, have fought and are winning. In Ponnani they secured a wage increase. In Badagara 23 shops conceded their demands. The Government have ordered adjudication on the disputes of P.V.S. and Durbar factories. And strengthened by these partial victories, they are fighting on.

# HARIJAN TANNERY WORKERS WIN DESPITE TERROR

(By Radhakrishnamurty)

Six hundred Harijan tannery workers of Ellore faced hell for 20 days when the Madras Reserve Police tried every terror they knew to crush their strike for a living wage. Men beaten to unconsciousness, women kicked with boots (one raped), babies thrown on to the ground; the entire trade union leadership arrested; section 144 promulgated, blacklegs imported even from Pallavarum, some 320 miles away.

And yet the workers won.

TANNING has been one of the most backward and "sweated" seasonal industries in Andhra. The "labhis" who run this monopoly pay only annas nine (before the war annas five) per unit of work (soaking and scraping 23 large and 50 small pieces of hide).

A young and hefty worker can at best finish two units of work a day, i.e., earn Rs. 1-2-0. Children are freely employed at 1/2 or anna one a day, while cases are recorded with annas eight only as monthly wage!

Working for 11 hours a day in vats filled with corrosive chemicals, these men develop deformed hands and legs, even leprosy and tuberculosis. None is able to work for over 10 consecutive days in a month. They live in perennially swampy, stinking hovels, barely five feet in height and five square yards in area. And these have not been repaired for the last 20 years.

The workers are not allowed to join a union or even attend meetings called by it. The slightest protest leads to lock-out and even beating by the owners.

The union held protracted negotiations but could not secure a wage increase from annas nine to annas twelve per unit of work. On November 24, therefore, the workers began their strike and with it began "police terror."

To start with 60 workers were arrested on false charges.

On December 6, at dead of night, two lorry-loads of Reserve Police raided workers' quarters. Men in sleep, women with babies, all were dragged out, beaten and kicked. Some fainted. They wrested babies from their mothers' arms and threw them on the ground.

Next day Ganapati Satyanarayana, Secretary of the District ryots' Association, and one other, who went to the spot, were arrested.

On the 8th, some policemen locked a woman in a shop and raped her.

Thirty workers were locked up and beaten inside one owner's shop, their hands tied and mouths gagged. For two days, they were given no food, not even water. And, of course, none would intervene. This happened in other cases too.

To climax at all, all trade union leaders were arrested and Section 144 was promulgated.

### Bureaucracy Run Amuck

Against this bureaucracy run amuck, the entire working-class of Ellore—rice and jute mills, Municipal, press, handloom workers—rallied behind the tannery workers; Rs. 700 plus rice, etc., were collected for relief. No black-leg would oblige the owners. The District officials felt uncertain even of their police and imported 60 Reserve Police from Kistna district.

In the end, local Congress and League leaders moved. The former demanded intervention of the District Collector. The Labour Commissioner wired the appointment of an adjudicator, and the owners yielded to the union's demand for an interim relief of annas 12.

Section 144 and ban on even Executive Committee meetings are, however, still on. And no wonder! When Shri Raghava Menon, the Provincial Food Minister, visited Ellore during the strike and was told about police excesses, he coolly said, "The police have to act in self-defence!"

The Ellore workers' battle has won gains for their co-workers elsewhere also. Bezwada workers struck for two days and won annas ten and a half as daily wages and a weekly holiday on Sunday. Rajahmundry workers got Rs. 22 a month, an increase of Rs. 2.

Andhra workers have learnt how to fight. They will march on to bigger victories.

except for S. Y. Kolhatkar the Secretary of H.M.I. Dockyard Workers' Union.

The Government are yet to act on the recommendations of this Committee. And yet they have chosen to start with retrenching 1,500 workers. This despite their earlier promise to retrench only 600. This also despite the fact that the exact complement needed at the docks is according to the Inquiry Committee a matter for the Technical Committee which is yet to meet in February.

The Managing Committee of the Union which met on December 28 condemned "this highly provocative and callous action on the part of the Government" (which) has left the workers with no other alternative than to undertake strike action to secure their demands."

"Either immediate and full acceptance of all the recommendations of the Dockyard Inquiry Committee or suspension of all retrenchment till the Government take such action." And unless the bosses yield, it will mean strike on and from January 12, 1947.

## Workers On The March

### FIRESTONE STRIKE

FROM December 17, 1,100 workers—Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Pathans employed in the American-owned Firestone Tyre and Rubber Co.—have been fighting for leave with pay, immediate grant of bonus and recognition of their Union. And Sewree, where they are fighting, it should be noted, has been the scene of a number of clashes during Bombay's communal riots.

Despite a net profit of Rs. 86 lakhs in 1945 alone (wage bill is Rs. 19 lakhs), the Management dragged on the negotiations for 107 days. Meanwhile, they tried to disrupt the ranks by offering preferential treatment to some, but failed.

Their attempt at victimisation of a worker only recoiled on them, for the workers struck for two days and forced his reinstatement.

Now the bosses thought of arbitration—a sure way to tide over the growing unrest. The workers saw through it and came out on a strike after giving notice.

On the first day, armed police were paraded as usual. That, however, only brought the clerks and supervisors out. Then a notorious Pathan Police officer was sent to terrorise his nationals. This man had earlier disrupted two or three strikes by threatening to 'deport' the Pathans, unless they resumed work. And in Sewree, the Pathans had been the biggest target of communal attacks.

But these Pathans for once have failed this crude police intervention. And together they are all fighting for success.

