

MARTIAL LAW IN HYDERABAD

Bullets, Tear Gas, To Crush Telengana Kisans

The Nizam has declared Martial Law in Nallagonda District. This is the climax to the regime of terror which has been let loose in Telengana by the Nizam's police.

WHOLE villages are being evacuated, teargassed; unarmed villagers are beaten, tortured, shot dead; women are being abused and thrashed, their honour is no longer safe anywhere.

Since military lorries cannot go into the interior, cavalry is being used.

Two whole villages have already evacuated completely to escape the mass repression.

Normal life all over Nallagonda has been destroyed. The whole district is one big concentration camp.

So far five have been killed, about fifty seriously wounded, seven hundred arrested, while warrants for over a thousand are still pending.

Here is a glimpse of what the Nallagonda terror is like.

Siege And Loot

On November 17 at 3 a.m., 500 soldiers made a sudden attack on Devaruppala, a village in Nallagonda District.

The military surrounded the village and virtually placed it under siege for 36 hours.

They woke up the sleeping soldiers from their beds, prodding them with their bayonets, and searched every house in the village.

They broke open the locked house of Marri Mallareddi and smashed chairs, boxes, utensils, etc. and abused the womenfolk in the foulest language.

The soldiers beat up indiscriminately men and women with the butt-ends of their rifles.

The news of the military onslaught and outrages spread like wildfire in the neighbourhood.

Ruthless Murder

Hundreds of ryots from Kamareddigudem, Kadavendi and Dharmapuram, rushed to Devaruppala to defend their beleaguered brothers.

The military, 500-strong, and with modern weapons of warfare including machine guns, opened fire on the advancing peasants.

Madadi Somireddi of Kadavendi was killed on the spot. A bullet seriously wounded G. Papireddi of Kamareddigudem and Lachayya, another kisan, was injured in the leg.

by
Radhakrishnamurthy

After this murderous assault the military made mass arrests. They herded 400 of the people of Devaruppala into their lorries and took them off to Mundarai, where the military camp was situated.

The soldiers virtually uprooted the entire village and carried on their atrocities without respite for 36 hours.

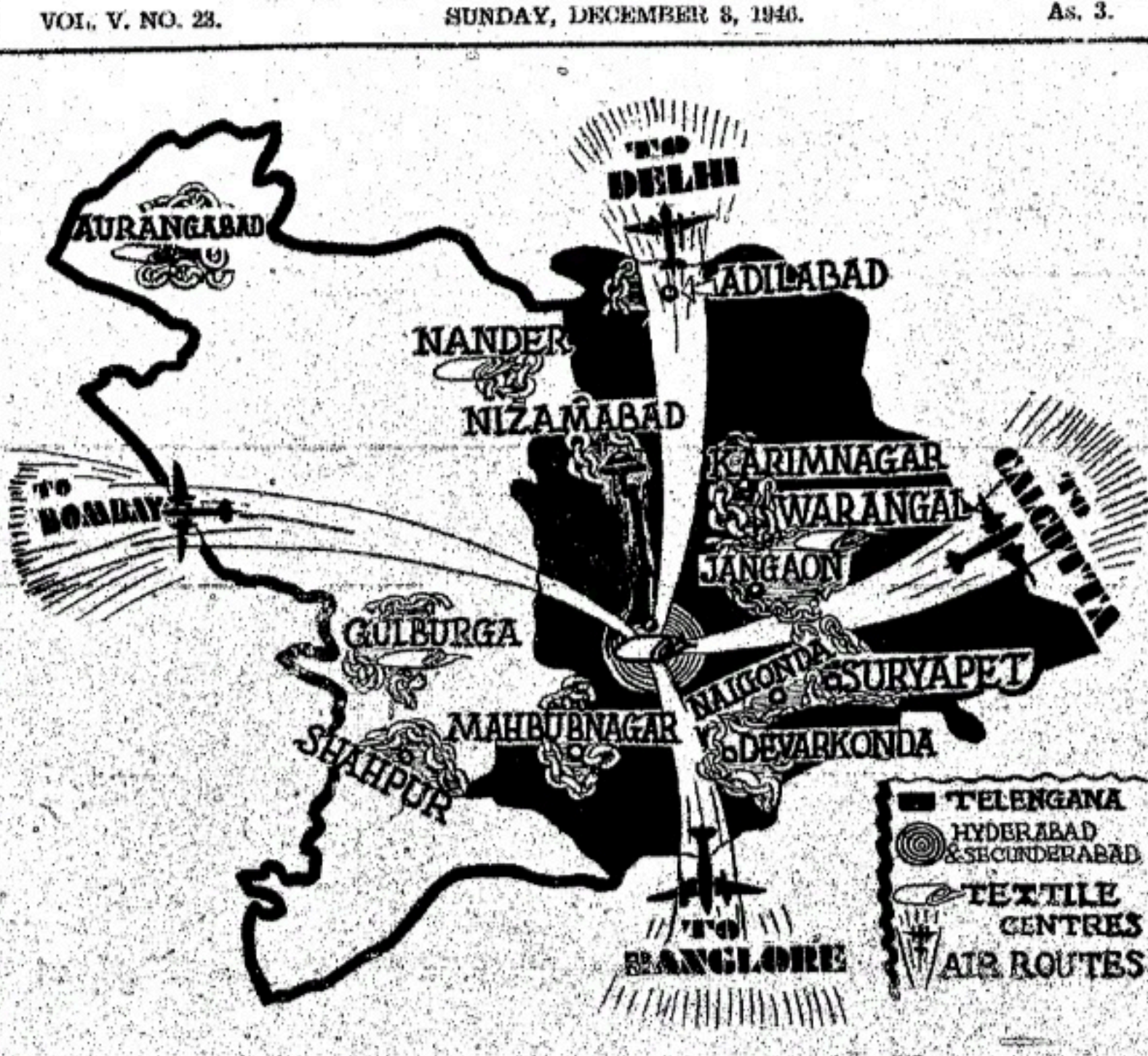
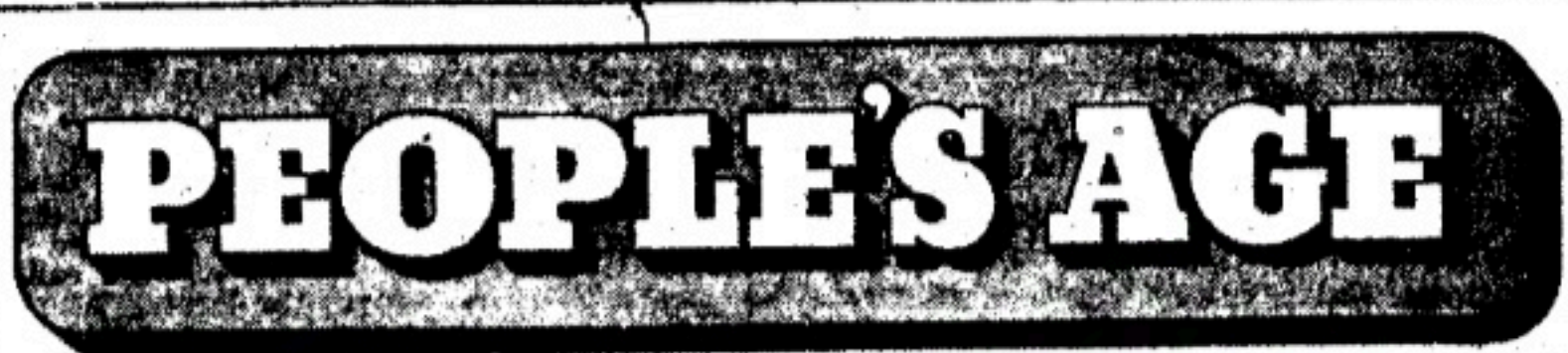
Stop This Terror

In a statement to the press, R. Narayana Reddi, Secretary, Andhra Conference, says:

"This insensate horror on a people fighting for their minimum human living conditions and for freedom from feudal autocracy calls for the support, sympathy and intervention of all patriots.

"All political parties and leaders, all brother-fighting peoples must demand of the Nizam the immediate withdrawal of all military, reserve police, and full civil liberties for the people and the scrapping of the bogus reforms which seek to perpetuate the role of mediaeval barbarism.

"The All-India States' Peoples' Conference must urge Pandit Nehru and the Congress to intervene immediately on behalf of the States' people.



THE AUK TO THE NIZAM'S RESCUE

Inside Story Of Commander-In-Chief's Visit To Hyderabad

Auchinleck paid a five-day visit to Hyderabad from November 12 to 16. It was announced that the purpose of this visit was to make a routine inspection of the armed forces.

In reality, it was nothing of the sort.

In today's India, the Commander-in-Chief is no longer just a military head—he has to be a diplomat, a politician and a general all rolled into one.

From inside information which I have been able to secure from sources close to the Palace and the Residency, I am able to state that the Auk's Hyderabad visit had for its main purpose no mere inspection, but the entire future of Hyderabad.

It is no secret to any one living in the Nizam's Dominions, that the British plan to make Hyderabad one of their biggest military and economic bases.

Upsurge Blows Up Plan

This plan is seriously threatened by the giant mass upsurge which is taking place today all over Hyderabad (particularly among the Andhra peasants in Telengana, and the working-class which is rapidly organising itself to fight for a living wage).

The Nizam and his Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, were in a fix. They had hoped that the Right-wing leaders of the State Congress would stomach their bogus "Reforms" and thus they would be able to use the influence of the Congress to crush the upsurge.

But the mass of Hyderabad's people were so incensed at the completely fake nature of the "Reforms", that it was impossible for the State Congress to accept them.

by
Our Special Correspondent

The Political Department specially appointed Sir Mirza Ismail as Prime Minister, because Mirza had the reputation of being a "Nationalist Muslim", and was supposed to be "on good terms" with the Congress leaders.

As soon as he became Dewan, he started negotiations with the State Congress and with the All-India Congress leaders, offering to "modify" the "Reforms".

But by the middle of October, the Political Department told Mirza and the Nizam not to bother about the State Congress, as they were sure that the Congress leaders had no intention whatsoever of helping to start any movement in Hyderabad. The experience of Kashmir was there before them.

As for the upsurge in Telengana and among the workers, bullets could crush it easily, without the help of the State Congress' influence or so, at least, they thought.

Sir Mirza Begs Again

Sir Mirza accordingly stopped all negotiations with State Congress, and went ahead with his own "elections".

And yet within three weeks of the sudden break, Sir Mirza flew

to Delhi and again begged the Congress leaders to join in working the new Constitution.

What had happened in these three weeks had shaken the State Administration to its very foundations.

Ruthless repression on the vanguard of the people's movement—the Andhra Conference, the trade unions, students' organisations and the Communist Party—had failed to crush the movement, and, on the contrary, the resistance to terror grew every single day. Telengana was up as never before. The textile workers were ready for a general strike.

State Congress Moves

The intensity of these struggles moved the rank and file of the State Congress itself. They called on their leaders to join hands with the fighting sections of the people and wage a joint battle.

And the Right-wing compromising leadership was forced to move, threaten Satyagraha, decide to observe an "Anti-Reforms Week" (November 3 to 11).

Even this mild step threw Mirza into a panic, for in its background he saw the flames of Telengana and the working-class general strike.

Mirza contacted the Congress High Command, threatened them with communal riots in Hyderabad if Satyagraha were started and made them call off all talk of struggle for the moment and concentrate on "building the organisation".

But Mirza knows that unless he can rope the State Congress into his "reforms," by dropping a few crumbs he will not be able to keep the people of Hyderabad on their

knees. It is on this point that he has met with obstruction from a strong and influential section of jagirdars and the Nizam himself, who feel that they can follow in the footsteps of Kashmir and refuse any concessions whatsoever.

