

"KASHMIR, PREPARE FOR LAST AND FINAL ASSAULT!"

Sheikh Abdulla's Call From Inside Jail

Breaking its way through the walls of the Reasi Fortress, a message from Sheikh Abdulla has reached the Kashmir Underground War Council.

This message, which we are proud to publish on this page, is a clarion call for another, the final round of struggle. It is a clear and unequivocal reiteration of the firm stand of the Kashmir national movement, of the freedom slogan of Quit Kashmir.

The message once and for all smashes to atoms the lying propaganda of the State, which tried to make out that the Sher-i-Kashmir had retreated from his original stand, and was ready to compromise on the Maharaja's terms.

Sheikh Abdulla's message comes at a time when the Kashmir movement needs it most.

For the last few months, the illusion was fostered among the leaders of the National Conference that some sort of assurance had been given to Pandit Nehru by the Maharaja. It was said that Sheikh Abdulla and his colleagues would be released, a new Constitution framed and even perhaps an "Interim Government" set up with "popular" ministers.

This illusion was strengthened most by Pandit Nehru himself. It is well-known in National Conference circles in Srinagar that during his last visit, Panditji confidently told every National Conference leader he met:

"Sheikh Sahib will be released within two weeks of his being sentenced".

Besides, Pandit Nehru had also asked the National Conference leaders to prepare for the elections which the cunning Premier Kak had announced.

These instructions of Pandit Nehru brought in their train a feeling of complacency among the National Conference leaders who were still outside jail.

The preparation of electoral rolls became almost their main occupation. The National Con-

ference organ, the Khidmat, began to appear under humiliating conditions of pre-censorship.

A section of the leadership began actually to propose the calling off of all meetings and demonstrations, in order "to pave the way for a compromise".

The advent of the Interim Government made many of the leaders certain that with Pandit Nehru at the helm of affairs, Maharaja Hari Singh would never dare to sentence Sheikh Abdulla.

Their illusions were rudely shattered when the sentence was actually pronounced, and Sheikh Sahib was rushed to jail.

Renewed Repression

From this day onward, the Maharaja began a new and more brutal round of repression, taking full advantage of the lull in the tempo of the struggle. Arrests were made of as many of the workers who were working openly as possible.

Every single member of the Relief Committee organised by Pandit Nehru, whose only task was to make collections for the families of the martyrs, was arrested.

In jail, the most inhuman and barbaric tortures were resorted to.

A fortnight passed. Far from the release promised by Pandit Nehru, Sheikh Sahib was being subjected to severe privations in jail, against which he was compelled to go on hunger-strike.

The illusions of the Kashmiri leaders were destroyed completely. In their place came fierce resentment.

Congress Resolution

It was in response to this resentment of the Kashmiri leaders that Pandit Nehru persuaded the Congress Working Committee to pass its recent resolution on Kashmir.

But what was this resolution? A stirring call to the Kashmiri people to continue their struggle? A call to the rest of India to rally to break down the Kohala Gates behind which Hari Singh keeps the forty lakh Kashmiris as virtual prisoners?

It was nothing of the sort. The Committee "regretted" "to find repression of an open as well as a subtle type is continuing". It was sorry that "no attempt was being made to liberalise the Constitution and to make it more democratic and responsible".

But all it proposed was to send an "Enquiry Committee" to Kashmir to enquire into the efforts of repression, suppression of civil liberties and tampering with voters' lists.

The Kashmiri people rightly asked:

"Does the terrible evidence of our martyrs' graves, of the wounded in the hospitals, of the bullets in the streets, need an enquiry?"

Finally, the Working Committee resolution "earnestly recommended to the Kashmir State that they should invite such a deputation".

This weak-kneed appeal to the Maharaja brought an insolent statement in the State Legislative Assembly by Premier Kak in which he declared that the State reserved the right to exclude any such deputation, if it thought it would lead to a disturbance of law and order.

Three weeks have passed since the Working Committee's resolution. Nothing further has been heard. The deputation has not come. Nor have the leaders of the National Conference gone forward to regroup their forces for a new round of struggle.

Sheikh Abdulla's Call

News of this State of affairs reached Sheikh Abdulla in jail. At the first possible opportunity he has sent out this message.

"Prepare yourselves for the last and final onslaught on this citadel of reaction and barbarism"—that is Sheikh Abdulla's call.

The Kashmiri leaders must unitedly carry this call to the Kashmiri people, rouse them behind it and organise the battle as it had never been fought before.

Hari Singh and Kak want to drive the Kashmiri people to their knees, to force them into an ignoble compromise, in which they get the semblance of responsibility, while the power remains with autocrats.

The Kashmiri people, who have fought the biggest States' peoples movement in history, will destroy their plans and march to victory.

PEOPLE'S AGE

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SHER-I-KASHMIR'S MESSAGE

DEAR Comrades -in-Arms,

This is a fight to the finish. Either we win our objective or we perish for ever. I have said, and I still maintain, that Maharajah Hari Singh has no moral right to rule us, and as for his legal right to do so, we will contest it whenever possible.

With the disappearance of British imperialism from India, paramountcy automatically vests in the people, and it is for the Maharajah of Kashmir to seek a new relationship with the people.

This new relationship can be possible on the basis of acceptance by the Maharajah of the people's demands, and on no other basis.

He should read this writing on the wall or fight the people to a finish. He has to choose between the people and the present Premier, Pandit Ramchandra Kak. As long as the latter remains on the gaddi of the Prime Minister, there can be no peace in Kashmir.

So comrades, prepare yourselves for the last and final onslaught on this citadel of reaction and barbarism and rest assured that in the end victory will be ours.

In this righteous struggle, individual sufferings do not matter. It is our noble objective which should remain uppermost, always in your hearts.

Inquilab Zindabad!

Kashmir ko Chhordo!

Bainama Amritsar ko Tordo!

S. M. ABDULLA

'INTERIM GOVT. SAME AS VICEROY'S OLD EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'

Eastern Command's Circular To Military Officers

"It should be clearly understood that although the New Executive Council is composed entirely of Indian gentlemen the present position is that of a normal Executive Council which advises H.E. the Viceroy, the representative of the King Emperor. Ministers will take the oath of allegiance just as you have done."

This is an extract from a circular issued last month to all officers serving under Eastern Command.

Don't be under any illusion, say the White Generals of Calcutta. Your oath is to the King still. The Army rules remain the same.

"Discipline and calm", "Mental balance", are what the Army must contribute.

As for Pandit Nehru and his Cabinet, they are just an "Executive Council", "Advisers" to the Viceroy, mere sincere loyal subjects of the King, just like any soldier!

So don't talk politics, imagining you have become a National Army. We—who represent His Majesty the King—are still your real masters.

What has Sardar Baldev Singh, who waxed so eloquent about a National Army, to say to this shameless Army circular which huris defiance at the Interim Government, under whose command its authors are supposed to be functioning?

The authors of such circulars as these are the very British officers to whom Sardar Baldev Singh paid such high praise for their "loyalty to India" in his recent broadcast to the armed Forces!

This is their "loyalty". This is the reality behind Sardar Baldev Singh's "National Army"!

BALDEV SINGH'S BROADCAST: AUCHINLECK'S ECHO

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HINDU-MUSLIM WORKERS WAGE JOINT BATTLES AGAINST BOSSES' OFFENSIVE

While the organised working-class of Calcutta, as a whole, kept itself away from the bloody carnage of August, it was they who had to bear its brunt most in the weeks following the disturbances.

WITH hundreds of businesses gutted or looted, thousands of workers were made homeless. But nothing has been done either by the bosses or the Government to tackle the housing of the homeless workers even in essential services like the electric, tramway, port and telegraphs and Corporation municipal services. Rather when a group of tramway workers in Beigachia resorted to "squattling" on the vacant premises of one of the shops, the authorities tried their best to evict them.

The imposition of Section 144 and the curfew made it difficult for many of the Unions to go ahead with the preparation for strikes for which they had given notice before the August disturbances: this was particularly true in the case of the new unions with middle-class employees, many of whom like the Military Accounts, Imperial Bank, Central Government and press employees, had withdrawn their strike notices.

With the riots, the bosses banked on splitting the working-class and smashing the unions. In some cases, as that of Dalmia's Automobiles, Albion Jute Mills, Tollygunge Red-lead Paint Factory, large-scale dismissal of Muslim workers followed, the bosses hoping thereby to crush the Hindu workers more easily in any future battles.

Large-Scale Discharges

In Birla's Kesoram Textile Mills (which along with the local Muslim League became the centre of open provocations during the riot), indiscriminate victimisation of both Hindu and Muslim workers started immediately on the reopening of the factory, despite the fact that hundreds of Oriya workers had already left and there was an actual shortage of labour; the Union workers were, of course, specially marked out for the axe.

In Surajmull Nagarmull's Bengal Jute Mill, 23 prominent Union workers were discharged, though they were the very ones who were foremost in keeping the peace during the riot. At the same time, the management prolonged the hours per week to 54 from the officially sanctioned 48 hours.

In the India Belting Mill, Serampore (Sarat Bose is Chairman of its Board of Directors), nearly 100 workers were discharged soon after it resumed work.

In Birla's Ruby General Insurance, summary discharge of the Employees' Union Secretary has been ordered.

In Khemka's National Insulated Cables, 58 workers were discharged on September 4, of whom 36 were leading Union cadres.

In the Bengal Pottery Works, run by pro-Congressite bosses, a whole department was closed down on August 31, involving the discharge of 800 workers. Besides, the sniping of workers with 15 to 20 years' service was continued with the object of depriving them of the benefits of permanency of service and Provident Fund.

Among the bank employees, a trade union is a new thing, and so some of the bosses hoped to nip the growth of trade unionism by throwing out union workers: the Director of the Calcutta National Bank threatened three prominent union leaders with dismissal in September, though he was once before failed in this by the strike of the entire staff.

In the Mahalaxmi Bank, the discharge of 32 from the Head Office at once led to strike in the Head Office and four Calcutta Branches on September 2. Two days later, the Director (an Assam Congress MLA) climbed down and took back the discharged employees.

New Attacks

The bosses' offensive is taking other forms too: many are trying at wage-cut for the period of the riot, though in all cases it was impossible either for the workers to come or for the management to open the works.

The Birla Laboratories in Calcutta, though kept closed during the riot, refused to pay wages for the riot period. So also the Printing Press employers and the India Electric Works. The Calcutta Tramways also tried to do the same, but the adamancy of the Union has forced arbitration upon the Company.

In some cases, as in the Lothian and Caledonian Jute Mills at Budge Budge, the management refused to adjust the night shift in accordance with the 10-30 curfew or to provide for the staying of the workers for the night in the factory; with the result that the workers stopping work at 9 p.m. are deprived of 2 hours' pay.

In Park Circus, the Electric Station started doing out bad quality rations, a trick which was foiled in July last by the strike of the workers. This time too this led to a strike on August 31.

In the Brooke Bond Tea factory, wage cut for late arrivals has started.

Calculating that the unions would be incapable of putting up a fight now, many of the bosses have tried to go back on their commitments regarding bonus, particularly the usual Puja and Id bonus. But the trick did not work.

In the Guest Kean Williams Co., Howrah, the Works Manager, when approached by a workers' deputation on September 23 to sanction the Id and Puja bonus, curtly refused to

pay it and kicked a worker. This infuriated the two to three thousand workers of the firm and they said to themselves: "We fight between ourselves, but cannot we teach this White fellow a lesson?" and the Sahib was given a beating, for which 54 workers were arrested by the police, and a lock-out was declared.

In the Bangeswari Cotton Mills, Serampore, run by people who profess loyalty to the Congress, the workers were refused Id bonus, which led to a strike on September 4, but was called off the next day, as a local Congress leader came and reproached the workers.

But on September 14, the strike was resumed, as the boss, in the meantime, was importing discharged hands from Kesoram's to divide the workers. On September 23, nine workers were arrested by the police on a false report by the management that communal riot had broken out, despite the complete denial by the local people.

COMMUNAL APPEALS FAIL TO BREAK WORKERS' SOLIDARITY

The Rampuria Cotton Mills, at Serampore, is owned by a Congressite boss. Two months ago, when a strike threatened in his factory, it is reported that he approached the Muslim workers, playing up their anti-Congress sentiments and promised to supply them with lathis if they were ready to force in through the picketers. But the Muslim workers refused.

During the recent riot, the mill authorities tried to work up in all possible ways the Hindu workers against the Muslims, who became so panicky that they were about to flee from their jobs.