### POSTAL EMPLOYEES

THE annual session of the All-India Postal and R.M.S. Union—the oldest and the biggest union of the postal staff—was held at Akola (Berar) on December 25-26 under the presidency of Shri. Mrinal Kanti Bose, the veteran Trade Union leader. Many 500 delegates from all Provinces (except Sindh) attended the session.

In July last they were betrayed by "leaders" like Dewan Chamanlal and

kept back from the strike of the postal employees. Today they have finally broken from these leaders and their policy of petitions and opposition to direct action.

Hence the clear warning the session gave to the Government that postal employees will not accept the recommendations of the Pay Commission should they prove inadequate. It was decided to convene a special conference in April to decide about the next step with regard to them. All the 16 unions and associations of Postal and Telegraph staff would be invited to participate in this conference.

With a view to merging all these 16 organisations into one solid phalanx of two lakh postal employees, the session appointed a committee which will submit its report to the April session for final action.

Another vital decision taken was for the affiliation of the Union to the AITUC, the national organization of the working-class.

The session condemned the proposed amendment to the Indian Trades Disputes Act, seeking to take away the workers' right to strike, and demanded of the Central Government adequate social legislation instead.

Shri. Mrinal Kanti Bose was elected President and O. P. Gupta, General Secretary for the coming year.

The President and the delegates appealed to leaders like Pandit Nehru, Maulana Azad and Shri. S. C. Bose, all of whom had promised redress of postmen's grievances at the time of the last strike, to implement their pledges.

### BOMBAY DOCK WORKERS

NINE thousand workers of the H.M.I.—Dockyard, Bombay, will go on strike from January 12, 1947, unless the Navy bosses reverse their perfidious policy with regard to their retrenchment of 1,500 workers in the next five months.

Six months ago they had decided on a strike. Then their demands regarding wages, etc., were referred to the Pay Commission. For the rest (retrenchment, housing, etc.) a Dockyard Enquiry Committee was appointed, consisting of only high officials, 1947.

## HOW CAWNPORE WORKERS LIVE

(By M. M. Gandhi)

(At a recent conference of the representatives of labour and owners called by the Government of India to discuss their five-year plan of social legislation, the Government announced their intention to drop their housing scheme for industrial workers, though it had been unanimously agreed upon in July last. The reason given was that "no provincial Government, except one, was ready" to honour its pledge then given.)

The following facts about just one industrial city show what problems the Ministries and the Interim Government have chosen to neglect.—EDITOR.)

EIGHT years ago (in 1938), the Cawnpore Labour Enquiry Committee—presided over by no less a person than Dr. Rajendra Prasad, ex-President of the Indian National Congress and present Food Member of the Interim Government of India, dealing with the housing conditions of industrial workers in Cawnpore said:

"The space within each tenement where the worker with his family lives, often numbering eight to ten persons, is smaller than the space we usually have in our bath rooms. An animal, especially if it be a horse or a cow, is given more room than the poor worker."

Since then the industrial population of Cawnpore has seen a tremendous increase. From 56,280 in 1939 it became 1,52,000 in 1943 and was somewhere near 2,00,000 in 1944.

Recent enquiry showed that out of 1,20,000 workers employed in the textile industry in Cawnpore, only 6,465 were provided with housing by the mill-owners. The rest lived in slums better known as ahatas or bustees, numbering about 200.

The average size of one room tenement in Cawnpore is 11x9 feet. In the pre-war days it was calculated that 71 per cent of the total workers in Cawn-

pore lived in one room tenements. This has increased to 78 per cent today. In the pre-war days 45 per cent of the workers in Cawnpore used to live in slums (ahatas). Today the percentage has gone up to 95. Nearly 30 per cent of the ahatas are katchas.

In 1938 private latrines were provided for 19 per cent of the working-class families; 59 per cent of the working class families had to use public or common latrines, each of which had an average pressure of 761 workers or 299 families. Twenty-six per cent of the working-class families had no latrine arrangement in their tenements.

Not only have more latrines not been built during the war years, but some of them have been converted into workmen's quarters to fetch high rent.

In pre-war days seven per cent of the workers' tenements had private taps; 46 per cent had common taps and the rest 47 per cent had to get their water from wells. On an average each tap was used by 200 persons.

The scarcity of water supply has forced workers to make use of ordinary surface tanks, ponds or streams in Deputy-kapara or Chamanganj, resulting in frequent outbreaks of dysentery and other ailments.

CHIANG'S ATTEMPT TO DECEIVE WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

Pretext For Continued U. S. Support For Civil War

From Our Correspondent, Shanghai, December 27.

The Chinese Constitution-making National Assembly has concluded its session in Nanking after passing a new constitution for the country.

In the first place, the Communists and the Democrats, who had all these years been demanding a democratic constitution, kept out of the Assembly.

Then, if Chiang is really autocratic, dictatorial and reactionary, how could there be such strong opposition from the Right to a constitution whose draft had been personally approved by him?

Here are a few points which will help one to answer these and similar questions.

Delegates To begin with, let us take the delegates to the National Assembly. Ten years ago, the Kuomintang (KMT) fixed the number of delegates at something around 1,300, out of which 1,200 were either nominated or elected by the KMT itself in 1935-36.

In January 1946, at the All-Party Political Council (APPC) a compromise was, however, reached when it was decided that another 700 new delegates would be added to the old ones.

There was also a gentlemen's understanding that the KMT delegates, commanding the majority in the House as they would be, would not obstruct the passing of the draft constitution agreed upon by all parties.

Coalition Govt. But the most important decision of the APPC was that the National Assembly would be convened only after the formation of a Coalition Government in which all parties will be fairly represented, and also after an agreed draft constitution had been framed.