Mirza sought the aid of the Political Department, to help him impress on the somewhat out-of-date Jagirdar clique that the new strategy was "Repression Plus Crumbs."

The Auk On The Job

He also begged the political Department to give him military assistance. His army and police were totally inadequate to cope with the upsurge.

The powers that he held consultations. The Auk flew to Hyderabad.

What he told the Nizam and Sir Mirza remains a close secret, but it is expected that some form of negotiations will start again—with the Auk playing the role of a go-between.

As for military help, it is significant that within three days of the Auk's visit, Martial Law was declared in Telengana. There is no doubt that this was on the Auk's advice, and on his promise of assistance from British troops, should it become necessary.

This was what the Auk did in Hyderabad; Martial Law on one side, "negotiations" on the other.

Smart fellow, Auk—but whether he will be able to save Hyderabad for his guns remains to be seen.

That depends not only on the machinations and the bullets of British imperialism, but also on the strength of Hyderabad's own people.

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RED FLAG SAVES CAWNPORE

Workers Defeat Mill Magnates' Efforts To Incite Communal Riot

Who engineers riots and why? Who battles against them and can the battle be won? The experience of Cawnpore during October and the first fortnight of November affords a valuable reply to these questions.

READERS of the People's Age are aware of the big wave of strikes in the textiles and leather industries, which swept over Cawnpore during September and the brutal, repressive measures with which it was put down.

Flushed by their 'victory', the employers immediately attempted to follow it up with a series of attacks on the workers' conditions of service. To their surprise, however, in almost every case the workers beat back their offensive.

In the Muir Mill, the employers' effort to work a half-day shift of five hours was foiled by the workers. The management had to work a four-hour shift.

In the Swadeshi Mill, the bosses tried to reduce the recess time from half an hour to just ten minutes. Again the workers' resistance promptly restored the old recess time.

But the manager was far from being shaken up. Together with the owners of the Atherton West Mill, he tried a new trick. They wanted Muslim holidays (like Bakr-Id) to be given only to Muslim workers and Hindu holidays only to the Hindu workers. Again united opposition—foiled this crude conspiracy at communal trouble.

In the J. K. Jute Mill, workers began a 'slow down' campaign after their strike had to be withdrawn. The management sent into their Mill Committee one of their spies. As soon as he was discovered, he was paraded in the Mill with a blackened face.

The Management retaliated by summarily discharging five mill committee leaders. The workers hit back by bringing the mill to a stop. They surrounded the Manager inside the mill compound, demanding immediate re-instatement of the leaders.

For three long hours they argued. The Police were sent for and even firing was threatened. But no worker budged. In the end they won on the spot. All the leaders were reinstated.

For the owners, these skirmishes were enough of an indication to show that the workers were far from beaten up. So, as a last step they planned communal riot. And "Noakhali" came almost like a windfall.

Already the "Nationalist" Press had taken up Noakhali with a maddening zeal. Veer Bharat of the mill-owner Ram Ratan Gupta was the most vicious. Suddenly a new organization sprouted into activity. It was the "Hindu Sangh". R.S.S. volunteers too became active as never before.

Blood For Blood

On October 22, a leaflet issued by the Hindu Sangh was distributed in the city. It was signed by Sir Padampat Singhania, President, (owner of J. K. Group), Ram Ratan Gupta, Bagla, Jaipuria, (owner Swadeshi Mill), J. P. Shrivastava (Victoria Mill), Hargovind Misra (Hosiery Factory), some big landlords, etc.

The handbill laid thick the Noakhali atrocities and called for a hartal on October 29 "in sympathy with the sufferers."

Two days later, another handbill came out, this time signed, not by the mill-owners but by the Sangh Secretaries. It was an appeal to the mill-owners (the signatories to the first handbill of the Sangh!) to close down their mills on October 29! Despite Section 144, R.S.S. boys held parades, addressed group meetings, demanded "blood for blood"; a terrific whisper campaign, leafletting went on, common predecessors of hate everywhere!

turned down this demand.

October 29 saw one of the most complete hartals in Cawnpore. Not a shop remained open. Thousands thronged to the Phool Baug at the call of the Sangh, the latter's triumph at the cost of the Congress. But police prevented the meeting from being held.



YUSUF
"Ours Is A Battle For Roti."

Simultaneously at Koolika (residence of Mr. Ram Ratan Gupta), over 4,000 met, addressed by Ram Ratan Gupta, Jaipuria and even Pyarelal Agarwal, prominent Congress leader of the city.

"We are first Hindus, then everything else. Those who talk of Hindu-Muslim unity are traitors. Noakhali will be avenged", these were the themes of the speeches. That ended the "programme!"

And yet Cawnpore was saved from riots. How did this happen?

It was because the Cawnpore of a lakh and more workers, Hindus and Muslims, followed the Mazdoor Sabha, and re-

fused to be trapped by the Sangh.

Against all the slogans of the Sangh, Yusuf, the veteran leader of the Sabha, and his colleagues had one rallying cry:

"Ours is a battle for 'roti' and it must not be made a battle between 'Dadhi' and 'Choti', which is what the employers want."

And workers who only a few weeks back had fought for their "Roti" together, and intended to do so again, warmly responded to this call.

As for the victims of Noakhali, the Mazdoor Sabha was second to none in its sympathies with them. But, as was pointed out by Yusuf, a strike engineered by the mill-owners was certainly not meant to show sympathy. It was meant to disrupt the ranks of Hindu and Muslim workers.

The Sabha's battle was a very difficult one. The plot seemed to be in the common interests of every mill-owner, and the European bosses readily supported it. Jobbers and head-jobbers from all mills actively worked for the strike.

Battle Begins

Two days before the strike, threatening of workers began; those who opposed the strike faced victimisation in a number of mills.

On the 29th, the owners' stooges opened out. In the Swadeshi Mills some workers were almost physically thrown out, when they insisted on working. In Sir Padampat's J. K. Group the management actually forced out the workers. But that was the only success they had.

In Atherton West Mills, Mazdoor Sabha organisers held running group meetings inside the mill to condemn the Noakhali atrocities and also to expose the game behind the strike.

Such was their work that out of about 55,000 textile workers (excluding those of the J. K. Group), only a bare 1,500 remained out. The rest worked, to smash the owners' conspiracy.

There was no strike of the Leathers workers, in the Harness Factory, or in any other factory, with

not more than a couple of exceptions.

That was Noakhali Day. But the owners did not take their defeat lying low.

On November 4, Sir Padampat addressed a meeting of 10,000, over 3,000 R.S.S. volunteers keeping order. Despite Section 144 the meeting was allowed because "it was held in the private grounds of Sir Padampat." Of course, the speeches can well be imagined.

On Malaviyaji's death, a strike took place in the Victoria Mills (Sir J. P. Shrivastava's). At first the Muslim workers were reluctant to join it.

But then again it was Yusuf who turned the tide. Muslims joined the strike. And the workers foiled owners' game by forcing him to pay them the day's wages also. Not a disruption, but loss of cash, was the price of his "patriotism."

Disruption Fails

On November 18, 500 workers to be retrenched from the C. O. Ordnance Depot. The Government bosses, so keen on disruption, was no Muslims to be discharged, so to "quash communal agitation in the Depot." The victims retrenchment were to be the Scheduled Caste workers.

Already there had been disruption enough among the workers with the Unions working simultaneously, by Communists, Congressmen, pro-League elements.

Now the Congress Union accepted retrenchment but wanted it by claims of seniority. The Leaguers were of course with the authorities. Only the Red Flag opposed retrenchment and prepared the workers for a strike against it.

Till the District Magistrate came down upon them, the Congress Labour leaders were for a strike. But the City Congress leaders opposed it and the President of the Union took his resignation. The worker members of the Executive Committee, however, decided on a strike.

On November 19, a strike of 500 of firing, there was a scheduled strike of Hindu, Scheduled Caste workers, by the Red Flag.

In eight hours they the authorities to agree consider the whole issue and also them certain arrears in dearness allowance.

Against the bureaucracy and the police, against the owners, the Mazdoor Sabha not only won the workers' demands; it saved Cawnpore from the flames of civil war.

—By Our Correspondent

After Noakhali And Bihar

TOADIES BOSS BENGAL'S LEAGUE

"Leftists" Vie With Landlord Clique In Communal Separatism

By wire from Nikhil Chakravarty, Calcutta, December 1.

During recent weeks, particularly with the outburst of rabid communalism in Noakhali and Bihar, factionalism inside the Bengal League has reached a breaking-point.

THE Nazimuddin group, with any Minister deploring the Noakhali happenings.

Recently Minister Shamsuddin Ahmed, whom Suhrawardy deputed to accompany Gandhiji, made some speeches in Gandhiji's prayer meetings in Noakhali, where he condemned atrocities on the Hindus. Immediately Azad came out with a long editorial slapping Shamsuddin. Morning News demanded his removal from the Ministry and branded him as a "lackey" of the Congress.

Even a formal condemnation of rioting as such, made by Suhrawardy himself, was attacked by Maulana Akram Khan.

In a public statement on November 13, Akram Khan spoke of Suhrawardy as "the first accused" for atrocities on Bihar Muslims. He accused Suhrawardy of "helping the evil designs of the other side," by his statements on Noakhali.

When the talks for a Coalition were begun again after Noakhali, the Azad kept up its offensive against it.

On November 1, it attacked the Ministry "for grovelling before the opposition, for the establishment of Coalition Raj."

The Coalition talks of course ended with the visit of the League and Congress members of the Central Government to Calcutta. Liaquat Ali made it clear that no coalition in Bengal will be permitted without coalitions in other provinces, which the Congress turned down with equal firmness.

After that came a suggestion for a Central Peace Committee and Suhrawardy had long talks with Gandhiji on the question.

On November 5, Gandhiji met all prominent League leaders at a conference at Suhrawardy's place, after

which Suhrawardy issued a statement saying that he was anxious to form a peace committee with all prominent Hindus.

From the side of the bureaucracy, it is understood, there is opposition to the idea for it is not prepared to undertake to implement the decisions of such a joint non-official committee.

Equally strong is the opposition of the Nazimuddin group, and the Morning News wanted Suhrawardy to reject it, as it will become a "Provisional Power Cabinet with full mandatory powers over the Ministry."

Rabid Communalism

On the side of Suhrawardy was ranged Mr. Abul Hashim's group, which since Noakhali is practically vying with the Nazimuddin group in spreading rabid communalism.

Hashim himself issued a statement after Noakhali, where the whole thing was dismissed as an insignificant incident. Neither he nor any of his lieutenants, thought it necessary to help in restoring peace and confidence in Noakhali. In fact the Azad quoted Hashim (despite their mutual factional bitterness) against Shamsuddin Ahmed to minimise Noakhali.

On his return from Bihar, Hashim, instead of referring to the plain game of British imperialism to make the Hindus and Muslims fight (which was his consistent theme so far), competed with Fazlul Haq and others in magnifying Bihar and did nothing to help in restoring confidence.

Even the idea of repatriation of populations is evoking support from Hashim's group. Hashim's weekly MIBAT today in no way differs from Akram Khan's Azad as for an communalism goes.

It is reported that Hashim rebuked the Burdwan League Secretary for signing a joint statement with

other leading Muslims of the district urging the Bengal League to intervene in Noakhali. And it is also understood that Hashim in League inner-circle talks, declared himself against a Coalition Ministry in Bengal at present.

Ministry Expanded

Suhrawardy realising the growing pressure of the Nazimuddin group decided to expand his Cabinet. Last week he took in four new Ministers—two Scheduled Caste, one toady zamindar, Caste Hindu Tarak Mukerji and Fazlur Rahman, who is one of Nazimuddin's lieutenants.

It is thus clear that the Nazimuddin group's pressure has worked but they are not yet satisfied.