Next, the boss imported 250 Muslim workers, just discharged from Birla's Kesoram Cotton Mills at Matlabuz. Tension ensued. The local S.D.O. suggested their removal: the local Congress leader held meetings with Hindu workers and demanded their removal. But the general body of Hindu workers declared that they had no objection in having the Muslims.

On September 25, came a stay-in-strike of the workers demanding Puja bonus. The Muslim workers threw themselves into the battle in support of their Hindu brothers. The boss was puzzled, the Muslims imported for blacklegging only swelled the ranks of the workers. In 48 hours he had to yield and grant the bonus.



To Bomb Or To Quit?

BOMBAY is to have another aerodrome. It will not be open to you and me, but will be an exclusively military aerodrome, right in the heart of the protected area in Colaba. The correspondent who gave this news told me that this aerodrome was part of the general plan of "guarding against a possible insurrection" in Bombay. From here would fly the bombers "to bomb the insurgents into order."

It is rather strange that on the one hand the Interim Government should be declaring its intentions of ENDING the bombing of the Frontier tribal peoples—and on the other acquiescing in arrangements to give the RAF fresh opportunity to "practice" on the rest of the Indian people.

Or, may be the Generals of G.H.Q. will explain this secret aerodrome to Sardar Baldev Singh as just "preparations to leave India to Indians". Maybe, this is just an aerodrome from which the British plan to quit India!

The Teetotaller

PREMIER Prakasam inaugurated prohibition in Cuddapah on October 1. Here is an extract from the report of his speech given in the Hindu:

"Paying a tribute to the present Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Nye, Mr. Prakasam said he did not know that the Governor was a teetotaller till His Excellency revealed it at a Cabinet meeting. Ever since he took charge of the Province, he had been thinking how people could live on 12 oz. of foodgrains. They were happy to run the administration under the present Governor."

Poor, poor Sir Archibald worrying himself to death about the Indians who cannot be given more than twelve ounces of foodgrains. Noble, noble Sir Archibald, who does not drink any whisky at all.

We are so proud to serve under you, that you can continue to stay on yourself of whisky, so long shall we starve on your twelve ounce rations.

In his joy to find that a White Imperialist does not drink whisky, Sjt. Prakasam forgets all the gallons of blood these gentlemen have drunk during the two hundred years of their rule. Sir Archibald is "thinking" about the starvation rations. Sjt. Prakasam praises him to the skies. Who brought India to this calamitous famine situation? All the Sir Archibalds who have set on our necks and continue to sit today.

Such shameless fawning on a White autocrat Governor is a disgrace to the national movement.

Refrigerators

I HAVE been sent a list of the type of equipment which is being provided at Government expense for the houses of the Congress Ministers in the Central Provinces. Apart from all types of furniture—tables, chairs, armchairs, dressing tables, cupboards, towel racks, hangers, meat safes, etc.—there are numerous other items, such as:

- Dinner Sets (Moradabadi)
- Dinner Sets (English)
- Silver Dinner Set
- Mattresses, bedsheets, pillows and pillow cases, mosquito-nets.
- Curtains for doors and windows
- Water-heaters
- Milk-churners
- Milk-separators
- Refrigerators
- and so on right up to:
- Chains for domestic animals.

The I.C.S. bureaucrats in the Central Provinces are delighted. So long, they say, the Congress used to attack US for our fat salaries, for living on the lap of luxury at the expense of the Indian people; now they themselves are doing a hundred times worse. All the business about

ram's to divide the workers. On September 23, nine workers were arrested by the police on a false report by the management that communal riot had broken out, despite the complete denial by the local people.

In Birla's Kesoram Cotton Mills, despite the acute communal tension as a result of the riot and the Union gagged by police persecution, there was a spontaneous strike, joined in by both Hindu and Muslim workers, on September 21 in the Roving Department against the introduction of daily wages instead of piece rates.

As early as August 30, there was a lightning strike in Firpo's restaurant by both Hindu and Muslim workers against dismissal of seven hands. The management climbed down in half an hour and took them back.

When the riots came, there were actually three strikes in three of the smaller establishments in Calcutta, involving a total of 2,000 workers. Many, including the bosses, thought that the riots must have smashed up the strikes, and the small unions, as these are, would not be able to carry on the fight.

Thus, when the Standard Pharmaceutical Workers' Union, which has been conducting a strike since August 14, offered to the management (Directors include such figures as Mr. G. L. Mehta and Dr. A. C. Ukli) after the riots to withdraw the strike leaving the demands to be settled by them, and only asked for the reinstatement of the Union leader Athar Ali, the bosses took it as a sign of defeat, and immediately withdrew recognition of the Union and declared a lock-out.

They Could Not Be Divided

They even went on offering reinstatement of all the 700 workers whom they had given discharge notices, provided they left the Union. Sinister suggestions were made to the Hindu workers that they need not suffer just for the sake of one Muslim worker, Athar Ali.

But the strikers were of different mettle. Babus and workers decided to carry on the battle, and despite the riot situation, the whole city was practically plastered with posters of the strike, appealing for public support; Hindu workers doing the posting in Hindu areas and Muslims in Muslim localities. The Union offices are buzzing with life, and here there is no quarrel or suspicion between brothers.

The strike in the Orient Fan, a Birla concern, started on August 12, involving over 800 workers, of whom 150 are Muslims, the point at dispute was the discharge without cause of 18 workers. Here police lathi-charge could not break the strikers.

But today, both the Hindu and Muslim strike volunteers go out on box collections to their respective localities and are running a relief centre in the Union office for their more needy brothers. When asked how they felt about the riot, one of the workers said: "We were very much agitated no doubt, but we cannot betray our strike. We won't let anything break our ranks."

The third case is that of the Govind Sheet Metal Co., a Swadeshi concern, involving about 200 workers, of whom one fourth are Muslim. Though normal strike activity was paralysed by the riot, the workers are still holding on stubbornly despite the bosses keeping up an unremitting face.

Thus the working-class of Calcutta has not only come out of the August carnage untainted with the virus of communal poison, but are going ahead to new battles against the bosses both White and Swadeshi, welded in a common phalanx of Hindu and Muslim toilers.

Ramesh Chandra

Tribal Territory Of North West

A MILITARY BASE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The aerial bombings which the British carried on for full one month in Waziristan, and the impending visit of Pandit Nehru to the North West Frontier, have focussed the attention of the country on the problems of the tribal territory.

LYING between the eastern frontier of Afghanistan and the settled districts of the N.W.F. Province, the tribal territory has an area of about 26,000 sq. miles and a population of 3½ millions. Four big Pathan tribes constitute this population—Afridis, Mohmands, Waziris and Masuds. These tribes are in their turn subdivided into smaller sections (called Khels)—besides, there live many other small Pathan tribes, unconnected with the above-mentioned big four.

The tribal territory is mountainous and mostly barren—and it is with difficulty that these brave Pathan highlanders are able to make ends meet. For most of these tribesmen life is nasty and brutish—the economic pinch prevents the growth of amenities of life and even elements of a settled civilised life. Internecine strife, tribal and inter-tribal rivalries, frequently break out into armed conflicts. Settled districts are sometimes raided for booty.

Evil Sadow Of Imperialism

Over all this broods the evil shadow of British imperialism. For more than one hundred years it has deliberately followed a policy in this area which has alternated between ruthless and costly military expeditions, when armed with the most modern equipment of warfare, they have carried fire and sword into the villages, homes and habitations of these Pathan tribes—or else, when there has been 'peace', the imperialists have fostered all that is the worst amongst the tribesmen and thus consolidated their hold over them.

They have developed a system of bribing some of the tribal chieftains (the Malikis), and made them fight those other tribesmen and Malikis whom they found to be 'intractable.'

Their Political Agents are all arch intriguers, experts in the game of divide and rule, whose one job is to create division, confusion and mutual strife among the tribesmen, by bribing some of the Mul-lahs and the Malikis, and every other rogue whom they can draw in their net.

The British have done nothing to develop the economic resources of this area or taken

speaking there was no 'communal' aspect attached to the kidnappings. Frontier Congressmen have proved by facts and figures that the number of Muslims kidnapped was much greater than the Hindus.

Thus the crux of the imperialist policy in the tribal territory has been to keep the tribesmen backward, ignorant and fighting among themselves; to bomb and ravage their territory if they show signs of disobedience; to create bitterness between the Hindus in India and the Pathans by giving the kidnappings a communal colour. And all this was done in order to use the tribal territory as

"Why did they keep this bombing so secret—so secret indeed that even the Frontier Ministry did not know anything about it until my statement. All this creates suspicion in my mind that British intentions are not clean. They did it just on the eve of the installation of the Interim Government at Delhi to spoil our relations with the tribesmen."

Quite obviously the British are pursuing a definite policy of maintaining and strengthening their hold on the tribal territory because of their vital imperial-military and political interests—and they will continue to follow the same policy in spite of Pandit Nehru's and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's intentions to the contrary.

As long as the British Army and its civilian agents of the Political Department are in the Frontier, they would see to it that all efforts made by Nehru and Abdul Ghaffar Khan to develop friendly relations with the tribesmen and to give them the opportunity to exercise the right of self-determination are sabotaged.

Money, guns and intrigue would do the job for the British.

Utilisation Of Congress-League Conflict

As in the rest of the country, one of the main planks of imperialist strategy on the Frontier would be the utilisation of Congress-League conflict in order to consolidate their own position.

And—if the League is to be believed—the conflict is being carried even into the tribal territory. The League papers are full of reports and statements issued by tribal Malikis saying that the "tribal areas are ready to join the freedom struggle for Pakistan", and that they are angry with the British Government because "it is handing over the reins of Govern-

ment to the Hindus" (Dawn, Sept. 9). Mr. Abdul Rab Nishtar, the Frontier League leader, has rebuked Abdul Ghaffar Khan because the latter was supposed to have said that the tribal territory should be incorporated in the N.W.F. Province. This, according to Mr. Nishtar, would amount to handing over of 'free Pathans' to the slavery of Hindus. Abdul Ghaffar Khan denied ever having said this, but the Leaguers go on with their anti-Hindu propaganda. The Frontier Provincial League has gone to the extent of passing a solemn resolution wherein it has condemned the "Congress Government" for the aerial bombing in Waziristan. (September 22).

The fact is that the Muslim League has until now done nothing for the Pathans. In the long and heroic struggle which the Pathans have waged against the armed might and political machinations of British imperialism, ever since 1920, it is from the Congress that they have drawn support.

Since 1930, it is the Khudai Khidmatgars and its leaders, Pathan allies of the Congress, who have sympathised with them most and whom they have regarded as their comrades in arms in the struggle against British imperialism. Whereas the tribesmen see in the Frontier Muslim League some of the arch-foes and agents of British imperialism well entrenched, in the other camp they see the fellow-workers who have a long record of struggle against the British.

It is for this reason that the traditional leaders of anti-imperialist tribesmen like the Faqir of Ipi and others have Congress sympathies, whereas many of those Malikis who have shown leanings towards the League are known among the Pathans as British agents.

It is quite clear that in their blind hatred of the Congress and the Hindus, the League leaders have completely forgotten the interest of the Pathans.

Nothing would suit the British better if all their crimes are attributed to the Congress and the Congress leaders in the Interim Government.

Nothing would suit them better if Pathans get divided into two hostile camps—Congress and League. The Pathan tribesmen would, however, know how not to fall a prey to these tricks. Only by waging a consistent struggle against those agents of British imperialism who have been planted amongst them would the Frontier tribesmen advance towards inter-tribal unity, the first pre-condition for a successful freedom struggle.

In alliance with their brethren in the N.W.F.P. and jointly with the rest of the Indian people, and with their economic and political assistance, will the tribal Pathans march towards full self-determination and independence.

by Sajjad Zaheer

any measure to introduce even ordinary amenities of civilised life here, like hospitals, schools, etc.

This was deliberate on their part. For they know that it would mean a close collaboration between the tribesmen and the rest of India. Inevitably this would have brought the tribal Pathans within the orbit of the Indian freedom movement. They could not countenance such a development.

Embittering Hindu-Muslim Relations

Keeping the tribesmen backward, ignorant and divided among themselves, suited British imperialism. Thus they could keep this area as their military preserve—and use it both as a target for their air squadrons and for giving a practical training in warfare to their subalterns at the cost of the Indian Exchequer.

The diabolical plans of imperialists went further. They used the frequent kidnappings and raids by the tribesmen into the settled districts of the N.W.F.P. in order to embitter Hindu-Muslim relations.

They sedulously drew a veil over the fact that generally

a military base of British imperialism—both against India and against Afghanistan and beyond.