The Communists and the Democrats insisted on the prior formation of a Coalition Government for that alone was a guarantee that Chiang was prepared to share power with other parties, putting an end to the one-party dictatorship, and really democratise the country.

Far from attempting to arrive at an agreed draft constitution, far from establishing a Coalition Government, Chiang launched a civil war against the Communists, even before war with Japan had finally ended, making it abundantly clear thereby that he had no intention of renouncing power.

Under these circumstances and with a civil war going on in the country endangering the very life of the nation, the Communists knew that any constitution-making would be a mockery of democracy, an utter farce, and any constitution framed—even though it may have a few democratic

features—would be a paper constitution to hoodwink the people and not to be implemented.

The Communists could obviously not be a party to this fraud, and hence their boycott of the National Assembly.

Boycotted by the Communist Party, the Democratic League and many progressive Independents, about 1,400 delegates took part in the Assembly, of which no fewer than 1,200 were KMT Generals, civil officials or local party heads.

Coming to the constitution itself, it is based on a draft recommended by the Government ten years ago (May 5, 1936) without consulting other political parties.

The constitution is moderate only when it is compared with the old draft of 1936, which was a purely dictatorial one. But it is by no means a democratic one.

Undemocratic Features Its main undemocratic features are:

The Executive Yuan (Cabinet) is virtually not responsible to the Legislative Yuan (Parliament).

Thus Article 53 (2) lays down: "The Executive Yuan, with the approval of the President, may ask the Legislative Yuan to reconsider any resolution passed by it, and during the reconsideration, if 2/3rd of the attending members of the Legislative Yuan maintain the original resolution, the same should be accepted as valid by the President."

Freedom of Press there is a pure myth. It is only newspapers of an organised body like the Communist Party which because they have support of the toiling millions behind them can hope to exist without surrendering to money-bags.

I have received some facts which show how American industrialists corrupt and control public opinion in the United States—placing private profit over human progress.

The biggest propaganda machinery is operated by the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the 15,000 Big Businesses which control about \$80,000,000,000 and hire 75 per cent of all workers in manufacturing industries.

It has come to light that the President of this Association has sent a letter to all members asking contributions for their 1947 propaganda fund, which will be the biggest in its history—\$700,000.

How Poison Is Spread The NAM supplies editorials, "news" items, cartoons, etc., to 4,500 newspapers, and naturally, with the exception of 1 per cent, the entire American Press suppresses news unfavourable to the NAM and its members.

It is not through the Press alone that the NAM poison is spread. Other means adopted are advertising, radio, pamphlets, movies, contacts with opinion-moulders, etc.

Enough evidence has been collected in the United States to prove that the NAM—after carrying on "the greatest lobbying programme in the history of the country"—was mainly responsible for the withdrawal of price control (OPA), thus increasing the price of living of the American people by many billions—to the profit of NAM members.

The NAM has also been exposed as the largest user of spies, thugs, and racketeers in American history.

This is the kind of "free enterprise" for which capitalists all over the world fight!

First Infiltration This was the first infiltration of Big Business, and its effect was immediately seen. Though it continued to take a more or less progressive stand in foreign matters, on domestic affairs it became far more conservative.

But Ingersoll still refused to accept advertisements, and he again failed to make it pay.

Today Field has taken over the paper entirely, kicked out Ingersoll from the editorship and decided to let out space for advertisement. And, consequently, there is a sudden change in its policy. It is no longer supports popular causes, for they do not bring in money.

This is another example of the infiltration of Big Business over newspapers in capitalist countries.

The Bookshelf

New PPH Publications

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, As 2. Contains two important documents: The Resolution passed in the Constituent Assembly by the Communist delegate, Somnath Lahiri; the Memorandum submitted by the Communist Party to the Cabinet Mission last April.

S.I.R. STRIKE. By N. K. Eshwara & A. S. R. Chari. As. 12. The full story, told for the first time, of the heroic struggle of the 40,000 railway workers against the Railway Board's attack and for security of service and defence of their Union.

The S.I.R. strike was the biggest working-class action in the history of our land and is full of lessons for the entire working-class. This booklet gives a vivid and detailed account of that month-long general strike—the real causes of the strike, the interests involved in it and the forces ranged against the workers, the lessons to be learnt from the struggle.

DANGER NIGHTS ANTI-STRIKE BILL, As. 12. The notorious Bombay Industrial Relations Bill was designed to suppress the growing strike struggles of the working-class. When this Bill was being rushed through the Bombay Legislative Assembly, S. A. Dange, the Communist M.L.A., fought single-handed against it and thoroughly exposed its anti-democratic and anti-working-class implications.

This booklet contains the main parts of the long speech he made on that occasion and should be read by all who would fight such anti-democratic measures, as other Ministers too are contemplating the introduction of similar legislation in their Provinces.

Foreign Publications CAPITALIST SOCIETY, As. 2. This is the second part of "Marxism: An Introductory Course in Five Parts", published by the Communist Party of Great Britain, and in four lessons deals with: Capitalist Exploitation; Capitalism, Crisis and Unemployment; Capitalism and War; The Development of Capitalist Society.

NEW TIMES: No. 22, As. 2. Contributions to this issue, of November 15, include: The Policy of International Co-operation and the New British Imperial Defence Plans and their implications; The United States Elections; Travel Notes from Athens and Tokyo; Spotlight on Slandery Notes on International Labor; Book Reviews, etc.

100,000 WHY? By Ilin, fully illustrated by Lashin, Rs. 3. In this celebrated children's book, the author takes a trip around the room and answers in story form the questions which children usually ask about everyday objects.