Inside the Provincial League also this tug-of-war is going on: recently the Executive Council of the Bengal League was formed despite the fact that there is a Working Committee.

It has been vested with over-riding powers and in it, the Nazimuddin group is overwhelmingly powerful, though Suhrawardy and Hashim have been taken into it.

Maulana Akram Khan resigned the presidency of the Bengal League and immediately attacked Suhrawardy. Now the contest for the presidency will be between Nazimuddin himself and Hashim.

Next week Suhrawardy is starting his own daily Itihad and so the factional battle inside the Bengal League promises to reach new heights in the coming weeks.

Riots have done two things for the League in Bengal:

First, it has brought the reactionary toady, landlord Big-Business-backed Nazimuddin clique to the top.

Secondly Hashim's so-called progressivism has been completely washed away confusing thousands of genuine anti-British Muslims inside the League itself.

Congress-League Conflict Threatens Assam

IMMIGRATION PROBLEM DIVIDES PROVINCE INTO FIGHTING CAMPS

Front-page news in Assam today is again the problem of the immigration of Eastern Bengali peasants into Assam.

FOR years, since the second decade of this century, this problem has been one of the biggest headaches of all political parties in Assam.

Today it has become an issue, which is threatening to drive the whole Province into Civil war.

What was for years a Bengal-Assam dispute has rapidly been transformed into a major communal issue.

Since the Pakistan Resolution of the Muslim League and particularly after the Gandhi-Jinnah talks and the open League demand for the inclusion of Assam in Pakistan, the Assamese Hindus began to see in the incessant Bengali Muslim immigration, a planned Muslim attempt to grab Assam.

The Cabinet Mission's Plan and its totally undemocratic forcible grouping of Assam and Bengal brought matters to a head and there was a wave of protest from almost all the parties in Assam.

It was true, of course, that Hindu leaders saw in the groups the spectacle of Pakistan and Muslim domination. But among the common Assamese also there was sharp resistance to grouping, because they did not wish to be dominated by the Bengalis and demanded self-determination for themselves.

It was significant that there were some Assamese Muslim League leaders who joined in the anti-grouping protest.

But this step towards the clearer realisation among the Assamese of the national nature

by
Jyotirmoy Nandy

of the problem was short-lived.

With the outbreak of the communal orgy in Calcutta, Nookhali and Bihar, the communal split in Assam was accentuated, and the immigration problem became once again a dominantly Hindu-Muslim, Congress-League conflict.

The League leadership began to claim vociferously and defiantly complete freedom of immigration. On the other hand, increasing numbers of Assamese Congressmen began to challenge the right of each and every immigrant to stay in their homeland.

Previously sections of the Assamese Muslim League leadership as opposed to Bengal League leaders exercised a moderating influence on the extreme claims of the immigrants; and at the same time the Bengali Hindus in the Congress Assembly Party were able to act as a counterpoise to the rapidly chauvinist elements who were for all-out eviction of every single non-Assamese.

But today these sobering influences are almost absent. And the two camps are clear out—Hindus and Muslims—the former for evictions the latter for unlimited immigration.

Rival Statements

On November 1, Assam's Revenue Minister, Syt. Bishnuram Medhi, declared that the evictions of encroaching immigrants, which had been post-

poned last July due to bad weather, would be begun again in right earnest from the middle of November.

Syt. Medhi alleged that in pursuance of the Muslim League's plan to Pakistanise Assam, and under the direct inspiration of League agitators, thousands of new immigrants were pouring into Assam and encroaching on reserved land indiscriminately.

The Minister declared that the eviction orders were not aimed against any particular community, but against all encroachers—Bengali or Assamese, Hindu, Muslim or Tribal.

Promptly came a rejoinder from Mr. Mohammad Ali, Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, categorically denying Syt. Medhi's allegation that thousands of new immigrants were coming to Assam under the League's inspiration.

Mr. Mohammad Ali also argued against Syt. Medhi's assertion that Assam has very little cultivable fallow land, and claimed that Assam has sufficient land to settle all the immigrants and the "Assamese landless, if there be any".

Arming For War

But the battle is not by any chance confined to leaders' statements.

On November 13, I went personally to Mangaldoi with three Communist workers to verify the reports which were pouring in of immigrant and Assamese mobilisation for war on each other.

It was very difficult to gain accurate and unblinded reports, but here is what I was told:

One Hindu leader told me that the immigrants had a real fighting camp at Moxmari and hundreds of volun-

teers were being trained to fight with every available weapon. He also alleged that the immigrants' slogan is: "Resist eviction with your life—Build Pakistan in the battle".

I learnt from the Congress sources that on different occasions immigrant volunteers marched through Mangaldoi town, shouting threatening slogans against the Hindus.

According to these sources, repeated attacks were made by immigrants on Monitary village. At night provocative slogans were shouted by the immigrant volunteers, who sought thus to strike terror in the hearts of the local population.

Against all these began preparations for "self-defence". In Mangaldoi town every local inhabitant was prepared. Every village had its volunteers, its watch party, its horn to sound the danger signal.

"At Monitary, we have a camp big enough to house and feed a thousand volunteers". I was told by an important Hindu leader.

All these stories were corroborated by every Congress leader and worker whom we met.

The one Muslim Leaguer we were able to meet did not seriously deny any of the facts that I learnt from Congressmen.

The Sub-divisional Officer of Mangaldoi also more or less confirmed these facts.

Communalists In Charge

I was shocked to find that rabid communal elements, openly pouring ridicule on the great Congress tradition of unity, have gained control over a large section of the honest and self-sacrificing youth who had rallied in the Defence Corps.

It was also sad to note that most of the already few Muslims in the ranks of the Mangaldoi Congress had resigned, and that even that section

of the League leaders who had till now rejected the extremist demand of the immigrants was now completely merged with the immigrants.

You will know how serious is the civil war atmosphere in Assam, when I tell you that women and even children are talking today of beating up the immigrants, holding meetings for their "self-defence", but in reality learning only to hate their brother Muslims.

There is so much suspicion in the air in this area that I was not able to meet the League leaders or come into living touch with the immigrants. The reactionary Leaguers dubbed us as Hindu "terrorists" and our repeated efforts to contact immigrant leaders and workers proved fruitless. No one would tell us where they were—we belonged to "the opposite camp", because of our religion.

Silver Lining

It was a picture of two armed camps which I saw at Mangaldoi, but there is still hope.

Dominant sections of the Gauhati public maintain that they will never allow a repetition of Nookhali and Bihar in Assam.

At an all-party rally held recently at Gauhati, Syt. Ambien Gohi Roy Choudhury, leader of the Assam Jatiyo Sabha, declared:

"We shall not allow Assam's name to be tarnished by communal riots—we must resist this shame."

This spirit is there among Assam's people despite everything. But will the immigrant problem blow it up and will the armed camps being formed in the encroached areas move into action against each other?

The latest news is that negotiations are to be started between Premier Bardoloi and Premier Subrawardy to settle the immigrants' problem. If they do not discuss the issues from chauvinist and communal ends, they can together settle the problem and save Assam from civil war.

Assam's Communist leader, Bresh Mishra, has called for a conference of Congress, League and tribal leaders to survey Assam's arable lands, and to formulate a concrete plan of land settlement, aimed at giving land to Assamese tribals and to the largest possible number of immigrants who are already in Assam.

Only if the problem is settled from this and not League leaders' co-operation in stopping further immigration and encroachment and advise encroachers to move away voluntarily, can the situation be saved.

Politics And Clerks

THERE is hectic activity in New Delhi's Home Department these days. Of course, one expected that once Sardar Patel took charge, he would make things go fast.

But speed is not the only criterion of a good driver. One wants to know if he can take the car in the right direction.

I have received this week a report which says that on November 7 an Office Memorandum was sent from the Sardar's Department to "All Departments of the Government of India, the Political Department, etc. etc."

The subject of this memorandum is the participation of Government of India clerks in political demonstrations.

The newspapers have been reporting from time to time how clerks and other Government servants in New Delhi are coming out on the streets to participate more and more in the political life of the capital.

This was a thrilling piece of news for all patriots. Imperialism's own specially selected and hand-picked clerks—who had never in their lives done more than say "Yes, Sir" to the I.C.S. Sahibs—were in the battlefield of freedom. One of Imperialism's last pillars was beginning to totter.

Rules And Rules

Of course, Imperialism has always had its own special laws forbidding their servants from participating in politics. These laws were made to protect Imperialism and keep it on India's neck.

One might have expected that among the first tasks Sardar Patel would undertake would be to end these Imperialist laws, and welcome and encourage the full participation in the freedom movement of all Government servants, consistent with their carrying out their official duties.

Only thus could the whole structure of the Government be transformed from an Imperialist machine to a national administration at the service of the people.

random of November 7 declares that the clerks' demonstrations are "in contravention of the orders regulating discipline amongst government servants" and goes on to say:

"Departments are therefore asked to warn all employees of Government serving under them that Government will not in future hesitate to enforce the law against Government servants for breaches of legal orders and will themselves take severe disciplinary action for the contravention of the relevant conduct rules."

I.C.S. On Top

Not satisfied with this warning couched in the true royal blue Imperialist language, the Memorandum continues:

"Secretaries and Heads of Departments are requested to see that action in such cases is initiated promptly and to report to the Home Department the nature of the case and the action proposed to be taken. Unauthorised absence from duty, if and when such demonstrations take place, would require particular attention on the part of the superior officials and should be severely dealt with."

The British I.C.S. Sahibs of the Home Department must have had a feast to celebrate the sending out of this Circular.

In each of its sentences, the circular almost shouts:

"Imperialism and its hide-bound rules remain. The I.C.S. bosses are still on top in New Delhi."

Tear Gas And Goondas

ON November 27, this Memorandum was seen in action.

The Notification of Central Government Employees Unions had organised a demonstration in front of the Home Department to demand alternative employment for those

clerks who are thrown out of work by the Government of India.

Three thousand clerks gathered together. They sent a deputation to meet Sardar Patel, but according to a letter I have received from one of the members of the Deputation's Executive, the Sardar "turned us out of his office" and "called us goondas".

If this report is correct, it to represent one's grievances to a Congress Home Minister is to be called "goondaism", then where is the difference between the I.C.S. Executive Councillors and the National Cabinet?

It is just because there is a Congress leader of the eminence of the Sardar at the head of the Home Department, that the clerks have shed their old toady ways and come out to fight shoulder to shoulder with the rest of India for their rights and for freedom.

After the Sardar had turned the deputationists out of his office, the Sahibs and the police jumped to their feet. They were only waiting to see what the Sardar's attitude would be.

Lathi-charge, teargas, arrests followed.

Wavell and his boys must have had another feast after this. How well the British Plan was working.

Before this, if they lathi-charged, tear-gassed a demonstration, there would have had to be an enquiry—they would have been rightly called butchers.

Today...well, they could so easily hide behind the massive frame of the Sardar and say: "We beat up GOONDAS" not freedom-fighters."

The Sirene

A NOBLES question on which one expected that the Interim Government would note fast was with regard to the hated Intelligence Bureau,

The C.I.D. swine have hunted, hounded and tortured India's patriots for all the years that British Imperialism has lorded it over us. In the war years they reached a new peak in their crimes. The Punjab Red Fort was only one of their many concentration camps.

Wait For The Day

How often had patriots, stretched out on the C.I.D.'s torture-tables, shouted back at their tormentors:

"Wait for the day, when our Congress is in power...Then the people shall punish you for this."

India looked forward joyfully to the cleaning out of the C.I.D. dirt-mountain, when a National Government took office at the top.

Our joy was without any basis. The Intelligence Bureau bosses continue to do their worst, continue in positions of power, despite all the crimes they have committed.