The British have ostensibly 'transferred' the Political Department which dealt with the tribal territory affairs to Pandit Nehru and we also have an Indian Defence Member, Baldev Singh.

The reality, however, is different. The old imperialist policy continues. Abdul Ghaffar Khan himself has said as much in a statement referring to the Waziristan bombing:

Suhrawardy Muzzles Bengal Press

Division Weakens Protest Move

The Suhrawardy Ministry has dealt a serious blow upon the Bengal Press by imposing a Press Ordinance on the plea of stopping communal provocation. For one week from October 1 to 8, 21 Calcutta newspapers suspended publication as a protest against this attack on the freedom of the Press.

RIGHT from the first day of the August carnage, the Bengal Press, both Hindu and Muslim, has indulged in an orgy of communalism which no doubt helped to keep up the tension in Calcutta and to spread it in the districts. And the Press bosses themselves made no move to curb it, rather many of them specialised in printing lurid stories which greatly raised their sales.

For five long weeks, the Bengal Government took no step, rather they abetted it, and some of the wild rumours current in Calcutta were traced to the Writers' Building (Bengal Government Secretariat).

At the very first Press Conference called during the riot, Somnath Lahiri, editor of the Communist daily Swadhinata, suggested a special meeting of the editors for a united and voluntary move to restrain communal passions in the Press. But nothing was done by the Government in the matter.

Editors' Suggestion

On September 26, Suhrawardy informed the editors of the draft provisions of the proposed Press Ordinance. Such a high-handed measure by a one-Party Ministry with the confidence of a large section of the people in it having been shaken, could not by any means help to allay tension.

The Bengal Press Advisory Committee urged the Government not to impose the Ordinance, and themselves undertook to set up a representative body

by
Nikhil Chakravarty

of editors who every evening would sift all reports relating to communal situation and issue an agreed communiqué which would be published by all the papers.

The Muslim papers like Azad and Asre Jadid did protest against the Ordinance, but at the meeting, the editor of the Morning News stood up in its support.

Protest Move

Suhrawardy turned down the proposal of the Press Advisory Committee, but conceded that the reports okayed by itself would not be touched under the Ordinance.

On September 29, the overwhelming majority of Calcutta editors passed a resolution saying that "the Press is no less keen than Government in the matter of restoring peace" but decided to suspend publication in protest against the Ordinance.

The League papers were in favour of functioning the Press Advisory Committee, and opposed suspension. The Morning News editorially asked the nationalist editors why they had "not till this hour protested against the interference of the Governments of Bombay, Bihar and Assam with the same liberties."

The British-owned Statesman, while criticising the Ministry's

action as "reprehensible," did not agree with the decision to suspend publication.

Joining in the protest suspension and criticising the League dailies for keeping away from it, the Communist daily Swadhinata wrote:

"Riots cannot be stopped by military, the police or the gagging of the Press.... In Bombay on the plea of stopping riots, the Congress Ministry has furred new fetters in the name of the Goonda Act. We have stood against that. Here too, on precisely the same ground, we fight the fetters imposed by the League Ministry."

Communist Stand

At the same time, the Communist representative at the editors' meeting pointed out that a really effective fight against the Ordinance could be put up with the participation of the League papers, and suggested that that could be done through the Press Advisory Committee which the League papers were in favour of working.

Although at the same time this was turned down by the nationalist newspapers, after a week, they decided on October 6 to resume publication and to work through the Press Advisory Committee. Despite their claim that the suspension had "served its purpose by exposing the Bengal Government contention" that the Ordinance would stop the disturbances, it is obvious that the suspension could not bring about the scrapping of the Ordinance. The Communist representative therefore wanted this to be explicitly stated and to give a call for a united battle against the hated Ordinance. With the nationalist and the League Press arrayed as they are against each other, today the chances of such a joint struggle against the Ordinance in Bengal are slender indeed.

15,000 GIRIDIH COAL MINERS' STRIKE

GIRIDIH, 9-10-46

The general strike in the Giridih Coalfields of the India Government's Railways Coal Department has started from today. In all about 15,000 workers are involved in this strike.

AS already reported in People's Age, the general strike in Giridih was due to start on September 26, but was postponed till after the Dussera (Puja) festival.

The authorities read in it signs of weakness on the part of the workers and launched an offensive. Forty stone cutters in the Jikuti Hills, 40 in Kihmaran pit and 40 temporary hands in the Binladib Workshop were retrenched.

Of late they have introduced the hated 'contract system' (by which a person is given a contract to engage a quota of workers and the management deals with him and not with the workers directly) in the Power House for building turbine foundations.

The coal workers were determined to begin the general strike as soon as the Puja festival was over. The retrenchments and the dismissals only added to their resolve. On Oct. 7, the workers of the Binladib Workshop went on a stay-in-strike. The general strike commenced on the 9th.

Their Demands

The demands put forward by the strikers include:

(a) Immediate reinstatement of the retrenched workers.

(b) All temporary hands in the colliery to be made permanent.

(c) Daily rate in workshop to be

increased to Rs. 1-8 as in the Power House.

(d) Interim relief of As. 2/9 per day increase and payment of Rs. 63 with retrospective effect should be extended to contract labour as well.

Section 144 is still in force in the colliery area under the pretext of communal tension though there is absolute communal peace in the town. Strangely enough, Section 144 is in force only in Giridih and Bokaro—the two railway coalfields in the Hazaribagh District.

Strike Complete

There is plenty of demonstration of armed police and prevention of any sort of picketing. Despite all that the strike is complete.

The strikers have allowed 1,200 workers of the Power House and Coke Plant to continue work to avoid flooding of the pits and permanent damage to the Coke Plant. But if the authorities resort to repression and other strike-breaking activities the Coal Field Workers' Union will be forced to call out these workers as well.

The coal workers are united and confident. Despite all obstacles ahead they are resolved to fight it through.

—by JAGGANNATH SARKAR.

★ League Enters The Interim Government

★ In The States--Bogus Reforms, Bloody Repression

The negotiations which were going on at New Delhi for the last four weeks have ended in an unexpected manner. The Congress-League talks have broken down and the Muslim League has decided to come into the Interim Government unconditionally, only on the basis of whatever explanations the Viceroy and the Nawab of Bhopal may have given Mr. Jinnah. A new situation is taking shape.

THE entry of the League under these circumstances is a triumph for both the Viceroy and the Princes. It guarantees the working out of the Cabinet Mission's Plan in the sense conceived by its authors, which was all thrown out of gear because of the decision of the League to non-cooperate.

Both the short-term and the long-term aspects of the Imperialist Plan can now be put into operation in full.

Meaning Of League Entry

The short-term plan was to draw the popular parties into an Interim Government at the Centre which would be saddled with the responsibility of facing the economic situation and the people's upsurge while having no decisive power to bring about fundamental changes.

This was already the position of the Congress-formed Interim Government.

Now the League has entered the Government taking the five seats set apart for it, not by arriving at an agreement or a pact with the Congress to oppose the Imperialist Plan and to nullify the Viceroy's veto, but in open conflict with the Congress and by relying upon the assurance given in the Viceroy's broadcast of August 24.

His assurance was as follows: "The Muslim League need have no fear of being outvoted on any essential issue. A coalition can only exist and function on the condition that both the main parties are satisfied. I will see that the most important portfolios are equitably distributed."

Viceroy On The Top

With the Muslim League continually in conflict with the Congress, the whip-hand will inevitably be with the Viceroy—thus making the Interim Government even more powerless than it is at present.

The long-term plan was the working of the Constitution-making Body with the participation of the Muslim League as well as of the "representatives of the Indian States."

The defection of the League has upset it, for the Princes were refusing to come in without the League.

The imperialists and the Princes would never have allowed the Constituent Assembly to function without the Muslim League coming in.

For, the Congress-League conflict in this British-made Constituent Assembly is the essential element which guarantees the perpetuation of the autocracy of the Princes and, therefore, of British domination.

The imperialists heaved a sigh of relief when the League decided to come in.

The London Times said: "Had the League persisted in its refusal to send representatives the entire basis of the Assembly would have been altered.... Such a situation would have required very serious consideration by this country and might well have entailed our modification of policy in an endeavour to ensure that the claims of Muslims did not go by default."

"Fortunately the way now seems clear for the operation of the State Paper scheme of May 18 in the manner originally intended." (14-10-1946).

The fact that the Muslim League has entered the Interim Government and the

Constituent Assembly—without any agreement between it and the Congress—ensures the operation of the Imperialist Plan "in the manner originally intended", leading to a Constitution of Hindu-Muslim division, British domination, and of Princely autocracy.

Bhopal's Game

The Nawab of Bhopal—leader of the Chamber of Princes and cleverest watchdog of the interests of those autocrats—made strenuous efforts to get the League demands accepted by the Congress. When he failed in

the dark ages—fighting for democratic rights and full responsible government.

The common and toiling people of the States who have suffered long under the obscurantist tyranny of these British-made Princelings, are being inspired by the great changes and the mass upsurge now taking place in the rest of India.

Their movement is backward and they rightly expect every backing and support from the more advanced freedom movement of the rest of India. Are they getting it?

Princes' Protection Act

Take the simple question of giving full publicity in the Press of the rest of India to the present struggles and demands of the States' peoples, to the black acts of repression committed against them by the officialdom, police and army of the State administration.

The popular Press in the States, even in the most advanced of them, is weak, and is cribbed and confined in a hundred

by G. Adhikari

this, he threw in his weight to persuade Mr. Jinnah to come in, unconditionally.

The Princes know that the League leaders are the most loyal supporters of their autocratic regimes. The League leaders have never initiated or supported any struggle for democratic rights or responsible government in any State.

The League leaders are stalwart supporters of the Princes' claim that their "sovereignty", i.e., their right to maintain autocratic regimes, must not be impaired in the course of the new constitutional changes.

The League daily Dawn says: "When this period (Interim period) is over, the States will become sovereign and independent. The Paramountcy which now vests in the British Crown will not be transferred to the future Government of India. This has been clearly and emphatically stated by the British Cabinet delegation.

"In spite of the frantic efforts of some constitutional Pandits to put a different interpretation on this declaration, this is likely to form the basis of the future constitutional basis of Princely India." (5-10-1946).

The League leaders are promising free rein to autocracy as against the Congress leaders, who, also seeking compromise with the Princes, are morally backing, though half-heartedly, the States' peoples' movement which is growing fast in strength.

"The Princes want the League in the Constituent Assembly as a counter-balance against the Congress in their battle to preserve autocracy and get as much grip over the future Central Government as possible.

This explains the Nawab of Bhopal's tireless efforts to get the League into the Constituent Assembly. The fact that the League has come in without any agreement or understanding with the Congress is all the more advantageous to these Princes in their coming tussle to preserve their autocracy in the Constituent Assembly.

States' Peoples Up

In the meanwhile, the Princes have to fight the battle to preserve autocracy with their own people.

From Travancore to Kashmir, from the Rajputana States to the Orissa States, throughout India, the population of the Indian States is up on its feet resisting feudal oppression of

autocratic restrictions. It is unable to publicise its own people's movement or to expose the zulum and atrocities of the administration.

It needs the full support of the powerful nationalist Press in the rest of India for this purpose. In fact, it is the timely publicity and exposure in the Press outside the States that has in the past always given a push to the rising struggles in the States.

That is just the reason why the imperialists made the "Princes' Protection Act" which penalises the presses and publicists who dare to bring to light the black crimes committed by the State administrations against their people.

Mr. Tushar Kanti Ghosh, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, addressing Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Minister for Home and Information in the Interim Government, on behalf of the representatives of the all-India Press, made a pointed reference to this Act and demanded its withdrawal by the Interim Government.

Sardar Patel's Silence

Sardar Patel who laid great stress on the duty of the Press to avoid all incitement to violence, etc., had nothing to say in reply to this simple democratic request of the Press to annul that infamous Act which imperialism made as a screen to hide the criminal violence of the Princes against their people.

Perhaps the Interim Government has not sufficient power to order the annulment of the "Princes' Protection Act"; the matter being under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy and his special powers.

But it is quite probable that Sardar Patel would like to continue the "Princes' Protection Act" even if he had the power to repeal it.

The reason for this is that the Congress High Command does not favour the mass struggles of the peoples of the States at this juncture. They think constitutional agitation and negotiations for compromise with the Princes are quite enough!

If popular struggles do break out in spite of their instructions to the contrary, they attribute them to "mischief-makers" who are out to create bad blood between the Praja Mandal and the Princes.