THE DON FLOWS HOME TO THE SEA. By Mikhail Sholokhov, Rs. 1-12. This is the third volume of the "Don" trilogy by the Stalin Prize Russian novelist. This superbly-written novel is the story of the coming of the Revolution to the Don Cossack country and has justly been famous as a modern epic.

Out Soon INDIA TODAY By R. Palme Dutt. The celebrated Marxist classic on India. 350 Pages. Clothbound. Rs. 1-4. BOOK YOUR COPY NOW PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

ITHURIEL, columnist of the Free Press Journal, seems to have made a wonderful discovery. He has found that the right of self-determination of nationalities contained in Article I of the Yugoslav Constitution is fictitious as it is negated by other articles in the Constitution.

Alluding to Somnath Lahiri's reference to the Yugoslav Constitution in the Constituent Assembly, he says:

"Mr. Lahiri... stated that the first few clauses of the Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Constitutions lay down the right of self-determination and separation of the different nationalities comprising them.

"If he had read a little further into the Yugoslav Constitution, he would have found other clauses which would have startled him.

"Article 103 of the Constitution reads:

"The rights and the scope of the autonomy of autonomous provinces and autonomous regions are determined by the Constitution of the Republic.

"The statute of an autonomous Province must thus be drawn up in accordance with the constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia." (F. P. J. December 24). Actually, there is nothing startling in the Articles Ithuriel quotes. By misconstruing their import he merely betrays his own ignorance or lack of understanding.

Autonomous Regions In the first place, the right of self-determination is nowhere enjoyed by autonomous regions or Provinces, for such areas comprising small territories and inhabited by one or two hundred thousand people or so cannot obviously form separate States.

But because the people inhabiting the regions speak a different language and have their own cultural background, in all internal matters concerning them they are given autonomy.

Yugoslavia consists of six people's Republics. One of these Republics, Serbia, includes the autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the autonomous Kosovo-Metohija Region.

These six Republics have come together on the basis of certain democratic principles enunciated in the Constitution, to form the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY). The Constitution, therefore, merely reflects certain fundamentals on which all the constituent Republics are mutually agreed.

It follows from this that the Constitution of each Republic must be based on these commonly accepted democratic principles.

Article 11, therefore, lays down: "Each people's Republic has its own constitution. The people's Republic makes its constitution independently. The constitution of the people's Republic reflects the special characteristics of the Republic and must be in conformity with the Constitution of the FPRY."

This, however, in no way impinges on the right of a nationality to secede, for the question of secession will arise only when a Republic does not—for whatever reasons—subscribe to the fundamental principles of the Federation. In that case, if its people so decide by a majority vote, it can cease to be a member of the Federation and become a fully independent State.

And this right of secession is specifically guaranteed to each nationality by the Constitution. In fact, it is because this right is there and because the Constitution is a democratic-progressive one, that the unity of the Federation is all the stronger. For these provisions are a guarantee that no one nationality will oppress a smaller or weaker one, and staying together, they secure advantages which they otherwise would not have.



Self-Determination

For, on the whole, it espoused every progressive cause both in the United States and abroad. It was also a strong advocate of India's demand for independence.

It will, therefore, come as a matter of shock to many in this country that it will cease to play its progressive role. Big Business has swallowed it up.

Ralph Ingersoll, its original editor, conceived the idea of starting an independent paper. By refusing to sell space for advertisement, he felt he would save it from the control of financial sharks and thus achieve his aim of honest journalism.

Ingersoll got help from a group of wealthy men, but he discovered that it was not smooth-sailing. It was not a financial success. Soon, he had to sell it off to the businessman, Marshall Field, who had originally financed him.

First Infiltration This was the first infiltration of Big Business, and its effect was immediately seen. Though it continued to take a more or less progressive stand in foreign matters, on domestic affairs it became far more conservative.

But Ingersoll still refused to accept advertisements, and he again failed to make it pay.

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This is another example of the infiltration of Big Business over newspapers in capitalist countries.

The Case Of PPH THE American newspaper PPH within its short career of six years (it was started in 1940) became quite popular among liberal intellectuals in India, and rightly for

its liberal and democratic stand.

It was the only newspaper in India which was not controlled by Big Business.

It was the only newspaper in India which was not controlled by Big Business.

# VIET-NAM APPEALS FOR INDIA'S SUPPORT

## Battle Against Relapse To Colonial Slavery

(We give below the text of appeal for India's support from Mai The Chau, representative of India of the Permanent Delegation in Paris of the Viet-Nam Republic, addressed to P. C. Joshi, General Secretary, Communist Party of India. It gives an account of the events leading to the open attack by French imperialists against the independence of Viet-Nam—EDITOR.)

IN October 1945, when the British Government sent British and Indian troops to help the French imperial troops against the Viet-Nam Democratic Republic, fighting against reimposition of colonial slavery, the following appeal was made to Indian troops by our Viet-Namese people and Government:

"You should remember that in your motherland, your countrymen have been fighting hard as we are now doing for our freedom. So we have the same aims, our two peoples must go hand in hand, love one another and not let ourselves be divided by any person. That is the voice of our heart, the voice of a people that loves peace and wishes to have friends."

### Grave Situation

Today a grave situation has arisen when it is necessary for India to declare her sympathy and support for the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people, for the very existence of their Free Viet-Nam Democratic Republic.

We give below a few facts leading up to the present large-scale attack by French militarists on the Viet-Nam Republic.

On March 6, 1946, the Viet-Namese Democratic Republic was recognised as a Free State by the French Government when a preliminary accord was signed.

This accord recognised our Republic's right to have its own Parliament, army and finances.

It reserved the question of the union of the three Viet-Namese Provinces, Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina to be decided by a popular referendum.