Up and down the country, the same harassment continues as before.

In the Central Assembly, when a question was asked about the future of the Intelligence Bureau, the reply came that every Government required such an organisation.

But can men like the scum which is collected in the C.I.D.—the nation's worst, Imperialism's selected toadies—ever have for their object in any of their actions anything but propping up the Empire and destroying the freedom movement?

And indeed what is the Intelligence Bureau doing today, supposedly under the Interim Government's direction? Catching the riot-provocateurs, keeping vigilance over the representatives of British Imperialism, who are holding back the freedom movement?

Nothing of the sort. They continue to do what they always have

done: keep track of the fighters for freedom.

Congressmen, Communists, Socialists, Forward Blocists, Leaguers—all come under the Intelligence Bureau's long arm.

Hunt The Reds

HERE is one of the latest examples of the kind of work it is doing.

The political branch of the C.I.D. in every district in the United Provinces has received a secret circular asking for detailed information about the Communist Party.

The questionnaire begins with asking for facts about the membership, subscription, address and constitution of the Provincial and local Committees of the Party.

The second question seeks information regarding "the office bearers and Working Committee members of the organisation with full particulars regarding their importance in All-India, provincial and local politics, the character of their influence, that is, held over the masses, organising ability, persuasiveness and eloquence".

The third and fourth questions seek similar details about "allied organisations, such as Mazdoor Sahibs, Kisan Sahibs, Railwaymen's Federation, Postal Employees' Unions, etc.", and their office-bearers and leaders.

Questions 5 and 6 demand information about "organisations under Communist Party influence, which are not included" in the above list.

Other questions ask for a list of "Communist Party and allied" newspapers, presses and publishing houses; and details about the Party's funds, resources, a complete list of subscribers, items of expenditure, etc.

Altogether an interesting document.

The Home Department is certainly driving at a breakneck speed. But the tune is still "Rule Britannia", and the practice remains dulcets.

Ramesh Chandra



KASHMIR: ELECTIONS AT THE BAYONET-POINT

In Kashmir today, the coming elections to the State Legislative Assembly are the dominant issue.

PANDIT Nehru advised the National Conference workers to fight the elections, despite the fact that all their leaders are either in jail or underground. Though many disagreed with Panditji's advice, they are carrying out his instructions and are contesting all the three Hindu and all the twelve Muslim seats.

But this is no ordinary election campaign. The Quit Kashmir battle continues in the old form—only it is called an election campaign.

The Maharaja and Premier Kak, of course, played all the well-known common election tricks: bogus voters' lists, etc.

But their main weapon was not just fraud. It was what it has been ever since the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah: THE BULLET.

Planned Repression

- No election meetings were permitted.
- Important National Conference leaders were specially kept in jail, even after they had served the sentences, which Kashmir's own courts had awarded. Among the most prominent of these is Mirza Afzal Beg, the former Minister, who completed his term of six months' detention on November 20.

- Officials have been touring the entire State, using the whip of bureaucratic power, canvassing for the toady candidates whom Kak is putting up against the National Conference. Amongst them is one of the most important Secretariat officials, who with his son is touring Bimber (Jammu Province), and compelling the people to vote against the National Conference.

- Every single member of the National Conference's Election Committee was arrested.

- And as the over-all accompaniment to all this, Kak let loose his soldiers like locusts all over the State. Kak's election campaigners were these locusts, who looted, killed, wounded and thus sought to root out the names of Sheikh Abdullah and the National Conference from the hearts of the people of Kashmir.

Kak himself made an extensive tour of the State last month, and on its basis, made a detailed plan for military and police repression.

On November 20, long caravans of lorries, full of soldiers and police, were on the move north and south. They will be posted in large numbers at every polling booth. They will be posted at all important roads to hold up National Conference

cluding women and children. The whole area is under military raj.



An Old Kashmiri Artisan

voters and thrash them into voting for Kak's Toady Tribe.

In Poonch, the military has already taken complete charge, and no National Conference supporter is allowed even to move out of his house to campaign.

This is how Mr. Kak is conducting "a free and fair election".

But whatever the results may be, Kak will not succeed in his aim of diverting the "Quit Kashmir" movement into "constitutional channels."

With the harvest coming in, Kashmir's peasants are fighting to keep their crop safe from the rapacious hands of the landlords and the officials, who usually loot it all.

From Warapora, a village near Sopore, has come the news that the military opened fire on a crowd of peasants, without the slightest warning, when they refused both to vote for the Kak Gang and to hand over their crop to the landlord—Thakur Kartar Singh, the Maharaja's uncle.

Nine persons were killed in-

tr-wide communal riots.

- It is doing so in the various workers' and peasants' struggles which it is leading in various parts of the country, where Hindu and Muslim toilers are fighting shoulder to shoulder against landlord and capitalist zoolom and against Imperialist police.

- It is doing so also in the riot-affected areas, and wherever it has working class and peasant bases, it is running vigorous joint campaigns together with Congressmen and Leaguers for peace, immediate relief, and for effectively pulling down 'goondas' and riot-mongers.

But the Indian people will not be able to turn the tables against the arch riot-monger, and end the curse of civil war, and begin the united war of all Indians against Imperialism, till the bulk of Congressmen and Leaguers wake up and force their respective leaders to break with the Imperialist Plan, and to agree to solve the question of Pakistan and Indian unity, by the democratic vote of the people, on the basis of National self-determination.

FIGHT THE RIOTS!

Bengal's Campaign For Peace

- Under the joint auspices of the Congress, League and Communist Party, complete hartal was observed at Nalatabari in Mymensingh on November 18. Hindus and Muslims marched in procession through the main streets shouting anti-riot and anti-Imperialist slogans. At a meeting of over 2,000 Hindus and Muslims, various speakers clearly explained the British policy of spreading riots and called for joint efforts at maintaining peace.

- In Dinajpur, the November Revolution Week from November 7 to 13 was observed by the Communist Party as an Anti-Riot Week. Propaganda squads toured the district and at joint meetings urged the Hindus and Muslims to build up united resistance against the riot policy of Imperialism.

Joint Squads

- In Barisal too, Congress-League-Communist joint squads are busy uniting the Hindus and Muslims in the villages.

- The President of the Howrah District Kisan Sabha has issued an appeal asking the city people to maintain peace, so that the villagers can freely carry on their trade in the city. At present they are afraid to come to the city and the markets cannot function. The District Magistrate is doing his best to sabotage the efforts of the local Congress, League and Communist leaders to build a joint peace committee.

Cultural Work

- The intellectuals of Bengal are also coming together against the Imperialist policy of riots.

The Calcutta Culture and Relief Centre held a variety entertainment in aid of relief at the Muslim Institute Hall on November 23.

The high-light of the show was a shadow-play entitled: "Wavell You Are To Blame," exposing the disruptive role of Wavell ever since the post-war wave of revolutionary struggles began. The moving scenes of the poverty of the people, the RIN mutiny, the Cabinet Mission's conspiracy,

thrilled the young Muslims who had gathered there.

On November 24, the Progressive Writers' Association, Calcutta, organised a musical evening of anti-riot songs. Many well-known writers and artists were present.

Student Actions

The Martyrs Day of November 21 brought a new wave of enthusiasm among the students of Bengal.

At Rangpur the various student organisations called for a hartal. A joint meeting was held in the college compound. To the public meeting

Doctors Wanted For Relief Work

The People's Relief Committee urgently needs volunteer doctors (NOT medical students) to work honorarily in Relief Camps in Noakhali and Bihar. Travelling expenses and board will, of course be provided by the Committee.

Those who are prepared to undertake this vital, patriotic task and can agree to serve for at least one month, should write immediately to:

The Secretary,
People's Relief Committee,
149, Bowbazar Street,
CALCUTTA

held in the evening, three hundred kisans came in procession from the neighbouring villages.

Jessore saw unprecedented scenes of student unity on November 21. Hartals and joint meetings were held where students passed resolutions calling upon the people to launch a struggle against imperialism in memory of the martyrs.

A memorial pillar was erected at the College compound in Barisal and the students covered it with garlands.

THE PRESS ON MEERUT

What Was Blacked Out And Why

In its reports of the Meerut session, the Nationalist press, with hardly any exception, has blacked out both the attacks which were made on the Right-wing policy of compromise and the appeals for unity and against the policy of "sword against sword."

It is a striking commentary on the integrity of the press, that anything which savours of criticism of the High Command should be suppressed in this manner.

In another article in this issue (page 12), I have shown how in practice the Left parties collapsed before the Right-wing on nearly every issue.

But there is no doubt that many of their speeches were impressive fighting calls for a break with the Rightist policy. I am here giving a few examples of these speeches and also those of certain Nationalist Muslims and even Rightists, which the Nationalist press has not published.

Sword Against British

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's greatly cheered speech has been disposed off in a maximum space of two or three small paras. Mrs. Asaf Ali had declared:

"Sardar Patel has today called upon us to fight the sword with the sword. We are grateful to him for this. But we must remember that this so long as the British exist in this country, our sword will always be raised against them and them alone, and not against our own brethren."

In a sharp retort to Sardar Patel, she went on to say:

"The British are not quitting India. Any such serious intentions on their part could never lead to either the country-wide riots or the terrible repression on the States peoples' struggles."

She had asked Sardar Patel to "quit the Congress and form a separate reformist party of his own" if his path was that of cooperation.

by

O. P. Sangal

But one can go on turning over the files of the nationalist dailies and hardly locate these words anywhere.

Last Year And This

Sjt. Achyut Patwardhan's tame declaration that the CSP's opposition to the resolution is in no case an expression of no-confidence in the Congress High Command, has received excellent publicity, but Ashoka Mehta's scathing exposure of the leadership's policy is to be seen nowhere:

"Imagine where we have come to after one year's journey, thanks to the path of constitutionalism and compromise. Remember - India one year back, when in support of the RIN Mutiny, the whole city of Bombay rose and not one Britisher dared to stir on the streets of Bombay."

"Think of the Calcutta of one year ago, when students, both Hindus and Muslims, marched shoulder to shoulder demonstrating against British Imperialism. And what are Bombay and Calcutta today?"

"Today, the Hindus and Muslims are murdering each other, while the tommies go about happy and free. Why is this happening? Because of your compromising policy—because of the path you followed."

Sjt. Achyut Patwardhan had declared:

"These Princes and Nawabs in the States are bleeding their people white, and yet it is with these very Princes and their incompetent Ministers, that we propose to enter into discussions in regard to the future Indian Constitution."

But our Nationalist papers

could not even publish this.

They enthusiastically reported provocative anti-Muslim League slogans, but not a word has appeared about the various important speeches made at the Session, which exposed the culprits on the Hindu side also.

A Hindu speaker from the Punjab said that in his Province poisonous and provocative propaganda is being carried on by the Akali Party and the Rashtriya Sevak Sangh.

Maulvi Hidayat Rahman, the leader of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, demanded an official Congress enquiry into the conduct of all those who, under the banner and slogans of the Congress, had actively participated in the riots.

The Nationalist papers just do not mention the above.

This is not all. The Press of our country refuses even to report facts, which do not suit them.

Nowhere does one find Swami Sahajanand's revelation that the majority of the Muslims massacred in Bihar were the supporters of the Congress.

Die To Save A Leaguer

The Press has not reported the excellent statement of the Rightist leader, Sjt. Govind Vallabh Pant:

"We are Congressmen, we are nationalists. Even to save a Muslim Leaguer from being mobbed or stabbed, we will sacrifice our lives."

Sardar Pratap Singh, a member of the Congress Working Committee, asked the people:

"Go to the villages and propagate that if atrocities were perpetrated in Noakhali, this does not mean that people of Bihar should also go mad."

But these words too, were blacked out in the Nationalist papers.