It is this compromising and anti-struggle policy of the Congress High Command which has encouraged a number of small Princes to come out on this

Editorials

THE NEW COALITION GOVERNMENT

THE Muslim League has entered the Interim Government. As we go to press, this is all that is yet known through the radio. There is a feeling of relief among common men that now communal riots will end. It is a fond illusion.

The riot situation may ease for the moment, but communal tension will remain as a permanent pest of our daily political life. The communal battle has only shifted from the streets to the Interim Government and the Constitution-making Body. This is all that the League's entry into the Interim Government means.

This is also inherent in the very circumstances in which the Interim Government becomes a Coalition Government. The Congress-League negotiations broke down, and the League has gone in relying on imperialist assurances of Lord Wavell.

It will not be a Coalition Government functioning against the British Viceroy, but Lord Wavell acting the arbiter inside the Coalition. He will begin by deciding the battle of Portfolios within a week.

The bankruptcy of the Congress and League leaderships is patent because they can find no solution for their own differences which have led to country-wide riots. Their servility is also patent, because their policy makes Lord Wavell the master of the situation at every turn.

The Congress and the League embody the faith and hope of the vast majority of India's millions. Coming developments will depend upon how loudly and persistently our common people press on the Congress-League Coalition Government, their common demands against their common enemies.

The more the freedom loving Hindus and Muslims together demand the immediate withdrawal of British troops, the less will Mr. Jinnah talk of the Viceregal veto.

The more Hindu, Muslim and Sikh soldiers together demand concrete plans about the Indianisation and democratisation of the Indian Army, the less will Sardar Baldev Singh think of paying public tribute to the Commander-in-Chief.

The more vigorously the foodless Hindus and Muslims fight the Hindu and Muslim food thieves, the less will Rajendra Babu talk of moral virtues over the radio.

And so on.

Fulfill popular needs and not use the people for power-politics.

This must rise as the ever-deafening call from all Congressmen and Leaguers to their Coalition Government.

PRAKASAM'S BAN ON NEW TEXTILE MILLS

MR. Prakasam's statement that no new textile mill should come into existence in the Province of Madras has rightly caused amazement throughout the country.

One thought that after the report of the National Planning Committee was published the Congress policy was officially to promote industrial development of the country and raise the standard of living by producing more wealth.

It seems Mr. Prakasam under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi wants to go back again to the spinning-wheel and extol its virtues.

Now India was starved of large-scale industries by British imperialism. Mr. Prakasam wants to continue the policy in the name of encouragement to Khaddar and hand-spinning.

It is amazing that a responsible Prime Minister of a big Province should come out against increasing textile mills when India's millions are experiencing the acutest cloth famine.

Those who know how India is ill-clad even in normal times will easily understand that many more mills will be required to meet India's cloth requirements, needs which can never be filled by hand-spinning and hand-weaving.

To attempt to do so is not only to make oneself ridiculous but to invite foreign made cloth to flood the country. Besides, Mr. Prakasam does not seem to be quite aware that hand-spinning and hand-weaving constitute one of the lowest paid occupations with archaic forms of production; they are more expensive and involve greater exploitation of labour.

No national reconstruction is possible along these lines if by reconstruction we mean a better standard of living for the people and a growing satisfaction of their needs.

It is high time that the Congress High Command once for all publicly rejects the Gandhian policy of reliance on hand-spinning and hand-weaving and declares that only large-scale industrialisation controlled by the State and ensuring living conditions to the workers will solve the problem of India's poverty.

Dussera with bogus reform Sheikh Abdulla, is raising his schemes on the one hand, and voice from behind the jail walls bloody repression on the other.

Most of these Dussera pronouncements, whether of Alwar or Bharatpur or of Rewa or Faridkot or Bilaspur, are just appointments of semi-official committees to recommend to the Maharaja schemes "to bring the representatives of the people in contact with the State administration."

As against this the same Princes have launched a campaign of naked repression against the people, as in Alwar, Bharatpur and Bilaspur.

A similar situation exists in the bigger States.

In Travancore, the ruthless but wily Dewan, C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, is trying to have a show-down with the entire force of the State people's movement, including its most decisive fighting force, the Travancore working-class. (See page 8).

In Hyderabad, while Dewan Mirza Ismail is negotiating with the leaders of the State Congress to win their support to the bogus Reforms Scheme of 1938, his police are trying to crush the biggest kisan upheaval of the Telengana peasantry about which not a word has so far appeared anywhere in the Indian Press. (See pages 6 and 7).

In Kashmir, the stalwart leader of the Kashmir people,

This means that the Princes all over India will begin speeding up this game of seeking a compromise with the Praja Mandal leaders on the basis of some interim scheme, denying real power and democracy to the people, and seeking to perpetuate their autocratic rule now with the help of the upper-class Praja Mandal leaders.

At the same time, they would be trying to crush the fighting forces of the States' peoples' movement.

This treacherous conspiracy of compromise can and must be defeated if the fighting vanguard of the States' peoples' movement everywhere comes forward boldly to lead the struggles of the common people, for bread, land and freedom, bringing all the people in each State behind them.

FLAME OF REVOLT AGAINST BRITAIN'S BIGGEST PUPPET

In Hyderabad a battle is being fought. When the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

their gang had, leaving behind their cars, guns, everything. The Dakhnathis were in a panic. In their "fort" were... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...



In the heart of Hyderabad's city, the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

TELENGANA'S ANDHRA KISANS FORGING AHEAD

In Hyderabad the repression and the terror are almost universal. But its main thrust is falling on the Telugu-speaking Andhra area of Hyderabad—known as Telengana.

Telengana is like the old Poland was, with feudal lords controlling the very lives of the Andhra peasants who toil on their lands.

The vast mass of the Andhra people of Hyderabad are tenants with no occupancy rights whatsoever. Even those peasants who own their own strips of land are never secure.

Illegal taxes, forced labour, loot... are the common practice. The Nizam's... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

Down came the reserve police. Law and order had to be preserved. Many politicians descended on Dharwadpur to "rescue" the land to the landlord.

The police brought out their rifles, took position to fire. The people replied by hurling up all stones, armed with sticks, determined to meet the police back, rifle and all.

The Nizam's army was... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

Getting Their Own Back

The Dakhnathis have a huge mango garden in this village. No peasant had ever dared to enter the garden. But now they... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

The police dared not shoot. They knew what had happened only a little while earlier to the grounds again. They went back.

It was the same police which had been... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

All the Dakhnathis of this area... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

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STUDENTS JOIN BATTLE AGAINST AUTOCRACY

Hyderabad's students jumped into political activity during the countryside demonstrations in connection with the INA issue.

In Hyderabad city, 4,000 students demonstrated for the release of the INA officers and men—a banner students' demonstration then had perhaps ever been seen in the State.

At Hyderabad, the police... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

The Nizam's army was... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

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BRITISH MILITARY PLANS FOR HYDERABAD

HYDERABAD today is bustling with steel. There are more soldiers today in Hyderabad than there have been before.

What is the meaning of all this feverish activity? Only this: that Hyderabad is being built into a mighty military base for the British.

There has been for many years one special commandment issued by the British to the Nizam: BRITISH MILITARY PLANS FOR HYDERABAD.

During the war, the Nizam's army grew to one lakh. It received training in modern warfare participating in some of the biggest campaigns in Europe and Asia.

New squadrons of planes are being equipped to augment the Nizam's air force. War time aeroplanes are being made permanent.

All this intense activity also at making Hyderabad the biggest princely base in India.

The British-Nizam plan is to make the State into one of the biggest military bases in the world.

During the last three months, in Hyderabad city, nearly every single industry, the vast majority of workers have been organized.

Hyderabad's workers are... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

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Hyderabad's workers are... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

HYDERABAD'S WORKERS ORGANISE FOR ACTION

During the last three months, in Hyderabad city, nearly every single industry, the vast majority of workers have been organized.

Hyderabad's workers are... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army... the British... the Nizam and his army...

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BHARATPUR ON THE EVE OF BIG STRUGGLE

All Parties Boycott Bogus Constitution Committee

From Our Correspondent October 13.
Look out for big news from Bharatpur which is fast becoming another Kashmir. A big movement involving different sections of the people is on the agenda. The volcano may burst any moment. After making elaborate preparations, the Ruler has left for Mysore. In the meantime, the plan of repression has been hatched and a free hand given to notorious officials to suppress the popular movement

THE three main political organisations of Bharatpur State—Praja Parishad, Muslim Conference and Kisan Sabha—had jointly taken a decision on Aug. 30 to reject the sham reforms that had been offered by the Ruler, and launch a mass struggle for full freedom. Two hundred thousand militant Muslim peasants, the Meos, decided to throw their lot in the movement.

So great has been the unity among the three parties that not a single nomination was filed for the Popular Ministers' election on Aug. 31 and again on Sept. 9, when the date was extended by the State authorities. The State was forced to abandon the old reforms.

New Reforms

The Maharaja sought the advice of the Congress leaders in Delhi and came out on Dussera day with an announcement of his New Reforms.

Instead of three Ministers there would now be three popular Ministers responsible to the Legislature elected on the basis of adult franchise and a Constitution Committee would be set up of 11 members to devise the form of Constitution.

Out of these 11 members, three would be drawn from the Praja Parishad, two from a professedly non-political organisation Anjuman-e-Islamia (organisation of the Sunnis), three from the recently formed Government-sponsored Jagirdar-riden organisation (which has been named "Kisan Sabha" to confuse it with the genuine Kisan Sabha mentioned above), and the remaining three would be official nominees.

It is obvious, therefore, that there would be only three popular representatives in this Committee of 11, the rest eight being the Maharaja's stooges.

Recently the Anjuman-e-Islamia passed a resolution declaring that their body had nothing to do with politics.

I understand that the State authorities advanced Rs. 6,000 as initial subsidy to the so-called Kisan Sabha which has been placed under Dhanp Singh, notorious landlord, who was once condemned to death in a murder case and later saved from the gallows by the Maharaja's mercy.

Pompous announcements of

Communists Win In Orcha Municipal Election

Both the Communist candidates—Narayan Das Khara and Phool Chandra Bhadora—have been elected to the Tikamgarh Municipality (Orcha State). Both of them topped the lists in their respective wards. Phool Chandra secured more votes than any other candidate for any of the ten seats.

the Maharaja are obviously designed to disrupt the existing unity of the political parties inside the State and create dissensions between the Praja Parishad and the Muslim Conference and also between Shias and Sunnis.

Stage Set For Repression

Immediately after this announcement the Maharaja made elaborate preparations for a reign of terror and left Bharatpur on a holiday trip for Mysore. Before his departure, the Maharaja made some significant appointments.

Parasram, a notorious bad character, adorned the prize post of the Superintendent of Jails, and a new Inspector of Police was appointed. All these new finds of the Maharaja are drawn from the Jats and landlords who make no secret of their abhorrence for any popular movement.

Prior to the Maharaja's departure his officials assured him, "Don't you worry, we shall wipe out all vestiges of popular movement within four to six weeks when you are out of Bharatpur."

The stage is set for widespread repression all over the State. Immediate arrests are expected of the General Secretary of the Muslim Conference, Qazi Abbas Hossain, Captain of the Muslim National Guards, Ali Azhar Atindar, President of the Praja Parishad, and of Shamlal Prashad, Parishad leader. Among Meo leaders expected to be arrested are Abdul Rahim Khan, Wakil Choudhry Imrat, and Chaudhry Abdul Haye.

It is learnt that the officials have been authorised to resort to large-scale firing to deal with the popular upsurge.

The Maharaja's announcement was of course universally

resented by the people and its immediate reaction was a largely attended protest meeting in Dussera, Mela Grounds on October 6. This was followed by a huge demonstration before the Central Jail demanding the release of Chaudhry Shafat Khan, the Muslim Conference leader, who is now being tried on a charge of sedition.

Such was the state of panic created by this demonstration that the total force of jail guards was kept fully armed and there were sentries at every post.

The new Superintendent of Police was seen exhibiting his loaded revolver before the crowd. The demonstrators, however, refused to be provoked.

A joint demonstration was announced for the 9th, the opening day of Shafat Khan's trial, and more demonstrations are to follow as the trial proceeds.

There is a general upheaval among the Meo peasantry who are groaning under the burden of customs and other taxes, and one should not be surprised if the new policy of repression initiated by the Maharaja provokes strong movement in the countryside culminating in a widespread no-rent campaign.

Joint Front

The brightest part of the people's movement here is that the leaders of the Muslim Conference and the Praja Parishad are now formulating a positive programme of unity and have outlined their principles of a democratic constitution with special provisions, proportional representation and for the upliftment of the minorities and the backward people.