French reactionaries in order to sabotage this accord and prevent the unity of the Viet-Namese people, set up on June 1, 1946, a so-called autonomous Government in Cochinchina, a puppet Government, with the manifest intention of creating a SEPARATIST movement in the south of Viet-Namese Republic, and use it to terrorise the patriotic Viet-Namese faithful to the Democratic Central Viet-Namese Government in Hanoi.

The hatred of the Viet-Namese people against this puppet Government was so intense, and it was so completely exposed, that on November 9, 1946, the Ministers had resigned from it, and Dr. Nguyen Van Thinh, head of the puppet Government, committed suicide after exposing the French game.

He declared: "I am heartbroken to have led you in this adventure."

He told a close friend of his:

"They (the French) have made me play a comedy. Now they ask me to reform the Cabinet. I am sure that the same show will go on once the Cabinet is reformed."

### Provoking Clashes

While negotiations were going on between the French and the representatives of the Viet-Namese Republic, led by Dr. Ho-Chi Minh, French imperialists in Indo-China, led by Admiral Thierry d'Argeville, French High Commissioner, began the game of provoking clashes by attacking the sovereignty, and thus the very status and exist-

ence, of the Viet-Namese Democratic Republic.

The French authorities in Hanoi claimed the right to control all exports and imports through the Viet-Namese port of Haiphong. This was in glaring violation of the sovereignty of the Viet-Namese Republic which was recognised by the French Home Government.

On November 20, the French troops attacked a Viet-Namese boat in Haiphong and started a clash. Since then, French troops have bombarded Viet-Namese military installations in Haiphong and at Kien-An and also attacked and occupied the frontier town of Langson which was garrisoned by Viet-Namese troops.

### Pre-Planned Attack

Secret documents have been discovered which show that French military authorities in Indo-China had pre-planned this attack as early as October 21, 1946.

The situation is worsening. Fresh reinforcements of French Legionnaires have been sent to Indo-China.

Dr. Ho-Chi Minh declared on November 11:

"We have no desire for war, but we shall fight if we are forced to do so. We have no illusion about what that would mean, but our people will endure everything rather than renounce their freedom."

A large-scale war can be prevented if world democratic opinion, and particularly Indian opinion, raises its voice against this desperate attempt by French imperialists to smash the Viet-Namese Republic.

We request every Indian leader of every organisation to raise their voice in support of Indo-China's struggle against a relapse to colonial slavery.

# Viet-Nam's Glorious Record Of Past Struggles

## GAME OF FRENCH BIG TRUSTS WILL BE FOILED

All Asia is proud of Viet-Nam and Indonesia, the two Republics which, after years of bitter struggle against colonial slavery, won their freedom after World War II. Alarmed that it would spell the doom of imperialism in the Far East, British and Dutch reaction combined together to crush the new-born Indonesian Republic, but their evil designs were not wholly successful.

IN Viet-Nam, initial attempts to subdue the people failed miserably, and for a while, the imperialists lay low. But now has come an open attack on the independence of the country, which the people are heroically resisting.

And the strength and unity of the national movement, with a glorious record of struggles dating from 1886, gives one the confidence that backed by progressive people all over the world, Viet-Namese will succeed in preserving their independence.

Viet-Nam—with a population of 20 millions—comprises the three richest and most populous Provinces of the five former Provinces of Indo-China, Tonkin, Annam, and Cochinchina. Of these, the first two are under the direct administration of the Viet-Nam Government; Cochinchina is still under French military control.

### French Conquest

The French came to Indo-China towards the end of the 18th Century, but it was only

after 100 years of continuous fighting that they finally gained control of the whole of Indo-China.

But there was no tame submission by the people to the foreign yoke. There was intense exploitation and ruthless oppression. The torch of patriotism, however, was kept alight, and hundreds of men and women gave up their lives resisting the French.

The first mass revolt came in 1886, when a partisan war was waged in the Tonkin Delta area and another in North Annam.

### National Movement Grows

In 1907, developed a full-fledged national movement—against the poll tax.

During the first world war, the national movement made great headway, and there were a number of conspiracies and revolts.

The people heard of the great Revolution in Russia and, inspired by it, wished to emulate its example.

Among the Viet-Namese national leaders was a man now known as Ho-Chi Minh (who is

President of the new Republic). He became a Marxist and organised the people for the new way of winning independence through mass struggles.

The Communist Party of Indo-China was established in 1930 and it led peasant demonstrations and uprisings which were mercilessly suppressed by the French.

From 1934-39, the national movement, with a Popular Front Government in France, made rapid advance, but with the outbreak of war in 1939, there was renewed repression. France fell in 1940 and the colonial bureaucracy of Viet-Nam made common cause with the Japanese.

### Resistance To Japan

Ho-Chi Minh now emerged from his hiding and gave a clarion call for resistance to Japanese occupation for the final struggle for liberation.

A new organisation came into being, Viet-Minh, League of Independence. Led by the Communist Party, it embraced the entire people fighting for freedom. It organised widespread guerrilla activity and planned the insurrection of August 1945, which, with the surrender of Japan, placed power in the hands of the people and the new Republic of Viet-Nam was born in September 1945.

Ho-Chi Minh has thus described the birth of the Republic:

"Since the autumn of 1946, our country had ceased to be

### An Editorial

## INDIA'S DUTY

THE brutal and unprovoked attack that French imperialism has launched on the Republic of Viet-Nam is an attack on a brother people of ours, one whose struggle for freedom has marched hand-in-hand with ours. Eighteen months ago, they overthrew Japan's rule and established their free Republic.