Altogether, the reports of the Meerut Session are a glaring indication of the direction in which the Nationalist Press is being taken by the magnates, who control it.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE

(Continued from Page 5)

with the proposal that Congress should demand that Western Bengal with Burdwan and the Presidency Division, including Calcutta, be constituted as a separate province!

Only the arch riot-mongers, the Imperialists, the bureaucracy, their police and military have the initiative today.

It is they who are using the Ordinance Raj, imposed in four provinces, which is worse than anything known in war-time, to suppress all civil liberties, and above all, the struggles of the toiling masses. It is they who are helping the Princely autocrats to suppress the growing people's movements in the States.

Turn The Tables

Today it is only the Communist Party which is waging a relentless fight against this arch riot-monger.

- It is doing so in Hyderabad and Travancore, where the glorious joint struggles of Hindus and Muslims, against Martial Law regimes and for democratic liberties, stand in sharp contrast to the coun-

NEW ROUND OF IMPERIALIST DOUBLE-DEALING

Congress - League Differences Used To Rescue Cabinet Mission Plan And Stabilise British Domination In India

The crisis that has arisen inside the Interim Government and on the question of the Constituent Assembly is neither surprising nor accidental. It is the political counterpart of the grim civil war which has been raging in the country for the last four months.

BOTH the political crisis and the civil war are the direct outcome of the Cabinet Mission's plan, which is based on trickery and equivocation, which has been sought to be put into operation with successive moves of double-dealing, first, by the Cabinet Ministers themselves, and subsequently by the Viceroy.

A brief review of these moves will show how at each move, Imperialist double-dealing has got the better of the policy of compromise and disunity.

First Stage

It was the Muslim League which was the first to accept both the Long Term and Short Term plans including the panel for the Interim Government as announced by Wavell on June 26.

The Congress agreed to accept the Long Term plan, but refused to accept Wavell's panel for the Interim Government. The League now expected that the Viceroy would ask it to man the Interim Government by passing the Congress, and thus giving it (the League) a vantage point.

But Imperialism was faced with the mounting mass upsurge, which it knew, could be countered only by making concessions to the Congress and getting it into the Interim Government. So the Viceroy withdrew his panel of June 26 and formed a Caretaker Government of officials, pending resumption of fresh negotiations.

Mr. Jinnah, angry at this "betrayal", got the League Council to reject the whole Plan and threatened "Direct Action". He expected by this threat to "rescue the British Government from the clutches of the Congress", and prevent it from forming an Interim Government with the Congress alone.

But Mr. Jinnah's threat, the Direct Action Day of August 16, and the horrible fratricidal war that followed as its direct consequence, had exactly the opposite result.

Wavell called upon the Congress leaders to form the Interim Government. The Congress leaders contacted Mr. Jinnah and sought to draw the League into the Government, by offering it five seats.

Mr. Jinnah refused; he thought he would get better terms from Wavell, if he continued the 'Direct Action' a little more.

The horrible harvest of Direct Action, of murder, loot and crime in Calcutta, Bombay and Noakhali, however, brought no vantage, but only discredit to the League leadership.

The Congress leadership was strongly entrenched in the Interim Government. It was, however, not able to do anything against the riot-wave. The Imperialist bureaucracy, which controlled the army, pursued a policy of studied non-intervention or minimum intervention—which only had the effect of spreading the riots.

Congress' Turn

It was now the turn of the Congress to be double-crossed. The Imperialist plan required the roping-in of both the Congress and the League. As soon as the Congress Interim Government was formed, the Economist, the organ of British monopoly capital, wrote:

"... Transfer of power in New Delhi to the Nehru Cabinet was a bold speculative move. If it is

followed by an agreement with the Muslim League, it would be hailed as a great stroke of statesmanship on the part of the Viceroy and the British Government." (September 7, 1946)

Wavell contacted Mr. Jinnah. Congress-League negotiations took place with the mediation of the Nawab of Bhopal. But no agreement was reached. Neither Congress nor League leaders were prepared to make concessions to the other to forge a joint front against Wavell, to put out the fratricidal flames together.

But the League was intent on entering the Interim Government, even without concessions "to safeguard Muslim interests". And Wavell let them in by the back-door, without getting them to cancel their 'Direct Action' resolution, without providing a basis for coalition, and without getting a guarantee from the League that it would cooperate with the Constitution-making Body.

The Viceroy told the Congress that he had these assurances from the League. Mr. Jinnah denied this publicly and the Viceroy had nothing to say.

The League members in the Interim Government began to act as a separate block. They denied that there was any such thing as joint responsibility, and insisted that the Interim Government was no more than an Executive Council formed by the Viceroy under the old Act of 1919. The League leaders undermined the strength and solidarity of the Interim Government from within. They said they were carrying their 'Direct Action' right into the Government.

This strengthened the hands of Wavell, who began, as Pandit Nehru described later, "removing one by one the wheels of the Cabinet coach" and paralysing it. The Congress thereupon asked Wavell to get Mr. Jinnah to call a League Council meeting and withdraw the boycott resolution so that the path of co-operation in the Constitution-making Body is clear (November 5).

League's Counter-Move

In reply, Mr. Jinnah made a counter-move.

In the meanwhile the Bihar riots had taken place. Hindu and Congress incitement and "avenge Noakhali and Calcutta" propaganda had led to the even more horrible mass butchery of the Muslim minorities in the affected villages of Bihar.

The League leadership now began using Bihar against the Congress in the same way as Congress had used Noakhali against the League.

Mr. Jinnah's reply to the Viceroy was:

There was no purpose in calling a League Council meeting. The main question now was "the situation created by the ruthless massacre of Muslims in Bihar". It was neither "advisable nor possible" to hold the proposed Constituent Assembly. (Letter dated November 17).

The Congress counter-stroke against this was the threat to the Viceroy that if the Session of the Constituent Assembly was postponed any further beyond the date already fixed (December 9), Congress members would resign from the Interim Government. This had the instantaneous result that the invitations to the Constituent Assembly were sent out on November 20.

On the next day, Mr. Jinnah issued a statement announcing

that the League Council resolution of "Direct Action" stood. No member of the League would attend the Constituent Assembly. He further threatened:

"By forcing this meeting of the Constituent Assembly, the matter had been further exasperated and a situation created which will lead to serious consequences." (November 21).

Pat on this came a counter-threat from the Congress leaders. Sardar Patel at the Meerut Session of the Congress said:

"As long as the Muslims insist on their demand of Pakistan there shall never be peace in India. Those who want civil war will have it. We will resist sword with sword. There is no government in this country—prepare for self-defence."

Congress leaders publicly demanded of Wavell that the Leaguers must be made to quit the Interim Government, unless they agreed to drop their boycott and come into the Constituent Assembly (November 23).

Exchange Of Populations

Mr. Jinnah remained firm on his boycott and started quite a new demand:

Immediate exchange of populations to ensure peace and to avoid brutal recurrence of the butchering of small minorities by overwhelming majorities. (November 25).

by G. Adhikari

The political crisis in New Delhi was now complete. The fat was in the fire. The British Government decided to intervene at this point.

So long the Imperialists were quite successfully using the riots in India to discredit India in the eyes of the world, especially in America. They used them to show the world that Indians cannot manage their own country. The British were honest and eager to grant independence—only the difficulties of granting independence were enormous due to Indian differences!

Nemesis

But now the situation—the product of their own Cabinet Mission's plan and double-dealing—was getting out of their hands. A nemesis seemed to overtake them.

The whole structure of the very Cabinet Mission's plan, through which they had hoped to stabilise India as their main post-war base in the East was collapsing.

The Interim Government was being reduced to a farce and the Constitution-making Body, being boycotted by the Muslim League, was in the danger of being reduced to a show.

This was already foreshadowed by the 'Independent' London Times which always reflects the British Government's viewpoint:

"A further implication of what is now the open rift in the body politic, is that the country is faced with the possibility of the collapse of the very foundation of the constitutional project contained in the Cabinet Mission's proposals of May 16." (Times' Special Correspondent from Delhi, November 23).

The Paper stressed the same point editorially on the eve of the London Conference:

"There is a grave threat, to say the least of it, that the policy of His Majesty's Government, as laid down by the Cabinet Mission, will cease to afford means of cooperation in the transfer of power to Indian hands." (November 27).

Thus the British Cabinet is intervening to save its plan and once again with a double-dealing diplomacy.

Premier Attlee's invitation to Wavell and to the leaders of the Congress and the League in the Interim Government was regarded by the Congress with

the suspicion that at the London Conference, "at the instance of the League, the Cabinet Mission's plan is going to be abandoned or substantially varied." They did not want to be parties to this and they refused to go to London. (Nehru's letter to Attlee, November 26.)

Premier Attlee had saucily replied: "There was no intention of abandoning either the decision of the Assembly to meet or the plan put forward by the Cabinet delegation..."

The main purpose of the Conference, he added, was:

"...to urgently discuss the situation before any untoward actions take place... to help towards smooth and rapid progress towards the goal of Indian Freedom." (Attlee to Nehru, November 27.)

Congress leaders were not satisfied with this. But Pandit Nehru has gone there, as Sardar Patel explained the other day, "out of politeness."

In his letter, Pandit Nehru pointed out that the only question for the London Conference could be the differing interpretations of say the "groups", which Mr. Jinnah has raised in connection with his refusal to join the Constituent Assembly.

"In regard to this," says, Pandit Nehru to Attlee, "our position is quite clear, and we are completely committed to it. We are unable to change it. We have no authority to do so." (November 28.)

Attlee Pleases All

This Nehru-Attlee correspondence upset Mr. Jinnah. He wanted "to discuss the whole situation" and unless this was guaranteed, he was not prepared to go.

To this Premier Attlee promptly replied: "Your refusal must be based on the misunderstanding of my telegram to Nehru. There is nothing in it to prejudice full consideration of all points of view." (November 30.)

Thus the very invitations to the London Conference are based on double-dealing—promising different things to the Congress and League leaders.

With this background, it is not difficult to anticipate the outcome of the London Conference. The aim of the British Government would be to solve the immediate deadlock and get the Constituent Assembly going. This they would seek to do by giving their award on the differing interpretations of the question of the formation of Group governments of provinces, especially of the Muslim majority provinces.

Parallel Threats

This will be sought to be done by administering parallel threats to the Congress and the League. The London Times has indicated that the Congress would be told:

"The British cannot consent to hand over responsibility to a single political party without reference to the rights of other groups, or place the governments of Muslim majority provinces at the unfettered discretion of a Hindu-controlled Government. It is the kind of agreement which is represented by the State Paper cannot be secured, the unity of India, which is a great achievement of the past century, must inevitably be sacrificed to the higher interests of elementary justice." (November 28. Emphasis mine.—G.A.)

The British Government will tell the Congress that unless they agree to allow group governments to be formed in Muslim majority zones in the North-West and the East, as contem-

plated in the Plan, as a deliberate concession to the Pakistan demand, they will have to face outright partition.

The Muslim Leaguers will be told that while the British Government guarantees that the formation of groups shall proceed unhindered in accordance with the procedure laid down in the document of May 16, the League must agree to withdraw their "Direct Action" threat, participate in the Constitution-making Body and cooperate in the Interim Government.

Separate Baits

Besides these parallel threats, there would be separate assurances to both the Congress and League leaders.

The bait for the Congress would be that if they do not put any obstacle in the formation of the groups, the rest of the process of constitution-making would be speeded up and the transfer of power to united India would be rapid and smooth.

The bait to the League would be the assurance that the British Government is quite sincere in its conviction that the only compromise constitution, which would be workable, is one based on Group governments for Pakistan zones and for the rest of India, and a Union Centre which has minimum powers.

What is sought to be achieved by these parallel threats and double-dealing assurances is a temporary constitutional patch-up in order to get the League into the Constituent Assembly and to yoke it to a better co-operation within the Interim Government.