This will go a long way to conciliate the Muslims and the Untouchables, creating a sound basis for an enduring joint front.

They have also joined hands with Patwaris and other workers who are organising for a better life.

The Muslim Conference being affiliated to the All-India Muslim States' People's Conference approached Liaqat Ali Khan and the Punjab League Secretary, Mian Muntaz Daultana. Both the leaders, it is stated, faked and the only advice Daultana could tender was to pass a formal resolution of sympathy at Gurgaon.

This created widespread resentment against the League leaders among the Meos. The Muslim Conference leaders duly informed Jinnah and Nehru of the new developments in the State and the dangerous consequences likely to follow.

They have similarly asked the Maharaja at Mysore to revise his policy before it is too late.

No Compromise

The Praja Parishad workers are planning the method of resistance. Here also the all-India leadership tried to sabotage the movement. Hiralal Shastri, who was deputed by the All-India States' People's Conference, instead of meeting the people went straight to the Maharaja.

The Parishad workers were disgusted with this. Consequently, Shastri failed to impress on the Parishad the necessity of a "peaceful settlement". All his precious advice to the Praja Parishad was: Have faith in the Maharaja and work for a settlement. Parishad workers, however, refused to be impressed by this wise counsel.

They are determined to go ahead with their plans of resistance and carry on the struggle till full responsible Government is attained and all departments are transferred to popular Ministers.

All the popular parties have refused to cooperate with the Maharaja's Constitution Committee.

A big struggle is soon to break out in Bharatpur.

In Bikaner

STATE ADMINISTRATION PARALYSED

Clerks And Peons Win Big Strike Victory

(By Hukum Raj Mehta)

For three days, from September 28, Bikaner's administration was at a standstill. State employees throughout Bikaner were on strike.

AT Bikaner city itself clerks and peons of eight departments of the State and teachers of the Sardul High School struck work. The State authorities were stunned. There was no one to open the offices or to clean them. Judges and officers sat paralysed without being able to transact any business.

The clerks of the Jail Department refused to take the prisoners out.

Five thousand strikers assembled in the park and held a meeting supported by the vast mass of citizens.

Two hundred students of the Sardul High School paraded the streets shouting slogans in support of the strikers. This was the first procession ever taken out by Bikaner students.

Against Victimisation

On September 16, the clerks had formed their union—the Civil Employees Union—to demand adequate wages and Dearness Allowance. From that very day the State had asked the officers to keep a watch on its activities.

On September 25, the Union passed a resolution requesting the Prime Minister Sardar K. M. Pannikar, and the Maharaja to remove Section 32 of the Conduct Rules which forbids the State employees from joining any Union, etc.

On September 27, Sardar Pannikar announced a grant of Rs. 6 to the clerks and the chap-rasis.

At the same time he dismissed seven office-bearers of the Union and threatened 39 members of the Executive with dismissal if they did not apologise by September 30. The Civil Employees Union hit back by going on strike from September 28.

A public meeting was held again on the 29th. The Bikaner Praja Parishad wholeheartedly

supported the demands of the strikers.

Strike Spreads

Everyone expected a trial of strength on September 30. The Civil Employees Union worked for complete strike. The State bureaucracy started its offensive to break it. Officers brought pressure on many clerks to join work, tempting offers were made to others to break their morale.

To the utter dismay of the State bureaucracy, however, the number of strikers swelled on the 30th. Teachers from the other schools, women teachers of the girls' school and the clerks of the Household Department came out. The strikers sat peacefully under the shade of the trees in the park. Once again a procession of students marched through the streets.

Enraged at its defeat, the State dismissed the 39 members of the Executive and threatened to dismiss all the others if they did not resume work by October 2.

The Union held a public meeting in the evening and reiterated its resolve to fight to the last. By another resolution they demanded the reinstatement of the dismissed clerks and recognition of the Union.

Victory

At last, on October 1, the State yielded. The Judicial Minister of the State Government assured the Union against any victimisation and of the acceptance of their demands. At the call of the Union, work was resumed from the afternoon.

All the dismissed clerks have been reinstated.

This is the first time that the popular movement has entered the very heart of the State administration in Bikaner. It is a portent of bigger battles to come.

TRAVANCORE DIWAN TAKES GLOVES OFF

State-Wide Protest Against Dictatorial Ordinance

A state of emergency has been declared in Travancore. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has taken in his own hands the power to decide the question of the life and death of sixty-one lakhs of people.

THE emergency Powers Act of October 1, bears a close resemblance to the nefarious Regulation No. 1 which Sir C. P. promulgated nine years ago to suppress the State Congress. Only the powers under the present Act are more extensive and oppressive.

By this Act the bureaucracy, with Sir C. P. as its irremovable head, obtains powers to ban strikes and hartals, processions, flags, meetings, books, films, and dramas; to confiscate property; to extend those involved in 'subversive' activities; etc.

This Ordinance comes in the midst of the repressive campaign which Sir C. P. has launched against all the fighting sections of the Travancorean people (already reported in People's Age).

Object Of Ordinance

Its object is the same as that of the rest of the repressive measures: that of silencing all opposition to the fake 'American Constitution' which he plans to impose on Travancore by an announcement on October 24—the Maharaja's birthday!

The Ordinance has met with a storm of protest. The working-class through the All-Travancore Trade Union Congress has warned the people of the coming danger. "These laws", it warns, "are

the beginning of a policy of suppression of the freedom urge of our people and to foist an autocratic regime through fake reforms."

The Council of the Students' Congress also condemned the oppressive laws, warned the State Congress against compromise and declared that "the new Constitution is a move to foist the misdoings of the present Government on the popular representatives without giving them any power."

Call For Resistance

The strongest opposition against the new dictatorial laws of Sir C. P. comes from Mr. C. Kesavan—one of the foremost leaders of the State Congress and a member of its Working Committee. He asserts that the "new laws deny all human necessities except air and water; this is virtual suffocation."

He calls on "every Travancorean who has some sense of civil liberty to protest against this law and resist the tyrannical rule unitedly."

Within 24 hours of this call, Mr. C. Kesavan was served with an order prohibiting his speaking anywhere in the State. The latest news is that he has been jailed.

The Trade Union Congress has called on their affiliated unions "to be ready for the battle and to face all emergencies."

UNDER PRINCES' RAJ

Rajkot

ON September 29, the veteran leader of Rajkot, Sjt. Vajubhai Shukla was served with a gag order by the District Magistrate of the Rajkot Civil Station and the Political Agent for the Western Kathiawar Agency.

A public meeting, held the same day, demanded on behalf of the people of Rajkot the immediate withdrawal of the ban, and characterised it as "a ban on the whole people."

Tonk

MR. Habibuddin Khan, President of the Tonk Peoples' Association, was thrown into jail a few days ago on a charge of murder, trumped-up by one of the Nawab's personal orderlies.

Immediately, a complete hartal was observed in Tonk. A giant meeting demanded the immediate release of the President and compelled the

Nawab to drop his false prosecution.

Bilaspur

ON September 22 and 23, 100 persons were injured as a result of the lathi-charges made on Praja Mandal meetings by the Bilaspur State police and military. One of the injured has died while the condition of two others is serious.

Only a fortnight earlier the State police had lathi-charged a meeting called to congratulate Pandit Nehru on the formation of the Interim Government.

As a protest against this repression, the Praja Mandal decided to offer satyagraha. Jathas began to come in from the adjoining places but they were stopped and beaten mercilessly. Even the State communique admits— "Jathas were intercepted by the Home Minister, the District Magistrate and a posse of State police....Then the assembly was declared unlawful and was dispersed with a mild (1) lathi-charge...."

- Dardanelles--Back-Door Of The Soviet
- Anglo-U.S. Plans To Dominate Balkans
- India's Ignoble Part At Paris Conference

LAST week the United States Government in a note to the Soviet Government reiterated its view that Turkey should be "primarily responsible" for the defence of the Dardanelles.

This note was sent as a virtual answer to the Soviet note to the Turkish Government (of September 24) in which the Soviet had once more suggested to Turkey:

FIRST, that the regime of the Straits as "the sole sea-route leading out of and into the Black Sea" should be decided by Turkey and the other Black Sea Powers.

SECONDLY, that the defence of the Straits should be the joint task of the Soviet Union and Turkey, the two Powers most capable of ensuring that the Straits are not used by other States for purposes hostile to the Black Sea Powers."

Turkish Help For Nazis

The Soviet Union's stand on the Dardanelles arises from its experience during the last war.

In the first phase of the war before the Nazis attacked the Soviet Union, it is well-known that Turkey was ready to join Britain and France in attacking the Soviet Union. This has been proved by evidence given by Philip Jordan, correspondent of the London Liberal daily, the News Chronicle, on June 7, 1941.

After Hitler attacked the Soviet, in the gloomy days of Soviet retreats, Turkey afforded every assistance to Hitler, allowing German auxiliary warships freely to pass through the Dardanelles—thus breaking the spirit and letter of the Montreux Convention.

Consequently, the Soviet knows very well that to rely on Turkey to refuse to allow the Dardanelles to be used by any aggressor against her, would be to live in a fool's paradise.

This conviction has been further strengthened by Turkey's post-war policy.

Today Britain's Colony

Far from embarking on a policy of friendship with the Soviet, Turkey has, in fact, become a military base and colony of British imperialism.

Today Turkish radar stations on the Black Sea coast are under British command; a key aerodrome at Eschilli (near Istanbul) is also under virtual British control; Turkey's pilots are being trained or re-trained either in Britain or in countries under Britain's influence or in the U.S.A., Britain's partner in the Anglo-American bloc.

On top of all this, during the last year, Britain has considerably assisted Turkish rearmament by handing over to her a number of naval vessels and over a hundred and fifty aircrafts, and by constructing a number of aerodromes and strategic roads.

Obviously, under such conditions, entrusting the defence of the Straits to Turkey would virtually amount to entrusting their defence to Britain, to the Anglo-American bloc.

And for the defence of the Soviet Union the defence of the Straits is vital. They are a bare 500 miles away from her chief Black Sea port, Odessa; bordering on the Black Sea itself are 1,300 miles of vulnerable Soviet coastline.

In addition the Straits are, as it were, the door to the outside world for the Black Sea Powers; for the Black Sea Powers and the Soviet to control the defence of the Straits is for them to be in a position to lock their back door or open it—at their will.

So also for any other Power—

like Britain or the U.S.—to be in control (as Britain virtually is today), enables them to lock or open it also—i.e., to hold their possession of the Straits as a pistol at the heads of the Soviet and other Black Sea Powers.

And the Soviet is all the more firm on her position because the Anglo-Americans every day give added proof that Turkey is their colony.

Anglo-U.S. Intrigues

Last week, the U.S. belligerently announced that the U.S. naval fleet in the Mediterranean, headed by a 27,000 ton aircraft carrier, is going to visit the Turkish port, Izmir!

What would the Americans say if the Soviet sent a powerful fleet to visit the Panama Canal zone? Surely the world Press would just overflow with news about "Conclusive evidence about Russia's aggressive intentions", and the rest.

Yet, the only difference between the Panama (where today the U.S. has over 100 military bases) and the Straits is that the latter is not an international waterway (it only gives entrance into and egress from the Black Sea) while the Panama Canal is an international waterway—from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans.

The Anglo-Americans in truth are not interested in Turkey's independence or internationalisation of a vital waterway. They are simply angling to make secure their control of a spring-board from which to threaten and one day attack the Soviet

Union. This and nothing less is the real meaning behind their high-sounding notes about the Dardanelles.

Hypocrisy At Paris

VERY similar to the Anglo-U.S. intrigues over the Dardanelles were their antics at the Paris Conference over trade on the Danube.

Last week both the American and the British representatives made big speeches about the need to restore the Danube's commerce; they maintained that this could be done only through "internationalisation"—a word that is used to give a respectable and liberal cover to their real demand for representation for themselves on a Commission to govern navigation on the Danube.

Britain's Foreign Minister, Bevin, waxed lyrical, with Churchillian bombast, about his desire "to see the Danube as a great artery of commerce, as free as the sea where merchant ships of all nations move freely and peacefully bringing prosperity to these lands." But he did not mention that if the ships of all nations had equal rights, the ships of U.S. and Britain, with their enormous financial backing, would get the opportunity to capture shipping on the Danube and impose their own terms on the Danubian countries!

In fact, anyone might justly ask: What right have Britain and America to participate in settling the fate of the Danube, a river flowing through coun-

tries thousands of miles away from them?