Till March 1946, French imperialism, with the inevitable assistance and connivance of our British rulers, used force to try to beat down Viet-Nam to its knees and to accept the old regime of colonial slavery.

They failed then; the people of Viet-Nam fought heroically in defence of their liberty and inside France, the people's movement headed by the Communists, forced the cessation of armed warfare.

By the Franco-Viet-Nam agreement of March 6, 1946, Viet-Nam's independence was recognised.

However, this agreement also kept pending several key issues, notably the future of Cochinchina, the southern-most and richest part of Viet-Nam and often-called the jewel of the French Empire.

And ever since March, the imperial magnates and colonial generals of France have worked to provoke a new conflict which would give them the opportunity to make another armed assault on the young Republic.

After eight months of shameless tricky and lying intrigue, they have succeeded in their aim.

The latest French elections, raising the Communists, firmest friends of Viet-Nam's freedom, to first place in the country, made them all the more anxious to stage their attack quickly before the growing democratic advance in France finally destroyed them; the Cabinet crisis in France and the ensuing stalemate provided them with their opportunity.

### Manufactured 'Incidents'

Manufacturing a host of 'incidents' in the traditional imperial manner, they have launched a vicious attack; fighting is widespread and thousands of French troops are being rushed to Saigon and Hanoi.

This is the real meaning of the latest events in Indo-China. Colonial imperialism is attacking a freedom movement.

In Viet-Nam the people will fight, fight courageously and bitterly, as their President and leader, Dr. Ho-Chi Minh, has declared. They have tasted the fruits of liberty; they will not easily relinquish them.

But India too must move.

At the UNO our courageous and uncompromising stand for the complete independence of the colonial peoples not only raised our status in the international world and rallied many progressive people's and countries to our cause, but also created a new stir among the peoples of the colonial world, assuring them that high in the councils of the world, they too had their friend and representative.

And now when one of the advance-guards of the colonial freedom movement is under heavy imperial fire, it is India's duty, first and foremost, to help her.

Let India force the Security Council of UNO to intervene—for war in Indo-China is no internal affair of France, but a threat to all Asia's freedom movements, to the peace of Asia.

Let India's chosen representatives—and in particular Pandit Nehru—openly appeal to France and France's people to desist from this brutal aggression on the young Republic.

Let India's Government express its solidarity—openly and frankly—with the people of Viet-Nam, in their hour of need. This is India's duty.

## 'TIME FOR NEGOTIATIONS NOT PAST'

### French Communist Paper On Viet-Nam

That the struggle is continuing in Indo-China, that Viet-Namese blood as well as French blood is flowing there, is of no importance to the provocateurs!

They continue their campaign of base calumny and incitement to hatred.

"The stage of negotiations is past" cries of the Epoque with exaltation. And these gentlemen of the Bank of Indo-China as well as of other banks, of the big plantations and the trusts without a country seem to consider light-heartedly only one solution: the savage repression which allows the restoration of colonial methods, condemned long ago by all French men of science and writers who adorn human thought.

When the President Ho-Chi Minh makes a pathetic appeal to "stop immediately the waste of French and Viet-Namese blood" they dare to charge him with "impertinence", "deceit", and "bad faith". But the people of France know that in Indo-China where the Viet-Namese patriots and French resisters fought in brotherly unity, Japanese oppression and Vichyite betrayal, war is not a solution.

They remember the experience in Syria and Lebanon, where the retention of men and methods inherited from Vichy imperilled the moral authority of France....

They do not want that the same causes should produce the same effects in Viet-Nam.

They know very well that the stage of negotiations has not passed, that the facts carry in themselves their lesson, and that a loyal application of the agreements ratified together, can even now overcome the difficulties and open the way to an agreement conforming to the interests and to the legitimate aspirations of the two peoples, Viet-Namese and French; and to the dignity of a true democracy. ("France Nouvelle", organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, dated November 30, 1946).

a French colony and had become a Japanese outpost. After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to conquer political power and from the Republic of Viet-Nam.

"We wrested our independence from the Japanese and not from the French. The French had fled and the Japanese had capitulated."

The new Republic, however, did not have an easy time. French imperialists with British and Chinese help—even the aid of Jap Fascists was taken—tried hard to reconquer Viet-Nam but failed, and on March 6, 1946, the Free Status of Viet-Nam was formally recognised by the French Government under pressure from the democratic movement at home, headed by the Communists.

The present Government of Viet-Nam is a coalition in which all parties are fairly represented. Its popularity can be gauged from the fact that in the elections held in February last 90 per cent of the votes were cast in favour of Government bloc candidates, and all male and female population over 18 years of age were entitled to vote.

### Game Of Big Trusts

The French authorities soon tried to blow up the March 6

agreement. The big trusts which control the French colonial Empire want to reconquer Viet-Nam into their colony. In particular, they want to retain control of Cochinchina with its rich rice fields and other plantations owned by French Big Business.

These trusts are connected with the M.E.P. and this party is seeing to it that the interests of one of its powerful sections do not suffer.

The success of the Communists in the elections made the reactionaries afraid that the growing democratic movement in France would very soon destroy their hold over the colonies, putting an end to their exploitation. They, therefore, chose the present moment to strike taking advantage of the political crisis in France and before establishment of a stable government with Communists and Socialists holding important portfolios.

The Socialists have no concrete line and are following a vacillating policy which means in practice playing into the hands of the M.R.P.

It is only the Communists who are stoutly championing the cause of the Viet-Namese and campaigning for the reversal of the present Government policy of open war against the Republic.