But then the crisis will come all over again, and will continue to do so as long as Congress and League leaders continue to pin their faith on the Plan and hope to use it to attain their respective goals by defeating the other with the aid of British support.

In short, the London Conference, even if it succeeds in arriving at a temporary constitutional patch-up—which is also not quite certain—will have only laid the basis for a new Congress-League conflict. The leaders would return empty-handed, but only with their appetite to fight each other whetted all the more.

Grim Situation

A grim situation faces the country. The riot situation continues to stagnate and worsen in parts. The communal frenzy inflamed by the propaganda and counter-propaganda of the League and the Congress, is beyond the control of the leaders. The British bureaucracy and the Army is actually using its position not to stop, but to spread the riots.

The problem of rehabilitating into their own homes and lands, some 40,000 Hindu refugees of Noakhali and Tripura, and an equal number of Muslim refugees of Bihar, remains largely unworked, despite the efforts of Gandhi as well as of several individual Congressmen and Leaguers in Bihar and Bengal.

The bankrupt policies of solving the question of Hindu-Muslim differences by accepting the Cabinet Mission plan and appeasing Imperialism, have brought us the ghastly fratricidal clashes of Calcutta and Noakhali, on the one hand, and Bihar and Meerut, on the other.

Instead of coming to their senses and joining hands to stop this horrible plague, the leaders of both the parties are using the respective riot tragedies as pawns in the game of power-politics against each other.

Mr. Jinnah is putting forward the fantastic solution of immediate transfer of population, instead of making any move whatsoever towards a joint effort to establish peace and reconciliation in the riot-stricken areas.

Congress leaders like Sardar Patel, rightly condemn the idea, but forget that communalism has gone so deep inside the Congress itself that a number of Congressmen have themselves begun to think of the solution.

A number of important Congressmen of West Bengal approached the Working Committee at Meerut. (Continued on Page 4.)

Police Whip Cracks Again Over Warli Kisans

EXTERNMENTS, ARRESTS, UNDER GOONDA ACT

By P. B. Rangnekar

On November 20, barely ten days after the Bombay Government's Special Officer had settled the strike of 15,000 Warli kisans for higher wages for timber-cutting and promised to see an end to all repression against them, the Thana District authorities, using the 'Goonda' Act, externed four Kisan Sabha leaders from their district.

On December 1, two more leaders were externed, one of them a woman leader! And that is not all. 250 policemen and 25 Sub-Inspectors have since then been patrolling this area: Daharu-Umbergaon Talukas. Behind an "iron curtain" mass arrests (about 50) of Warlis, attempts to force them to work, threats to shoot, etc. are being freely made. And all this under the 'Goonda' Act.

The Warlis have hit out against this treachery by bringing the saukars' work of timber-cutting and harvesting completely to a standstill.

15,000 Warlis of this area had recently fought and won a great strike against the local Saukars, for better wages for timber-cutting (see People's Age, November 24). As this month-old strike could not be broken either by repression or treachery, the Government's Special Prant Officer felt it necessary to intervene.

On November 10, he made the Saukars concede the just demands of the Warlis and the strike was withdrawn.

State of Emergency

As a part of this agreement, the Prant Officer had agreed to see that all repression would be stopped.

But within four days of signing this agreement and the amicable end of this remarkably peaceful strike, the Government, without the least excuse, suddenly declared a state of emergency in these Talukas.

The Collector and District Magistrate, Mr. Almaula, who had throughout allowed the dis-

ment of November 10.

● District Magistrate Almaula is reported to have issued a secret circular to the Mamlatdars, asking them to campaign among the Warlis against the Kisan Sabha and to persuade them to bring their grievances to the authorities. Of course the Mamlatdars dutifully hold meetings, but no Warli cares to attend these.

● To add to this, particularly heavy bail is demanded for the release of the Warlis who are on trial. Orders have been passed to take up their cases on consecutive days, so as to make their legal defence by the Kisan Sabha almost impossible.

It is strongly reported that the District authorities mean to insist on the Warlis signing a bond before they can be released. In the bond, they are to undertake not to take part in any agitation under the Red Flag.

Teaching A Lesson

Obviously under the Saukars' pressure, and on the basis of the Collector's distorted reports, the Government have come down on these Warlis, forgetting their own experience that no repression can ever crush a just struggle. But, if they have forgotten it, the 70,000 Warlis of this area are determined to help them learn that lesson anew.

● The entire populations of the villages of Raitali, Rankol, etc. (where 55 Warlis were arrested during the strike) have replied to the repression by voluntarily harvesting the crop of their jailed co-fighters.

● Already spontaneous stoppages of work have begun all over this area of 500 square miles.

And if the Government fail to read this writing on the wall, fail to release the leaders, end the repression and withdraw all externment orders, a giant flare-up, a general strike of 70,000 Warlis will soon paralyse all the Saukars' work—hay-cutting, harvesting, timber-cutting.

700 KISAN LEADERS IN PUNJAB JAILS

Seven hundred kisans—grey-haired veterans, heroes of many a legendary battle in the Punjab and young kisan lads, having their first baptism in political life—are rotting in the Punjab Congress Coalition Ministry's jail today. Representatives of three generations are locked in the Lahore Central Jail, awaiting their trial.

These prisoners are drawn not always been a Minister-in-Charge of Jails. He has not always talked of law and order. And if he bothers to visit the Lahore Central Jail, he will be reminded of those other days by the seven hundred prisoners, who are locked inside at the orders of a Ministry of which he is a part.

He will find there his one-time colleague in the Punjab Assembly, former General Secretary of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, Sardar Sehan Singh Josh.

Sachar Sahab will be reminded when he sees him that once he hailed him as "the most tireless fighter for freedom, both inside and outside the Legislature." Today, he acquiesces in keeping in jail this distinguished son of the Punjab, who commands the respect and affection of all the popular parties in the province.

"Law And Order"

Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, leader of the Congress Assembly Party, and Minister for Finance and Jails, when asked why he did not release the prisoners, pleaded:

"I am helpless. Law and Order must be maintained, and I cannot interfere in this matter as the cases are to be decided by the court of law."

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, the prominent Congress leader, when asked the same question, remarked:

"It is useless to talk of these people to me. I advised them not to start the 'morcha', but they insisted. If you sow the wind, you will have to be ready to reap the whirlwind. I refuse to interfere in this matter."

The Akali Minister, Sardar Swaran Singh, refused even to think of their release.

"These people know how to agitate against the Akali Party and would be a great nuisance at the time of the Gurdwara Elections," he blurted out to some friends.

When this is the attitude of the Congress and Akali Ministers, the Unionists and the bureaucracy find it easy to keep these 700 kisans in jail, all the while pretending that they are doing so against their own wishes.

The Unionist Minister Nawab Sir Muzaffar Ali Qazilbash, in fact, had the cheek to say:

"I am for their release, but the Congressmen and Akalis are against it." (1)

Lala Bhim Sen Sachar has

force. The attack was launched on the 17th.

But the kisans too were ready. And as soon as an arrow from the zamindars' goondas hit a young kisan boy, the kisans, furious, fell upon the cowardly gang like a surging tide, and sent them running.

One of the gangsters died in Kajhoul hospital and half a dozen more are lying wounded. The zamindar could not get even a single grain of the kisans' harvest.

Communal Trick Fails

This was only one of the battles that the kisans have been compelled to fight for the defence of their land and crop.

In a nearby village, for example, a more serious situation developed.

Here the zamindars (belonging to village Noakhoti) is a Hindu and the kisans are Muslims.

He tried his best to turn the whole thing into a communal affair. But not one kisan or khet-mazdoor could be persuaded to fight against his Muslim brethren.

And so not only did the Muslim kisans remain safe, but the Hindu and Muslim kisans together captured nearly 25 bighas of land of which they had been dispossessed quite a few years ago.

In Monghyr, small battles are taking place. But these are yet only the opening skirmishes of the great battle of hakasht, which is going to be fought in Bihar in the coming six weeks.

And it will be fought with grim determination, for it is a matter of life and death for the kisans. The loss of his harvest means the loss of his land, and that is his only means of livelihood.

—by Indradip Sinha

Bihar Kisans Seize Hoards

COMMUNAL DISRUPTION KEPT AT BAY

You have heard about the great communal slaughter in Bihar. Here is a different story—a story of glorious unity between Hindu and Muslim kisans and landless labourers, forged in the fire of joint battles against their common oppressors.

While parts of South Monghyr and Patna were smouldering with communal strife, these battles were being fought just across the Ganges in the Red flag belts of North Monghyr District.

Here the food situation is very serious and in some areas famine conditions are beginning to appear. Some starvation deaths are already reported to have taken place.

This acute and daily worsening food crisis placed just another weapon in the hands of the zamindars to exploit, coerce and evict their tenants.

For most of these zamindars are also the grain hoarders of the locality. They have a firm alliance with the police and the bureaucracy and have recently worked themselves into the Congress Committees, in order to try and use their position to influence the Ministry in their favour.

Seizing Hoarded Stocks

Since early October, when starvation began to threaten the poor kisans and landless labourers, they decided to seize the hoarded stocks of the blackmarketeers, and distributed them at control rates.

These seizures brought bloody reprisals from the zamindar-hoarders, who were in no mood to allow the control rate to be enforced against them.

In the very first week of October, Jaldhar Kaur, a rich kulak, who is the Secretary of the Bakhari Thana

from nearby villages, 500 kisans and khet-mazdoors collected and refused to allow their men to be taken away.

Seeing the temper of the people, the police party, led by an Assistant Sub-Inspector, hastily scampered away, and despatched a frantic telegram for military help!

The next day the kisans again seized a cart-load of maize and began to distribute it among themselves. The owner, a notorious blackmarketeer, a millionaire of Begusarai mobilised the support of certain local Congress leaders and persuaded the S.D.O. to send a strong force to Noakhoti.

Gudar Jha, a Congress leader and employee of the blackmarketeer, filed a formal complaint against the kisans for grain looting.

But the kisans stood firmly against the military. Five hundred of them came out on the village streets and began to parade, shouting slogans. The result was that all that military could do was to go away with two or three bags of maize, which till then had not been distributed.

Beating Up The Goondas

Seeing the kisans thus engaged in a struggle against the blackmarketeers and police, the zamindars decided to launch yet another attack.

There was a long-standing hakasht dispute in village Chitabhatapur, where the kisans have been fighting for the last ten years.

The zamindar, a notorious tandy, hired a large number of goondas, lathials and arrow-shooters and planned to harvest the kisans' crop by

Police Raid Falls

Having got this line-clear, the police and the bureaucracy started a vigorous offensive against the kisans.

On November 14, a police force from Bakhari Thana raided village Noakhoti, and arrested five of the leading kisan workers there. But soon

Other Prisoners

Amongst other prisoners are: Jathedar Bar Singh—80-year old Akali leader. He was the first President of the Morcha Committee.

Sardar Jawahar Singh Burj—one of the first-rank leaders of the Akali movement of 1921 he was twice elected President of the historic Golden Temple of Amritsar. Later he joined the Kisan Sabha and took a leading part in every kisan morcha in the province. He has already served six terms of imprisonment.

Prem Sagar: He is the General Secretary of the Ajanta Congress Committee. A young boy of 23, he was in the beginning very sceptical of the Kisan Morcha. He had strong faith in the Congress and thought that a Ministry with Congress members in it could never do any injustice to the kisans. But the police repression in the flaga opened his eyes and he soon joined the Kisan ranks.

Dr. Surat Singh: A prominent Congressman of Amritsar. He was the convener of the 1938 Provincial Congress Conference.

Gurdayal Singh, Advocate. He is a lieutenant of the Akali leader, Ishar Singh Majhail, and is an Akali candidate for the present Gurdwara elections.