And the answer is: "none"! Their only justification is that throughout the last century the Western Powers have forced their way into the Danubian area in order to guard their imperialist economic domination of the area.

Lesson Of History

The Soviet Foreign Commissar, Molotov, shrewdly hit at this when he described the machinery established ninety years ago for the control of navigation of the Danube (in which Britain and France first became members of the Commission for navigation of the Danube) as a "typical imperialist policy of the Nineteenth Century".

At that time, using their superior military and economic strength, they won positions right in the centre of the Danubian area.

Today they wish to retain their imperialist hold to keep the Danubian area one "where a struggle for influence and imperialistic positions can be waged." (Yugoslav delegate, Dr. Kardelj).

But when after bitter experience of many years, all the countries through which the Danube flows have grown mature and strong enough to demand that the administration of the Danube be left to them to decide, the imperialists hold up their hands in holy horror and accuse these countries of "discriminatory policies".

In truth, behind the demand for internationalisation of the Danube lies the desire of Britain and the U.S. to penetrate the Balkan area and use their immensely superior resources to reimpose their economic domination over these countries.

India—Britain's Echo!

In view of all this, it is indeed revealing that the Indian delegate to the Paris Conference, Sir Samuel Runganadhan, should have voted alongside the Anglo-Americans on this issue—thus putting India's weight on the

side of "imperialist policies of the Nineteenth Century".

Surely, our country which has suffered so greatly in the past because our imperialist rulers, in the name of banning "economic discrimination" against British Big Business, forbade us to protect our own industries, commerce and shipping from being squeezed out by British capital, should have understood the real objective of the imperialists when they pleaded for "freedom" of navigation on the Danube.

The reality, of course, is that the Indian delegation to the Peace Conference originally appointed by the imperial Caretaker Government, though later meekly accepted by the Interim Government, has, in practice, consistently lined up with Anglo-America on every key question and did not represent or defend India's interests and democratic principles at Paris.

A Firmer Battle Needed

More than anything else, this shows that if the Interim Government is to make a sharp break with the foreign policy Britain has imposed on India for so long, it will have to wage a far firmer and more consistent battle against imperialism and its attempts to recruit India as an ally in its anti-Soviet, anti-democratic crusade.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, in his concluding speech declared that the results of the Conference would have been different if some of the delegates "had been able to vote as they liked without being subjected to external pressure."

In particular, "everyone of us will understand that if we had to deal with the vote of an independent India, if we had to deal with the voice of a representative of genuine India, then the Indian delegation would have observed a more objective and impartial attitude in this matter (of navigation on the Danube)."

October 14.

★ INSIDE THE FORCES ★

(By their mutiny against the British bosses of the Navy our Indian ratings have won the admiration of all our freedom-loving countrymen in various parts of the world. Here is an interview given to me by an Indian rating who has recently returned from a trip to East Africa. This story of his experiences reveals the importance of the R.I.N. mutiny in our national struggle for liberation. — FORCES CORRESPONDENT).

THIS was my first trip outside India after our mutiny. Wherever we went we were welcomed by the Indian people with great enthusiasm. They all praised us for our bitter and determined struggle against our common enslaver.

Arab Ex-Serviceman's Greetings

Let me tell you the whole story from the beginning. We left Karachi on July 16 on a training cruise with some 65 boy recruits. After quite a pleasant voyage we reached Aden on the 27th. The next morning I went ashore. At the Naval Headquarters I met an Arab sailor. He seemed very pleased to see me and started asking me questions about our mutiny. When I had sufficiently satisfied his curiosity he asked me:

"Why did you surrender?"

"Our national leaders asked us to do so," I replied.

"They were wrong. By preventing such actions your leaders are not only helping to strengthen British rule in India, but also in the Arab countries."

I did not know what to say. He left me rather disappointed. Next day I met an Arab ex-serviceman. He put his feelings about the struggle for independence very simply.

"You strike in India," he said, "we strike in Arabia, and all White rascals go away."

Mombasa Indians' Call For Help

On August 1 we left for Mombasa. After seven days on the high seas we reached our destination on the 8th. To our surprise we found some 300 Indians waiting for us on the jetty. They invited us to a party which they had arranged in our honour.

In two batches we attended the parties on the 9th and the 10th. The local Indians praised us highly for our independent action against the

British imperialists. One of the speakers, referring to the colour-bar in Africa, concluded his speech by saying,

"We are trying to make your stay here as comfortable as possible; but we hope that some day in the near future you will come back with all your strength to make our life comfortable in this country." In reply one of our ratings said,

"We are quite prepared and are waiting to come to your aid. If we can get together we can easily throw these White blood-suckers, not only out of India, but out of this country as well."

This speech was reported to the authorities by one of the officers present. No action was taken against the rating. He was only warned and let off. We had been prepared for the worst and had decided that if anything happened we would leave the ship in a body.

"Tell Bharatmata We Are Starving"

Our next port of call was Mauritius. Here we were very much grieved to see the living conditions of the Indian labourers who form one-third of the entire population. They were literally clad in rags.

Their daily wages were Rs. 1-8 a day, but the cost of living was so high that they practically lived on a starvation diet.

They pathetically requested us to bring back the news of their sufferings to their 'Bharatmata'.

On the 22nd we sailed for Dar-es-Salam. Here we celebrated the Id. Hindu and Muslim civilians came to our party and we celebrated all together. We were very pleased to see the unity that there is among the Hindus and Muslims practically all over the country. On Id. day we were invited to a party in the local Hindu Club.

On our way back to Mombasa we had some trouble. We were due to reach our destination on September 2. It seemed that the authorities were not willing to let us be in Mombasa on the day of the inauguration of the Interim Government. So we stopped at Junga for the day. We were very excited and expected a holiday.

Free—With Union Jack Still Up!

When nothing happened in the morning we went to the officers and asked them for a holiday. They smiled and said, "Wait till general holiday is declared to celebrate your independence." We were rather displeased.

In the evening we went to a free picture show. Everyone asked us: "India is free now. When are you going to pull down the Union Jack and put up the National Flag?"

We felt rather ashamed. Why, we could not even get a holiday! We kept quiet and said nothing.

We returned rather late from the show. But we had received permission to stay out late. Next morning, however, 61 boys were punished for coming back late and for other petty offences.

The following day we reached Mombasa. This was our last visit. We were anxious to go ashore. But practically the whole of the ship's company had been punished. So nobody could go out.

We felt that we had been punished to prevent us from meeting the Mombasa Indians, specially after our frank talk with them on the previous occasion.

Back Home Inspired

On September 4 we set sail for India. We came back very much inspired. Even our young boy recruits now look up to us with great respect as the veterans of the mutiny. They too have been inspired by our fighting tradition. We wished our old heroes, who had led the mutiny, had been free and with us to accept the congratulations of the East African Indians.

SERVICEMEN ON BALDEV SINGH'S BROADCAST

BALDEV Singh has spoken. Baldev Singh the first Indian Defence Member of the Congress-ruled Interim Government. Indian Servicemen have listened with interest and disgust. The general reaction has been well-expressed by a Punjabi rating:

"After all what can you expect from an arch-toady!"

Here are some comments made by Servicemen.

RIN

"There is nothing in it. It is similar to the many speeches we have heard from the C-in-C Auchinleck and the British-officers are still the real bosses."

"One day he talks of Indianisation. The next day he issues a communique to make it clear that the RIN ratings discharged during the mutiny will not be taken back. That shows up everything."

"Not a single word of hope for us, but all praise for Auchinleck and the British officers."

"After all, how can you expect a big landlord who robs his own people to think of our grievances?"

ARMY

"I am going out of the army within a month. He has nothing to say about my future. I might starve for all he cares!"

RIAF

"We are furious. He has the cheek to give assurances to the British officers, without saying anything about us."

"He can only talk big. What has he done for those poor chaps at Kohat? He is quite satisfied as long as the C-in-C addresses him as 'Sir'."

Rather rude, these remarks, Honourable Defence Member! But they are only rough and rude soldiers. They do not understand the politics of surrender!

DESPITE U. S. BACKING KUOMINTANG CANNOT WIN

Political-Military Situation Analysed

The civil war in China has spread over large areas of the country and is still spreading.

is in no position to fight a long and protracted civil war, but in order even to survive, must finish the war quickly.

The Communists, on the other hand, have set up a stable popular administration in their areas, based on self-governing institutions from top to bottom; only in the Communist-controlled areas in China are elections regularly held on the basis of adult suffrage.

Thus, the Communists are in a position to fight a long war, for they are intimately in touch with the people of the areas that they control and will always be supported and defended by the people.

The strategy of the two parties in this war naturally arises directly from their relative strength and weaknesses; the KMT leadership want to win a speedy victory before their rear cracks, while the Communists, conscious of their inferiority in fire-power and equipment, realize that their only hope of success is to prolong the war by guerrilla tactics and mobile battles, thus exhausting the KMT and forcing it to give up its aim of exterminating the democratic Communist-led areas in China.

KMT's Dilemma

But despite the KMT's desire to win a speedy victory, in practice it is totally unable to do so.

If it wishes to launch an offensive (as for instance the offensive against Kalgan), it can only do this by going on the defensive on all other fronts and concentrating its main forces in the Kalgan direction so as to obtain a decisive numerical superiority there.

It is because of this that the KMT offensives have been and are to-day always launched only in one or two places at a time, and, of course, are aimed at certain important railway lines in Communist hands or at key cities.

The Communists, on the other hand, whenever the KMT launches one of its offensives, always concentrate on avoiding a decisive battle because of their inferiority in fire-power and are thus usually forced to evacuate part of the cities and the communication lines at which the KMT offensive is directed.

At the same time, however, the vast countryside remains in their hands and from this, their impregnable base, they continue to launch counter-attacks, threatening KMT supply lines, disrupting their communication system, and making life intolerable for the invading army by persistent guerrilla and mobile warfare.

Moreover, the Communists always launch diversionary counter-offensives on other fronts, where the KMT has not the strength to attack and would prefer to remain quiet.

Lesson Of Six Months

The experience of the civil war itself shows how true is this estimate of the civil war situation in China.

For instance, in July the KMT concentrated its forces on trying to wipe the Communists out in North Kiangsu.

This is perhaps the weakest of the Communist-led areas, surrounded by KMT troops on three sides and by the sea on the fourth; yet after two months' hard battles, while the KMT troops had occupied a number of cities, they had lost 80,000 men in killed and wounded.

At the same time the Communists launched an offensive in the areas of Honan and Shantung and captured a number of cities and a large part of the key East-West railway line.

In this neither the KMT nor the Communists can claim superiority. The KMT is very strong in reserves in so far as it can rely on unlimited supplies coming from its American backers while the Communists cannot get any help from outside at all.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the internal reserves on which the Communists can draw are far more than those at the disposal of the KMT.

Despite the fact that the population in the KMT-controlled areas of China is greater than that in the Communist areas (about 350 millions to 130 millions), in the Communist areas, there have been bumper crops and the people are living comparatively a stable and happy life.

Therefore, the rear of the Communist armies is a solid and contended rear that will give of its best to help the armies fighting at the front and can be relied on to do this.

The rear of the KMT, however, is radically different; over large areas a devastating famine is raging; landlord oppression is at its height and in the cities not only are the mass of the workers and wage-earners suffering from the catastrophic rise in prices and inflation, but even the small businessmen are rebelling against an economic policy that only benefits the big businessmen and American capitalists.

Thus the KMT has a very weak and dissatisfied rear on which it can draw very little in the civil war.

Thus, as regards reserves, it can be said that the two sides are approximately equal; the KMT has plenty of foreign support but a very weak rear, while the Communists have a strong rear but no foreign support.

Political Support

THIRD is the question of the political strength and stability of the two sides.

It is universally admitted in China today that there has never been such a rotten and corrupt regime as the dictatorial landlord-dominated one that exists in the KMT-ruled areas. This means that the KMT

is in no position to fight a long and protracted civil war, but in order even to survive, must finish the war quickly.

The Communists, on the other hand, have set up a stable popular administration in their areas, based on self-governing institutions from top to bottom; only in the Communist-controlled areas in China are elections regularly held on the basis of adult suffrage.

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The Communists, on the other hand, whenever the KMT launches one of its offensives, always concentrate on avoiding a decisive battle because of their inferiority in fire-power and are thus usually forced to evacuate part of the cities and the communication lines at which the KMT offensive is directed.

AND it is becoming increasingly clear that the civil war will continue until a decisive result is reached on the battlefield.