## ★ AMERICA--LEADER OF WORLD REACTION ★ BRITISH "SINCERITY" IN MALAYA ★ TURKEY'S ANTI-DEMOCRATIC DRIVE

THE increasing emergence of the United States as the leader of world reaction was underlined last week by a number of sensational disclosures in the British, French and American Press.

Most important of all is the report of Frank Piteairn in the Communist Daily Worker of London that the U.S. War Department is working on a tremendous war plan, which, of course, is termed "defensive."

According to this plan, the Americans have in mind the Soviet Union as their chief enemy. Conscious, however, of the weakness of their occupation forces in Europe, they are preparing a comprehensive programme aimed to make possible the widest utilisation of other and more awesome weapons.

They believe that an attack with atom bombs, robot rockets, radio-active gas and deadly guns could be used to counter and beat back an army, overwhelmingly superior in numbers.

Piteairn forecasts that as the War Department of the U.S. and the leaders of Big Business seek to force this plan through, "we shall have an extension of the anti-Soviet scare campaign, which has been in progress for months and has been reflected alike in the British and American millionaire Press."

### Canada—Forward Base

Complementary to this U.S. armaments drive is the Anglo-American military agreement and the transformation of Canada into a forward armed base for attack on the Soviet Union.

The Anglo-American military agreement, the French Socialist newspaper L'Humanite revealed, is secret and is due to be signed next March. By this agreement, the two countries will become firm partners, economic, financial and military, for "the protection of the interests of the two countries throughout the world." It thus establishes the complete predominance of the U.S. over Britain.

Third big news of the week was given in the Reynolds News of December 22; according to its New York correspondent, "for more than a year U.S. authorities have been pressing Ottawa for permission to build bases and meteorological stations in Canada and to set up lines of communication."

This pressure, apparently, has come from "high-ranking military and naval officers who believe a war with Russia inevitable and want Canada as an armed buffer State."

### Anti-Soviet Campaign

Simultaneous with this increasing news of a growing link-up of Anglo-America against the Soviet, both anti-Soviet propaganda and acts have been intensified.

In New York, the House of Representatives Committee on Post-war Economic Planning urged the State Department to exercise the maximum pressure to persuade, Britain, Sweden, Switzerland and France from supplying Russia "with industrial development" that can only be dangerous to the world.

While this is to be the attitude to the country and people that bore the brunt of the Second World War, the State Department is going to use America's resources in a big way in order to bolster up her conservative friends; it "will ask Congress to appropriate a lump sum of 400 million dollars (about rupees 150 crores) or less and it is an open secret that it has Italy, Austria and Greece primarily in view."

So also last week at the Atomic Energy Commission, the

Americans have bluntly refused even to discuss amending their proposal regarding control of atomic energy which, in fact, would place virtual control of world 'atomic' resources in their hands; so stiff and unbending has been their attitude, that even among the British and French delegations "there is considerable uneasiness." (Free Press Journal, December 30).

All this leaves only one conclusion to be drawn. America today is overwhelmed by the feeling of its enormous strength; its productive capacity is today nearly three-fifths of the world's total, while its military budget is nearabout 45 per cent of its total budget.

At the same time its leadership, since the major victory for the Republicans last November, has swung sharply to the Right, and more and more this aggressively imperialist section is becoming the decisive power in the country.

THE much-talked about "sincerity" of Britain's Labour Government has expressed itself in yet another colony of the Empire. Last week, the proposals for a new constitution for Malaya were published and they reveal just what is the real aim of the Labour leadership.

These proposals were drawn up—not by representatives of the people of Malaya—but by a Committee, consisting of representatives of the Sultans of various States (who can well be compared to the Indian Princes) and of the United Malaya National Organisation, notorious for its total subservience to the Government.

The proposals have the following key features:

(i) The Sultans are given complete powers in their own States and thus are retained as autocratic rulers who will act as Britain's puppets.

(ii) All the various Malay States will join together in a Federation; this Federation will have a Legislative Council of 49 members of which the British High Commissioner will be the President; and although out of the other 48, only 14 will be officials, the 34 non-official members also will be nominated by the Government!

(iii) Great emphasis is placed on keeping Malaya for the Malays, through making the laws of immigration and naturalisation very strict. This has clearly been done in order to keep the pure Malay population away from the far more progressive and awakened Chinese and Indians and thus prevent the emergence of a united nationalist movement.

Taken as a whole, therefore, in these proposals, in the words of the Malayan Democratic Union "which is the prime mover for joint action of all Malayan communities." (Free Press Journal, Dec. 27):

"Whether styled a Union or Federation, the reins of Government are kept unequivocally in the hands of the British civil services."

So also the moderate Malay Nationalist Party has declared that the acceptance of these proposals unless "modified and made acceptable to the people" would mean the "forfeiture of the rights of the common people."

The new constitutional proposals for Malaya, therefore, are no progressive reforms, opening the way to the establishment of a free and independent Malaya; they are directed only to bind

the chains of imperial slavery more firmly still on the Malayan people.

THE Istanbul correspondent of the London Times reports that the Turkish Government has launched a big drive against the very young democratic movement. More than seventy persons have been arrested after searches at the offices of the Socialist Party of Turkey and the Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants of Turkey. (Statesman, December, 22).

This offensive, in fact, arises from the growing difficult economic situation in Turkey. Despite the fact that Turkey took no part in the last war, her armies are maintained at full war-strength (more than ten

lakhs), consuming more than half the budget; so also martial law still exists in the six western provinces. At the other end, the conditions of the peasants, nearly eighty per cent of the population, are steadily worsening, the increasing inflation hitting them very hard; in the towns the workers, deprived of the right to organise or to strike, are in an equally bad position. The Turkish Press, which is totally subservient to the ruling Government, tries to present these arrests as part of a drive against "Communists" and "foreign elements."