Fifty-year old Muslim Congressman Ham Din. He has served several terms of imprisonment in the Congress movements and the call of the kisans has brought him to jail once again.

Then there are two batches of Muslim League workers, who marched a long distance proudly carrying the League flag, to express their solidarity with their kisan brothers and took part in the Morcha.

There are two kisan girls—Mah-nadan and Gurbabab. These two girls along with Bibi Raghbir Kaur mobilised the women of the area in support of the Kisan Morcha and fought bravely against police repression.

They not only faced police lathis, but fought them back. They defended the stage, which was erected for public meetings at Baraha Chhina in connection with the 'morcha'. The police wanted to occupy the stage but these two girls offered heroic resistance and till the last day kept it safe and in the possession of the kisans.

Release Campaign

These are some of the 700 prisoners in the Lahore Central Jail today. The campaign for their release continues.

The Amritsar District (rural) Congress Committee has adopted a resolution demanding the immediate release of all kisan morcha prisoners. Deputations have been taken both to the Provincial Congress office and the Congress Ministers, demanding their release.

Dr. Lehna Singh, General Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, has himself advocated the release of these prisoners and condemned the Ministry for delaying in this matter.

Sardar Niranjan Singh Gill (the former INA Officer and Sikh leader) has issued a public statement demanding the release of these prisoners.

At numerous kisan, trade union and student meetings release resolutions have been adopted.

THE PEOPLE ARE RISING IN GREECE TODAY

Fierce Battle Against British Occupation

By Air Mail

Athens, November 26.

In the bleak mountainous territory of Western Macedonia, a new and bright page is being written today in the history of battle for liberty.

ONCE more the Resistance, the vanguard of the Greek people who fought the Germans unceasingly for four long years, have taken to the hills and to arms—to fight the new enslaver, the British.

They have already built a regular army with its headquarters near Grevena; they have developed well-organized supplies and communications, and command the absolute loyalty from the people in liberated territory.

They claim that they control today an area bigger than any controlled by the Resistance during the Nazi occupation when even the British paid tribute to them for their courage and contribution to fascist defeat.

British-Infatuated Regime

And they would rule all Greece today, but for the British.

A single example is enough. In Northern Greece, the Royalist Greek 15th Frontier Division based on Kozani, is virtually cut off and its morale is steadily deteriorating.

The Republican Army, as today's Resistance calls itself, could wipe it out but for the fact that behind the wretched 15th Frontier Division stands the strong British Fourth Division, based on Verria 25 miles away.

In fact all over Greece, the British have been stationed at such spots as to be able to buttress and back up the Royalists.

But, such has become the scale of guerilla activity that already the British and their Royalist allies are becoming panicky. A week ago (November 19), the Greek Commander-in-Chief, General Spiiotopoulos, accompanied by the British Military Mission head, Major-General Rawlings, left for London.

On his departure itself it was widely rumoured here that he was going to plead the Royalist case that if Britain did not

Our Special Correspondent

send more troops, they would be swamped by the guerillas.

It seems also that he has been successful; for, a few days ago, the War Minister, M. Dragounis, announced that "the Greek Army will be reinforced and the Allies will supply extra equipment and arms for this purpose."

Important to note is the use of the word "Allies"; together with M. Dragounis' enthusiastic approving quotation of a U. S. high-ranking officer that the "frontiers of the U.S. are on the frontiers of Greece," this shows clearly enough that Greece, till now a British colony, is soon going to become an Anglo-American colony.

Meanwhile the economic situation is rapidly deteriorating. Despite a 10 million pound loan from Britain and a 47 million dollar loan from the U.S., the Greek Government is facing a rapidly developing financial crisis.

John Coppeck, Economic Adviser of UNRRA, writing recently in the New Economics, has revealed that two-fifths of the Greek Government's revenue comes from UNRRA supplies and these are due to cease very soon.

Deteriorating Economic Situation

So also a member of the British Economic Mission, Sir John Nixon, has resigned his job because of his dissatisfaction with Greek economic policy, particularly in relation to the high profiteering in industry, the widespread blackmarket in dollars and the great danger of inflation.

Meanwhile prices are soaring, the official index itself showing a forty-one per cent rise while the real rise is much more.

The blackmarket is virtually the only market and in Athens and every big city one can see thousands looking starved and half-clothed, while rich luxury foods and clothes are available in abundance in the shops, but, of course, only at exorbitant prices.

The discontent among the people can be seen from the fact that even the civil service is threatening to go on strike, while the rest of the workers are seething with unrest and are threatening strikes.

This is so despite the fact that the elected leaders of the trade unions have either been deported, arrested or are underground, while the Royalist Government has illegalized these elections and put in their places their own stooges!

And in the midst of this crisis, the most striking fact is the growing emergence of men who were directly German supporters in 1941-44 as key men in the present Government.

The new Minister of Health is one A. Kokkaras, a former supporter of the Nazi-sponsored Greek police, the Security Battalions. The most vocal Government spokesman is Stylianos Gonatas, who directly helped to organize these Battalions.

The former Minister of Public Order under Metaxas, K. Manladakis, known for his brutality and fascist views, and often called the Greek "Hitler", has been invited back to Greece by a group of Populist (Government Party) M.P.s who are offering to support his candidature for the Ministership of Public Order.

Growing Persecution Of Resistance

In contrast, the men of the Resistance, who fought the Germans heart and soul, are being bitterly persecuted. By September 30, 3723 Greeks (almost everyone of whom had been prominent in the resistance) had been deported to the penal islands—and what this means can be seen from the fact that during fascist dictator, Metaxas' days, there were not more than 1,000 deportees on the islands at any one time.

It is this that has led to a rapid growth of the new Resistance Movement—this disgust at the Government's incapacity to do anything for the people, at its complete subservience to the British, at its virulent persecution of the best sons of Greece, the former Resistance.

Not only British arms, but British officials are the real rulers of Greece—and nothing important is done today without prior consultations with the British Ambassador.

This was recognized even by the very moderate British All-Parties Parliamentary Delegation that visited Greece last August.

It reported sharply against continuation of the present British policy of bolstering up Fascism and came down wholeheartedly in favour of a new All-Parties Coalition, the end of the emergency measures and Right terror, and new elections.

The British Government, however, has carefully refrained from publishing the report.

"We Will Fight Till We Are Free"

So in the hills, the battle continues and the democratic areas are steadily expanding; their strength grows daily not only in Western Macedonia, but also further south in the Mount Olympus areas and in the Peloponnese where also guerilla attacks are reported.

Down in the towns the people's discontent is rising. Strikes are numerous, despite ruthless repression.

And the only thing that prevents a total flare-up all over Greece is the presence of the British Army—and also many warships of the Mediterranean fleet that are in Greek ports or nearby.

But this cannot last for ever; however many troops and arms the British pour into Greece, (or the Americans, who, Premier Tsaldaris' paper, Vradini, has reported, are sending 18,000 troops to Greece), the flag of resistance has been unfurled, the people are moving into action.

For, in the words of a young Republican, a former fighter in the ELAS against the Germans:

"Four years the Germans tried to crush us, with their tanks and bombers, their massacres and concentration camps. But they failed. Do you think these British can do it? Never! Not four, but forty years we can and will fight till our Greece is free."



The shaded area represents roughly the area controlled by the Resistance forces in Greece.

"WE LIVE AS FREE MEN"

Letter Of A Greek Guerilla

(We give here part of a letter that was sent by a guerilla fighter of Northern Greece to the Special Correspondent of the Daily Worker in Athens.)

I AM a former ELAS man, a shots. We spoke to them by megaphone in the Allied cause. After liberation I handed over my arms. I was tortured, imprisoned, persecuted. For one year I endured all this.

But, at last I fled to the mountains. There I met other people like me. None of us had any arms, not even a knife.

We only survived, thanks to our peasants, who fed us with their own bread. They considered us as their liberators.

Our First Battle

From home we received news of more and more repression of our people by the terrorists and gendarmes, of murders, tortures, rapes, the burning down of our homes and deportations.

We hear that in the towns they are telling you that the 'Slavs' have given us the arms we now hold. Why do they not ask their stooges, the terrorists, from whom we have really taken our arms?

We have formed small guerilla groups, from 10 to 15 people in each, supplied with only rifles, to defend ourselves and to protect our people, our homes, Greece.

The first battle, and the first victory, was at Litohoro, in the Olympus area, on March 30, 1946.

There were 25 guerillas armed only with rifles, against 45 gendarmes armed with rifles and eight tommy-guns. At the beginning the gendarmes swore at us, but later, they started to implore us: "We are also Communists."

We let 16 free. The rest were killed during the battle.

Our great source of armaments has been Deskatte, a fortified place mined and surrounded with barbed wire, which we occupied after 28-hour battle.

The defenders fled and were laughed at by the peasants when they passed through the village unarmed.

Refuse To Fire

Our booty included food, blankets, a wireless, a mortar, many rifles and ammunition.

After raiding Retina in a five-hour battle, we captured four anti-personnel mortars, two group mortars, four anti-tank Plats, a wireless, 19 machine guns, 20 automatic weapons, 200 uniforms, food and ammunition. We lost two men.

The mopping-up operations have strengthened the guerilla movement even more. By the end of October the only gendarmerie stations left were at Deskatte, Grevena, Siastista, Kozani and Pentalofa.

The soldiers sympathize with us, and, in fact, most of them refuse to fire against us.

At Retina the Army posts surrendered immediately after the first

And they all came over to side. Twenty, who resisted, killed. A hundred and twenty of us.

When the battle at Trikoukia, near Grevena, started, the guerillas shouted by megaphone to the soldiers: "If you shoot at us, you shoot at the people." At once the shooting almost stopped.

Since mid-October soldiers have been coming over to us en masse.

At the beginning the people were influenced by propaganda and were afraid of us. But they quickly changed.

By meetings, public appearances, speeches and leaflets, they began to know us, and now, when we go through the villages, they greet with joy.

The Monarchists

Some Monarchists left their homes when the gendarmerie posts withdrew, but we were letting them know that nobody is going to trouble and, they are now returning.

Some of them who have arms are handing them over and are living on the friendliest terms with us.

At meeting at Tripotamo, Monarchists came out and said that though they had previously wiggled for the return of the King, they had not imagined that the British occupation would turn out as it had done, and that they would now, therefore, fight for the Republic.

This reconciliation movement has succeeded in the areas of the Olympus, Pierria and all over Western Macedonia, except Grevena and Siastista.

The enticing and arming of the Monarchist peasants has failed completely.

There remain only the 'provisional gendarmes' and big demoralized, has started even among them. We are informed that 2,400 of them at Retina asked to be allowed to leave their arms and go home.

Organisation

In every village there is a self-defence group with its sentries and scouts.

There is also a 'popular committee' for every village's affairs. Telephone exchanges are being established in Western Macedonian villages.

Each headquarters has its own typewriter, duplicating machine, its newspaper and its radios. Wireless is being established.

By meetings, newspapers, new bulletins, etc., we are exposing the Monarchists' manoeuvres and standards. Thousands of leaflets are being distributed to the soldiers. We live a great life as FREE MEN.

RESISTANCE ARMY'S FIRST COMMUNIQUE

Here is the full text of the first Communiqué of the Greek Resistance:

THE Headquarters of the Republican Army in Northern Greece in the name of all persecuted Republican combatants who constitute this army, reject with disgust the shameful slander that the Republican Army has relations with or is supplied by foreigners. The main sources of arms and supplies are the Monarchist bands which are armed by the British, the stores of the army and gendarmerie and prisoners from these forces.

The Republican Army has arisen as a result of the new occupation and the persecution to which the people are subjected by the new fascist regime, established in Greece by the British occupation.