The Kuomintang (KMT) leadership, headed by the Generalissimo, does not want peace because it is convinced that with the total American help that it can obtain, it can exterminate the Communists.

That is why the KMT leadership has consistently refused a general truce and always proposed truces of short duration (ten, fifteen or twenty days) which come in useful in order to regroup forces at the end of any campaign.

Thus the future political developments in China depend very much on the military outcome of the battles that are raging over the entire Northern area.

What then is the military perspective in China today?

Relative Strength

The final result of the civil war will, clearly enough, be determined by the relative strength of the two sides, Kuomintang and Communist. But this relative strength can be measured accurately only if all factors, and not merely the purely military factors, are taken into consideration.

FIRST, of course, is the pure military strength, and there is no doubt that here the KMT has the advantage; it has a huge army of 257 divisions, totalling 20 lakh soldiers; out of these, some four lakh soldiers are wholly or partially equipped with the most modern and up-to-date American arms.

In contrast, the Communists can only draw upon a regular army of 12 lakh soldiers, though, of course, they have the assistance of some 20 lakh poorly-armed people's volunteers.

However, despite the fact that the Communists have considerably increased their fighting capacity by equipping themselves with booty captured from the Japanese, it is undeniable that the KMT has got superiority in both man-power and fire-power.

Equal Reserves

SECOND is the question of the reserves on each side.

U. S. SUPPORT FOR KMT MAKES BIGGEST CIVIL WAR IN CHINA'S HISTORY

Declaring that the civil war in China was "unprecedented in China's history," General Chou En-lai, Communist representative in Shanghai, in a Press Conference on September 19, gave the following facts and figures about the magnitude of the war:

1. The Kuomintang has so far committed 17 lakh troops, 208 divisions, in the war, out of a total strength of 20 lakh troops, 257 divisions.
2. During the last ten months, KMT troops had launched more than 6,000 attacks on the Communist-led areas and bombed or machine-gunned from the air more than 300 times.
3. In three months of civil war, since the beginning of June, the KMT army had suffered two lakh casualties in killed, wounded or taken prisoner. General Chou then went on to state that it was impossible for the KMT to have waged such a major war without the backing and active co-operation of the Americans. In particu-
- lar he pointed out the following help that the U.S. had given KMT Government:
 - i. A 66 million dollar loan.
 - ii. 900 million dollars worth of lend-lease material since the Jap surrender.
 - iii. Transfer of 800 million dollars worth of U.S. war supplies to the KMT Government.
 - iv. Active intervention and assistance through the employment of U.S. armed guards along railway lines in KMT-ruled areas, and through the stationing of the U.S. fleet at Tsingtao.
 - v. The transfer of all U.S. airfields in China to the KMT and also of 271 warships, big and small.

KUOMINTANG CHINA — AMERICA'S INDIA?

Import-export figures for the first eight months of 1946 of Chinese trade (in Kuomintang-ruled China) reveal more than anything else just what is behind American intervention in China.

Percentage of total imports into KMT-ruled China of different countries

Country	1936	1946
U.S.A.	19	53
Brazil	—	10
India	—	8
Great Britain	11	5
Germany	16	—
Japan	16	—
Mexico	—	5

Thus the United States has virtually taken over the trade of Germany and Japan with China, and in addition, her satellites in Latin America are finding their way into China's trade, under, as it were, the protecting shadow of Uncle Sam. Britain on the other hand has managed to save barely half her trade in China.

Of China's exports also (according to the latest figures) the United States has grabbed a goodly share, 48 per cent.

Only one conclusion is possible; behind American military intervention on the side of the Kuomintang is the determination to grab the Chinese market for American goods, to make of China what Britain has made of India, a colony.

Thus, taking the situation as a whole, China's civil war, long civil war with unbounded confidence. They know that when they were able to hold out for years against the Japanese war." The KMT has taken the place of the Japanese armies in the towns against the KMT. And they are confident that even if they are berated areas exist in the rural areas.

The KMT is, therefore, faced with an insoluble dilemma. It wants to finish off the war quickly, but yet it knows that the Communists, who have had long training in the art of fighting a protracted war, will not allow them to do so.

Therefore, their present aim is to recapture certain key communication lines and big cities; after that, they will once more review where they stand.

The Communists, however, do not rise in disgust against their Government, the war will go on. (Adapted from an article by M. T. Noon, a noted Chinese military commentator.)

To Save Tarnished Reputation SMUTS INTRIGUING FOR A ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

By Cable from Jacqueline Lax. Durban, Oct. 10.

The Passive Resistance Councils of both Natal and Transvaal Provinces have come out sharply against the proposal of a Round Table Conference to discuss the question of discrimination against Indians in South Africa.

IN fact, behind this proposal was the intriguing hand of the South African Government itself.

The great response of the Indian community to the passive resistance call, seen in the fact that 850 Indians have already gone to jail, has disturbed the South African Government because it has successfully exposed to the whole world the racialist nature of South African society.

On top of this, the fact that the issue might be thrashed out at UNO, has forced the Government all the more to think out some way of saving its tarnished reputation.

At the same time it itself does not wish to put forward the proposal for a Round Table Conference, as that would clearly involve an open retreat from the defiance and arrogance with which Smuts turned down the request of Indian people in South Africa and the Indian Government to hold a Conference before passing the Ghetto Act.

Realising this, the Smuts Government has made indirect overtures to the Right-wing officials of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), suggesting that if the overtures for a conference came from the Government would reciprocate.

Obviously, as soon as negotiations begin, the South African Government would demand a cessation of the Passive Resistance campaign and the withdrawal of the complaint before the UNO. And if this happens, the South African Government will have gained a lot—for, the

Ghetto Act would remain on the Statute Book while all the Government would have committed itself to was a Round Table Conference, a talking shop!

Opposition

The progressive Indian leaders of Natal and Transvaal, who were elected to the leadership last year by big majorities, have, however, sharply repudiated this plan of the Rightist leaders. In contrast, they demand that no negotiations, no Round Table Conference, should be held until Smuts withdraws the Act from the Statute Book.

At the Executive meeting of the SAIC last month they opposed this move of the Rightist leaders and walked out of the meeting; the Rightist leaders, however, have written, I believe, asking the Indian Government when the Natal Indian Congress asked for a copy of the letter, they met with a curt refusal.

There is no doubt, however, that the mass of Indians are behind the progressive leaders of the Resistance Movement and sharply critical of the Rightist leadership of the SAIC who are known to have always been opposed to the Passive Resistance struggle and direct action.

Recently a big mass meeting was held in Durban, attended by 10,000 people, where the proposal for a Round Table Conference was denounced and a resolution passed instructing the leaders to fight tenaciously any withdrawal of the complaint to UNO and of the resistance struggle.

"New Indian Govt. Starts Activities In Complicated Situation"

SOVIET PAPER IZVESTIA'S COMMENT

By Air Mail London, September 29.

Indian newspapers closely connected with the Indian National Congress greet the formation of the new Government in India with Pandit Nehru as acting head of the first National Government of India, but various newspapers of a more Left character are doubtful if the new Government will be able to conduct an independent foreign and domestic policy, states Dyakov in an Izvestia article on "The Interim Government of India".

NEHRU himself, as is clear from his declaration is not under the illusion that the formation of the new Government means the achievement of Indian independence. Of course, the establishment of his Government, even though with very limited rights, with representatives of Indian political parties and still more with the leader of the Indian National Congress, constitutes a certain concession on the part of the British Government to the demands of the national liberation movement.

It is impossible to treat the members of this Government in the way that the Viceroy could treat his advisers from the ranks of officials who were entirely dependent on himself.

Limitations Of New Govt.

The British Government made concessions under the pressure of the growing national liberation movement. But, in accepting responsibility for the activity of the Government, the leadership

of the National Congress accepted an essential limitation of their original demands.

The National Congress took responsibility for the activity of the Government in spite of the fact that the British Government had not fulfilled several of the original demands of the Congress. The new Government was not made responsible to the Indian legislature and not only was no undertaking given to evacuate the British troops from India but it was re-affirmed that the constitutional position of the Army would not be changed.

Britain's Ulterior Motive

The British Government, writes Dyakov, in proposing Nehru as head of the Indian Interim Government, had an ulterior motive, viz., to make the Congress responsible for the difficult economic situation of the country as well as for the internecine strife which it had itself provoked by its policy. As usual, Dyakov continues,

the British Press attributes the main guilt for the clashes between Muslims and Hindus in India to the Indians themselves, but no objective observer can deny the fact that the political line of the British Cabinet Mission has led inevitably to the sharpening of communal conflicts.

Suffice it to recall the statement of the head of the Mission, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, to the effect that in a united India, the Muslims were threatened with being swallowed up by the Hindu majority. Symptomatic was also the promise of the Viceroy and the members of the Mission to form a Government even if any of the parties refused to enter it, and the non-fulfilment of this promise when Congress refused to enter the Government.

Old Policy In New Form

Can one appraise these manoeuvres as anything else but endeavours to set the Muslim League against Congress? One cannot presume that the Viceroy and the members of the Mission seriously thought it possible to form a Provisional Government without the participation of Congress which enjoys the support of the majority of the Indian population.

And, as a result of this, the Muslim League decides to start direct action against the British and Congress—with the accent on the latter.

It is not without interest to notice that the main champion of this new line of the Muslim League is the not unknown

Firoz Khan Noon—the same Firoz Khan Noon who was Defence Member in the Executive Council, delegate to the San Francisco Conference, and who for many years had loyally served the British Government.

The above-mentioned manoeuvres are nothing else but endeavours of British Imperialism to apply in a new form the old policy of splitting the ranks of the national liberation movement.

Difficult Road Ahead

In this connection an article in the newspaper Times is characteristic, which, speaking of the events in Calcutta, scolds Mr. Jinnah in a fatherly way, angrily stamps its feet at Pandit Nehru for his unwise speeches in the past, and counsels the Indians to have more confidence in the British colonial servants and not to make serious changes in the administration of India.

It is in this complicated situation that the new Indian Government starts its activities. The Indian people will have a very difficult road to pursue from the formation of this Government to the achievement of independence.

The new Provisional Government of India, taking into account the limitation of its authority and the weakness of the elements of State power administration at its disposal, can carry out an independent foreign and home policy, corresponding to the interests of the peoples of India, only if it bases itself on the broad popular masses.

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Around the World

FROM FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE

Syria And Lebanon Under British Experts

EARLY last year when the tiny Levantine countries of Syria and Lebanon—which had been mandated to France after the First World War—rose against their French exploiters, strangely enough, their demand for independence was most vociferously supported by the British Tories, Churchill and all.

Our nationalist Press and some of our political leaders were taken in by the sanctimonious talk of the British and whole-heartedly came out in support of British intervention in these countries, naively imagining it to be in a noble cause.

People's Age was perhaps the only paper in India sharply to expose the British game and warn progressive opinion against their subtle intrigues.

This is what it said in its issue of June 3, 1945:

Warning Recalled

"...The British are playing a vicious Fascist game—utilising the honest and just freedom urge of the people of Syria and Lebanon to strengthen their influence, their stranglehold on the Arab world."

Some reports which have recently come my way from these countries go to show that our fears were not baseless.

Syria and Lebanon are now under British economic domination and British 'experts' are lording it over these unfortunate territories.

As the Lebanese paper Al Dunya laments:

"We have fallen from the frying pan into the fire. We have got rid of the French mandatory advisers to fall into the hands of British experts."

We in India who have suffered so long and so much under the British 'experts' (who are experts only in making money for their imperial masters at our people's expense) can easily sympathise with the poor Lebanese people.

Experts For Everything!

Al Dunya has also reported that many Lebanese employees of supply agencies have been dismissed; in their place a British 'expert'—one Col. Jones—has been engaged on a salary and allowance that would maintain 40 Lebanese with families of four!

Another paper, Al Ayam, has revealed that the Syrian Ministry of Public Works has sent out to various parts of Syria British experts (again!) with whom the Government has signed contracts for investigating possibilities of industrial and agricultural development.

And, of course, if Syria is to defend its 'independence', it must have an army, and who else but a British General can train such an army? General Fox of Great Britain is, therefore, to act as instructor to the Syrian army in the use of modern arms. This was confirmed by the Syrian Premier in an interview to Al Nasr.

There is thus poison inside the sugar-coated pills of "independence"—latest manufacture of British imperialists—which these days they so temptingly offer to all and sundry.

A New Technique

In fact, the British have evolved an altogether new technique to hold what they have. What is in a name, they rhetorically ask the nations they have enslaved; we will come to a new understanding with you; we will even call it 'independence' if you like that word so much—but, of course, we will retain our troops in your country (only to defend your 'independence' which we hereby confer upon you!) and help you to develop your economic resources!