In fact, it is only the expression of the critical situation inside the country when even the small and comparatively unimportant Socialist movement has to be ruthlessly crushed, in case it becomes the nodal point of a popular revolt.

## ★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★

A SOLDIER from a General Transport serving food and washing plates, port Company, BLANK, in Bihar, India, refused to do. He was put in the following story on a charge and placed in a cell.

"Next morning he was placed before Lt. Hebbly, the Commanding Officer—"Hitler Hebbly" we call him. He ordered Nair to do as he was told, and said:

"Now an Indian Officer is in command instead of a British Officer. A National Government is functioning. I shall not execute any mischief against the nation."

And so Nair was given 14 days' rigorous imprisonment.

Next day Subhagpathy, another rating, was asked to do the same job. He too refused and was brought before "Hitler Hebbly." "We shall never tolerate such mischief," he screamed, "while our own Government is in power."

Subhagpathy was given one month's rigorous imprisonment.

Afraid, lest the story of his misdeeds should reach the outside world, Hebbly issued an order prohibiting civilians from coming into this camp. More men have been punished recently, some have had their "liberty" stopped.

His Past

Now who is this Hebbly? He went to jail in 1932 as a Congressman. After two years he came back and continued to work in the Congress till he got a Commission in the RIN during the war.

While in the RIN he soon became a "topsy." Once he punished half a ship's company. During the mutiny he sided on the side of his masters. As a reward for services rendered, he was recommended for a Permanent Commission.

He is now busy pleasing his White masters to earn a promotion and a Permanent Commission. The ratings in his camp say:

"This is not impossible so long as our Baldev Singh and our Sardar, who asked us to stop the struggle for our rights, continue the same policy of our imperialist rulers. Let our leaders open their eyes. They don't give us certain democratic rights and privileges. Only then can we have a National Army."

—OUR FORCES CORRESPONDENT

Even today, when our own leaders are in the Government, such incidents are happening every day. We are not even allowed to demand an impartial enquiry!"

United Protest

"When the poor sepoy was being handed over to the armed guard, the men of his platoon protested. The C.O. brought in more guards and put the whole platoon under arrest.

The pews spread to the other men of the unit and they all came out and forced the guards to release their comrades.

Democratic Rights Crashed

SOME Indian Officers in the armed Forces, anxious to keep their jobs, are busy spying their White masters. An ex-RIN rating writes to draw the attention of all servicemen and the public to a "RIN Camp at Versova (Andheri), F.M.S. Machhatar, where our brothers fought against the British imperialists during the RIN mutiny and are now fighting against an Indian Commanding Officer, who is following his British masters' tactics of crushing the reasonable rights of his men in the name of the Interim Government."

"A petty officer," continues my correspondent, "asked one P. K. S. Nair to do messenger duty in the Petty Officers' Mess. This involved

opiated in a mass meeting at Histadruth's headquarters in Tel Aviv. They made with the consent of a foreign secretary who, in their opinion, is too ill to have any independent opinions.

In the House of Commons, Stephen Swinger, a Labour M.P., asked Prime Minister Attlee for assurances that the British Government would not make any military pact with the U.S. without the prior approval of Parliament.

Attlee declined to give any assurance, saying that "it would be entirely contrary to constitutional practice to require the Government to obtain prior consent of Parliament before taking any detailed steps."

WFTU Asks Iran To End Hostilities

UNLESS the Iranian Government stops terrorising its labour movement, leaders of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) will lodge a formal protest against that country with the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

A WFTU delegation, headed by its General Secretary, Louis Sallant, called on the Iranian ambassador in Paris on December 16, demanding that the government return seized union property and that it restore labour's right to organise and strike. It also insisted on the immediate release of jailed unionists and adequate compensation to the families of labour organisers alleged to have been executed.

—(Allied Labour News)

The 3-man delegation consists of President Will Lawther of the National Union of Mine Workers; E. C. Bullock, a representative of Bevin's own Transport and General Workers' Union; and Herbert Tracey, TUC publicity chief.

The report which they will issue soon is expected to provide powerful support for Labour M.P.s who have become increasingly disturbed over the present British foreign policy.

Asked for their comments on the alleged secret military agreement between Britain and the U.S., the unionists declared they were extremely

## World Labour In Action

### Jewish-Arab Lay our Unity in Palestine

THE growing unity between Jewish and Arab trade unionists may eventually provide the cornerstone for a peaceful, democratic Palestine free from British domination.

The unions, whose membership constitutes roughly 9 per cent of the country's population, have conducted a great many joint strikes during the past year. What has stimulated united action is the fact that living costs for Jews and Arabs alike have risen 300 per cent since 1937 while wages have gone up only 50 per cent in the same period.

Of the 145,000 organised workers, about 108,000 are Jews and 37,000 Arabs. The Jews are grouped in the Histadruth (Jewish Federation of Labour), and the Arabs in three organisations: The Palestine Arab Workers' Society (15,000), the Arab Workers' Congress (13,000) and the Arab Labour League (4,000).

The Arab Labour League is affiliated to the Histadruth but Jewish and Arab locals are separate. Progressive labourites of both nationalities oppose this separation and are striving for organisational unity.

During the past year Arab and Jewish workers engaged in joint strikes against the U.S. Socony-Vacuum Oil Co., Anglo-Dutch Shell Oil Co., British army post exchanges, the Dead Sea Potash Co., and the Nur factory, the last owned by Jewish capital. Each of these strikes involved thousands of workers.

When Arab and Jewish government employees were on a nationwide strike, Arab postal employees parti-