Faced with the rising tide of people's movement in the Middle East, they first successfully tried their new formula in Transjordan.

With a fanfare it was announced that a "new Muslim State came into being when a treaty of mutual alliance between Britain and Transjordan was signed on March 22."

I have just come across the latest figures of British troops now stationed in this 'free' country. I was staggered to learn—as anyone would be—that there is one British soldier to every two inhabitants—150,000 (not including the Transjordanian troops under British Command!) for a population of 300,000.

Is It Liquidation?

These troops are here, obviously enough, not to safeguard Transjordan's "independence", but to safeguard British oil interests. As a matter of fact, even these troops are not considered sufficient and the entire Middle East bristles with British steel.

Next to Transjordan, the largest number of British troops are in Palestine—about 60,000. In addition there are 15,000 police, thus making one British soldier or policeman to every 24 inhabitants.

In Iraq, over and above British troops, there are at least 10,000 Indian troops.

In Egypt also British troops still remain.

And yet, there are people, who coolly deny this conclusive evidence to the contrary, and talk glibly of 'world events forcing' Britain to liquidate her Empire voluntarily!

Paratroopers' Strike

THE case of certain British paratroopers in Malaya is a further pointer to the fact that the Labour Government of Britain is following in the footsteps of the old reactionary Tory-dominated Coalition Government.

These men had gone on strike—like many of their own colleagues

and fellow-servicemen all over the world—against intolerable living conditions. They were perfectly peaceful and orderly. Yet 243 of them were sentenced to 2 years' R.I.

This savage sentence immediately aroused public revulsion and a wave of indignation and protest swept all over England.

The sentence was so patently unjust that even the reactionary Press condemned it in strong words.

Lord Beaverbrook's extreme-Right Sunday Express wrote:

"Someone high in the background was responsible for the intolerable hardships which drove these men to make their protest. Who was he? What is being done to him?"

The Daily Mail, another Right paper, commented bitinglly:

War Office Bends

"...The hour of revolt was induced by living conditions which would not be tolerated for a moment in this country."

At first the War Office took up a stern stand and tried to justify their action under the plea of discipline, but the growing volume of protest forced them to order the release of the paratroopers.

It has its lesson for us in India too. Many of the I.L.N. strikers and I.N.A. men are still in jail, and it is public demand alone which can secure their release. Surely, the Interim Government where the Congress is dominant, cannot be more unbending than the Labour Government of Britain.

—V. M. KAUL

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BALDEV SINGH ECHOES AUK'S IMPERIALIST ARMY POLICY

Broadcast To The Indian Armed Forces

Freedom-loving Indians, including those in the Forces, must have felt a sense of deep shame and resentment when they heard over the radio, or read in the papers, the broadcast address of the Indian Defence Member of the Interim Government.

INSTEAD of putting forward the practical measures which the Nehru Cabinet proposed to take in order to break with the imperialist Army policy and to put into effect a new national one, Sardar Baldev Singh had nothing more to say on behalf of that Cabinet than repeat in honeyed phrases exactly what the British Commander-in-Chief had said in his broadcast message to the Forces six months ago.

In fact, the paragraph addressed to the British Officers which he quotes from Auchinleck is taken from this six month old broadcast message.

Auchinleck's broadcast was made at a time when throughout the entire armed forces a new spirit of revolt was spreading like wild-fire. The R.I.N. revolt, the wave of strikes in the Air Force, Signals and Ordnance Corps, all were part of this common upsurge against imperialism.

What Auchinleck Said Six Months Ago

Faced with a collapse of the old "loyalty" to imperialism and with the rise of a new and militant loyalty to our freedom struggle, the Auk came to the mike aiming to hoodwink and sidetrack this growing movement by reassuring words that freedom was coming and it was the job of the Army to ensure that it came in a "peaceful" way.

Calmly he told them:

* The Indian Army may well be the instrument which will ensure the transfer of power from Britain to India in a peaceful manner. This is the object of the British.

* The Nationalists who have worked so hard and well for India's independence desire it that way.

* But there are in the country certain "disruptive forces," and trouble may come, in which case the Indian Army will be called on to help to destroy these forces.

* The Army must be in a position to efficiently and reliably discharge this duty and hence it must remain disciplined and loyal to the Government in power.

The meaning of all this should be plain to every freedom-loving Indian.

The C-in-C wants the Indian Army to be disciplined and loyal to him and the Viceroy so that they may use it as an efficient and reliable instrument to crush every stirring of the Indian people to win real independence.

Instrument To Force Through Imperialist Plan

He wants it to be a handy instrument to force through the Imperialist Plan which will only transfer the sham trapping of Government into Indian hands while real power remains in the hands of the imperialists and their Princely supporters.

It is quite clear that such a "National" Army which is "reliable" and efficient enough to do this dirty job cannot be "Indianised" very fast. As the C-in-C stated in the Council of State on April 8, 1946, "Complete nationalisation will proceed as rapidly as may be possible without impairing efficiency."

In an Indian Army of 4,80,000 with 8,800 officers, 5,100—a considerable majority—will be British. This is the C-in-C's plan for 1947.

And this is not because there is dearth of trained Indian Officers. Wartime train-

ed Indian Officers are being demobilised. Only one third of all those who have applied for Permanent Commissions are being taken. Of the 955 Indian Officers in the Air Force who applied for Permanent Commissions, only 107 were accepted by April 1946.

And most arresting of all is the fact that this plan, supposed to be a plan for an Indian Army in a free India (!), was originally approved of first, not by the leaders of India's people, but by the military chiefs of British imperialism.

Its first outlines were revealed by Auchinleck in London last March when he was attending

the Conference of Commanders-in-Chief from all over the Empire, held at Camberley, headquarters of Britain's Imperial Army. Here, it was too that the Auk hinted that a part of the plan was an agreement between "the future Government of India and the British Government" for the retention of British troops in India.

This, then, is the imperialist policy for the Army—a policy that aims at retaining the Army as the sword-arm of the British occupationists of our country.

Yet Sardar Baldev Singh, Defence Member in a Congress-dominated Interim Government, far from breaking away from and exposing this diabolical plan of the imperialists, has in fact underlined every dot and comma of their plan—and covered it all by the lie that the present Indian Army will become a truly national army under the generous auspices and leadership of the Auk and his friends!

Empty Homilies On Honour Of The Forces

He has read empty homilies of keeping untarnished the honour of the Indian Forces, but on the one issue which deeply concerns their honour, namely the Indianisation of the Command, he has repeated parrot-like the C-in-C's dictum: "Indianisation of Armed Forces will now be speeded up at an accelerated pace compatible with efficiency."

To the Army ranks who are pulsating with the new national spirit, which is building up the new national tradition symbolised by the R.I.N. strike, he spoke of the "noble tradition" and the past record of the Indian Army!

Does he want them to be proud of the "noble tradition" of butchery and barbarism which the imperialists perpetrated in 1920 and in 1942 against our freedom-fighters?

To the Army ranks, who are smarting under the humiliation of racial discrimination and unequal treatment for Indians and Britishers, he speaks in terms of fulsome praise of the imperialist Army Commanders who "have contributed greatly in fashioning the steel that is the envy of others."

Can any one other than a rabid imperialist be envious of the steel that has been used to subjugate Indians as well as other peoples for the greater glory of the British Empire?

To the British Officers he gave the assurance that they would be retained and that the Interim Government meant "no injury to their interests." He went out of his way to praise them for serving the Army loyally and faith-

fully and humbly, begged of them to continue to do so.

To cap it all he ends by paying a servile tribute to Field Marshal Auchinleck—the arch chief of the bogus Indianisation scheme, the author of the so-called "change-over" scheme by which the label "national" is to be pasted on to an army which will remain imperialist and British-bossed to be used against our people struggling for land, bread and freedom, all in the name of putting down "disruptive forces that may seek to disturb stability!"

Release R. I. N. And I.N.A. Prisoners

With a flourish of rhetoric, the Defence Member says: "Every soldier and sailor and airman in this national Army is the standard bearer of India's freedom."

But about men who showed

the rare courage to raise the standard of freedom in the Army—the victimised R.I.N. ratings, the heroes of India's greatest revolt of the 20th Century, of the men of the INA who too were inspired by the same noble aim, many of whom are yet behind prison bars, he had not one word to say.

On the contrary, on October 10, his Department issued an

insolent Press note denying the rumours about his intentions to "re-instate R.I.N. men discharged and dismissed."

Sardar Baldev Singh talks of building up, in a truly national way, a National Army which will be the pride of this great land of ours. That is the aim of all freedom-loving Indians.

That is just the reason why they want the Interim Government and its Defence Minister to break away from the imperialist policy of Auchinleck. Patriotic men of the Forces yearn to be part of such a National Army.

That is why they want active steps to be taken to withdraw the British Forces from the country, and completely Indianise the Army.

They want Indian troops to be recalled from the territories of our brother neighbouring peoples, where they have been sent not for India's security but to satisfy British imperialism's greed to seek dominion over others.

They want all racial discrimination to go and in its place complete equality between British and Indian Forces.

They want full freedom to participate in the political life of the people and complete democratisation of the Army.

Of these vital demands, the Defence Member has nothing to say. By his speech he seeks to create the dangerous illusion that the National Army would

emerge gradually out of the present Indian Army under the aegis of the Commander-in-Chief and within the framework of his policy.

The transformation of the present Indian Army into a real National Army of the people will not take place easily. It cannot come under the aegis of the imperialist Commander-in-Chief, by pursuing the policy which he lays down, by glorifying the tradition and discipline of the Imperialist Army.

What Nationalisation Of Army Means

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How Transformation Will Come

That transformation will come—it is bound to come—but only when the men of the Forces begin identifying themselves more and more with the Indian movement for independence, when they begin fighting for the implementation of a truly national policy for the Army, backed by the common people, the complete withdrawal of all British Forces, the withdrawal of all Indian troops from all the territories of neighbouring brother-peoples, and the complete Indianisation and democratisation of the Forces.

That transformation can come only when that other tradition begins to grow in the Indian Army, the tradition that is associated with the immortal names of the heroes of the 1857 rebellion, of Army patriots like Pingley of the 1914 rebellion, the Garhwals of 1930, of the I.N.A. and the historic uprising of the R.I.N.

by Mohan Kumaramangalam

WHO IS THIS BALDEV SINGH?

When any Indian starts throwing bouquets at a British Commander-in-Chief and to the whole tribe of British Army Officers, he certainly excites interest. People want to know who this strange monstrosity is, who garlands the murderers of our people, as they stand with their bayonets still warm with their blood.

Sardar Baldev Singh is not just ANY Indian. He is India's Defence Member, he is supposed to control our armed Forces, he is part of our first National Government. All the more reason to know WHO he is, what is his record.

BALDEV Singh's father was a rich peasant, who made a fortune out of military contracts in the world war of 1914-18. Military contracts are secured, as everybody knows, by fawning on British Generals and Colonels. Baldev Singh's father did it to perfection and became a millionaire. Baldev Singh is a chip of the old block.

Money And Politics

Baldev Singh was not destined for politics. But the fawning and boot-licking his father did made Baldev Singh the richest Sikh alive. He had to use this money somehow.

The Iron and Steel Wire Products Ltd., at Tatanagar, gave Baldev Singh his crores, but it was too small for his "talents".

Baldev Singh showed very concrete proof of the kind of work he was cut out for in 1938, when the leader of his workers, HAZARA SINGH, was killed, run over deliberately and cold-bloodedly by Baldev Singh's own lorry at the factory gates for the crime of going on strike.

This murder heralded Baldev Singh's entry into politics. His money, lavishly spent, quickly secured him membership of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, on the joint ticket of the Congress and the Akali Party.

But Baldev Singh didn't



Sardar Baldev Singh

commonly said that a great deal of money flowed in the elections.

Immediately after the elections, he began to intrigue with Congress leaders in order to secure Congress support for the return of the old Unionist Cabinet. He succeeded. His old friend Khizar was back in the saddle as Premier. And incidentally so was Baldev Singh himself back in his old job!

Why He Was Appointed Defence Member

Baldev Singh is now Defence Member. It is understood that the Viceroy insisted that this portfolio should be given to him. Why? The fantastic argument Wavell openly gave Pandit Nehru was that it would split the Army if a Hindu or a Muslim were appointed. The reality was that Wavell needed desperately a pro-British toady, who would ditto the Commander-in-Chief.

Baldev Singh was THE man for the job.