We were forced to take to the mountains by the dishonouring of the British of the Varkiza Agreement and by the policy of extermination and persecution operated against us.

The Republican Army categorically rejects, once and for all, that its activities are directed against the integrity of Greece. We consider the soil of the Fatherland and its frontiers as sacred and inviolable, and we oppose any idea of violence or conquest against them.

We struggle for the life and honour of the people and for the freedom, democracy and independence of Greece. The Republican Army also categorically rejects the base slander that it burns down villages and slays women and children.

We fight as our forefathers fought—for freedom—and as ELAS fought for Greece. The crimes against innocent women and children and the burning down of villages are committed by our enemies. It is against them that we struggle and we punish only traitors. We are the children of the people.

November 26, 1946.
H.Q. of the Republican Army of Northern Greece.

Signed: IPSELANTIS.
LASSANIS.

OPPOSITION TO BRITISH PLAN IN EGYPT

by Air Mail. CAIRO, November 24.

Egypt is passing through a political crisis of the first magnitude. On one side are the British and their agents in Egypt, headed by Premier Sidky Pasha, who are trying to put through an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which will mean the virtual maintenance of British rule.

On the other are signs of growing popular opposition and resistance to this betrayal.

The new Treaty is supposed to set the seal on the evacuation of Egypt by British troops, announced by the British with much fanfare many months ago. In fact it does nothing of the kind.

Bogus Treaty

Under its terms: * Evacuation of Egypt by British troops will not be completed for three years; the reason given is that it will take that time to build barracks somewhere in the Middle East (probably in the Palestine-Transjordan area) to house these troops!

A joint Anglo-Egyptian Defence Council is to be set up by which the British and Egyptians will jointly consult if any "threat of war" arises—which can only mean the British can move into Egypt if they feel there is a "threat of war".

* Virtual status quo over the Sudan is retained by which the

From
Our Correspondent

British remain the rulers while the Egyptians' demand for unification of Egypt and the Sudan is summarily rejected.

Much propaganda has been made by the British that this obviously unsatisfactory treaty has been "approved" by the Egyptian Parliament by 159 deputies with three members abstaining. The opposition of 54 members however staged a walk-out before the voting.

Meaningless Vote

In fact, the last elections to the Egyptian Parliament were boycotted by the major party of the Egyptian people, the Wafd. The majority inside Parliament today consists of the members of the Liberal Party (party of the big land-owners and traditionally pro-British) and the members of the Saadist Party (party of the industrialists linked with British Capital).

Even the representatives of the very moderate Al Kobia Party headed by Makram Ebeid Pasha, who form the minority opposition to Sidky walked out before the vote and refused to approve of the agreement.

Thus the vote in Parliament means nothing, for the vast majority of the people are not represented at all in this Parliament.

Popular Indignation

In fact, all the popular forces have vigorously denounced Sidky's intrigue.

Mustafa Nahas Pasha, Wafd leader, has been making a series of speeches denouncing the agreement and the Wafd Executive has passed a strong resolution criticising it.

Strongest opposition has, however, come from the students and workers, headed by the Workers' and Students' Committee of National Liberation.

They received a terrific response to their call for strikes in both Cairo and Alexandria to observe November 13, Egypt's National Day. (So called because on November 13, 1918, Zaglul Pasha, the great leader of the Egyptian people was arrested by the British and de-

ported for asking the British to quit.)

Ever since the streets of Cairo and Alexandria have seen daily demonstrations, many of which have clashed with the police. Many Egyptian patriots have lost their lives, but heavy toll has also been taken both of the police and of British soldiers.

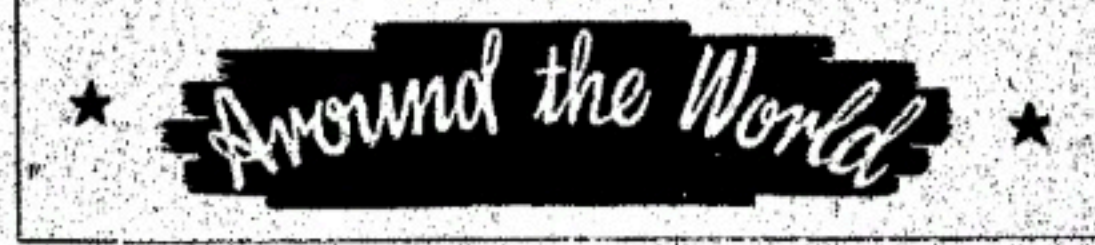
Weakness Of Movement

The student strikes and demonstrations still go on, and the hatred and bitterness against Sidky and the British is mounting; but the danger in the situation is that the Wafd while expressing vigorous opposition in words to Sidky's proposals, has not taken any practical steps to rouse the people to fight Sidky's attempts to put through the Treaty.

It has, of course, announced that it intends to call a General Strike and to launch a passive resistance campaign against the Sidky Government or any other Government that agrees to sign these treaty proposals.

But it has announced no date for the General Strike, nor has it said when it is going to launch the passive resistance campaign to which it has pledged itself, for once this is done, all Egypt, town and country, will be aflame against the British.

There is no doubt, however, that whatever the Wafd does, the rising temper of the people and the growing influence of the Students' and Workers' Committee will make it very difficult for Sidky to put through his plan of betrayal of Egypt.



Behind The Voting At UNO

whom the issue was referred by the U.S. Latin American satellites voted General Assembly, this definite attempt of the British became the rallying-point of all the reactionaries at the UNO.

Inside the Committee, South Africa was considerably chastened by the sharp Indian attack and the strong support we received from the delegations of the Soviet, Eastern Europe and certain countries of Latin America.

So she did not try to get the Committee to reject outright the Indian complaint but hastened herself to sponsor a resolution, asking that the matter be referred to the International Court for decision as to whether it was or was not within the jurisdiction of UNO.

This proposal—a patently reactionary one—was immediately supported by the following delegations viz:

All the British Empire countries, (Britain, New Zealand, Canada, Australia); the United States; Norway and Sweden where exist Social-Democratic Governments, close to the British Labour Government; Belgium, virtually Britain's satellite, and Peru, virtually America's satellite.

Against it were: India herself, of course; the Soviet Union, the Soviet Ukraine, Poland and Chile (a Latin-American country with a progressive Government based on a democratic-coalition that includes Communists).

Victory For India

The final voting, however, was on a joint Mexican-French resolution, supported by India and the Soviet, which clearly stated the treatment of Indians in the Union should be "in conformity with international obligations."

The voting was 24 votes in favour, 19 against with six abstentions.

* India, the Soviet and all the States of Eastern Europe, the Arab States and the more independent Latin American states, France and China voted in favour.

* The British Empire bloc: Luxembourg, Greece, Belgium and Holland (European satellites of Britain); and

the veto. The British and the U.S., while formally opposing the Australian proposal, at the same time suggested that certain "modifications" of the use of the veto might be considered, which virtually amounted to the same thing as acceptance of Australia's proposal.

Against this Australia-British-U.S. front, the Soviet, supported by Poland, Yugoslavia and India, led the opposition. So once more the same line-up is apparent—the U.S. and British Empire countries on one side, while the Soviet, the Eastern European countries and India were on the other.

Census Of Troops

And on the fourth key issue—the Soviet proposal for a census of troops on foreign territory—here again the Anglo-Americans made a clear attempt to blow it up by bringing in the general question of "disarmament" and the number of troops each country had under arms at home and abroad.

In this way, they could evade the key question: In how many foreign countries had these imperial powers stationed their troops; i.e., how many countries were really not independent but mere vassals of Anglo-American Imperialism!

And so the battle goes on at UNO. Many who talk loudly about "democracy" and "small nations", in practice have shown that they are no democrats but the supporters of the rankly anti-democratic Government of South Africa and opponents of self-government for the colonial peoples.

Once more the sharp opposition from India and the Soviet, plus some other delegations (notably Yugoslavia and Mexico), made the South African's retreat from their original request.

Instead they agreed to vote for a U.S.-Danish "compromise" resolution, which while rejecting the request of South Africa, made plenty of warm and approving references to South Africa's previous administration of S. W. Africa and rejected the patently reactionary South African request merely on the ground of insufficient information!

The full list of those voting for and against the U.S.-Danish resolution (passed by twelve votes to six) has conveniently not been sent by Reuter, but it is clear once more that all British Empire countries and the U.S. voted for it, while here again India, the Soviet and Poland rendered the democratic opposition.

Democrats And Veto

All this is revealing enough; equally revealing has been the debate on the 'veto'.

Here it was Australia, the very vocal champion of the rights of "small nations" that led the fight to "amend"

The Bookshelf

BLOOD BATH AT AMALNER.
By S. A. Dange. As. 4.

Speeches made by Dange, Communist M.L.A., in the Bombay Legislative Assembly, demanding justice for the workers killed and injured in the police firing on workers at Amalner.

Moscow Publications

SELECTED WORKS. By V. I. Lenin. Volume One. Demy-Size, 758 pages, Leather-bound. Rs. 3-12.

This is the first of the new two-volume edition and contains: On Marx and Marxism; what the 'Friends of the People' Are; What is to be Done?; One Step Forward, Two Steps Back; Two Tactics of Social Democracy; The Right of Nations to Self-Determination; Imperialism; Opportunism and Social Chauvinism; and numerous important articles by Lenin. This volume also contains Stalin's speeches and articles on "Lenin and Leninism."

NEW TIMES NO. 20. Single Copy. As. 8. Subscription for 24 issues Rs. 12.

This issue, of October 15, contains articles on "The World Food Situation"; "The American Monopolies and United States Foreign Policy"; "The Vatican and the Trade Unions"; etc., etc., and Travel Notes on Bulgaria and Iran.

British Publications

SOCIALISM: WHAT? WHY? HOW? By T. A. Jackson. Rs. 1-2.

A simple and easy introduction to the study of Socialism, written by the eminent British Marxist writer in his characteristic vigorous style.

SCIENCE AND SOCIALISM. Published by the University Labour Federation, London. As. 6.

A short but brilliant survey of the politics of science: the role of science in human progress, its degradation under Fascism, its service to the people in the U.S.S.R., and what should be done to get it used in the interests of the people.

Periodicals

We have been able to get a few copies of some old issues of two important periodicals.

MODERN QUARTERLY. Nos. 2, 3 and 4 of Vol. I. (1938) and Nos. 1 & 2 of Vol. II. (1939). Each Rs. 1-11.

These 5 issues include contributions from such eminent Marxists as Prof. Haldane, Vavilov, Prof. Levy, Maurice Dobb, Benjamin Farrington, George Thomson, Gordon Childs and many others.

COMMUNIST REVIEW. March Issue. As. 6.

In this issue Harry Pollitt writes on "The Communist Party and the Nation"; J. R. Campbell on "State Capitalism"; Peter Kerrigan on "The Vanguard Party". It also includes, besides other articles, book reviews and answers to some questions.

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LEFT PARTIES IN CRISIS

Shameful Collapse After Anti-Compromise Speeches

"Our leaders are definitely going to take a firm stand this time. We have ourselves talked to Jai Prakash Babu and Acharya Narendra Deo, and they believed that the present policy of constitutionalism followed by the Congress leadership can only bring ruin to our country. This time we are not going to keep quiet. Our Party will fight with determination against this surrender policy."

THIS was what several Congress Socialist friends told me with tremendous confidence, just before the Meerut Session. For a moment, I thought that perhaps they were right, as there was some sort of confirmation at the first day's meeting of the Subjects Committee on November 21. Speaking on the ratification resolution, Sjt. Ashok Mehta declared: "End this policy of constitutionalism and compromise with the British. Go back to the policy of non-cooperation, civil disobedience and direct action." But when it came to voting on the resolution, all my illusions were blown up.

The opposition could secure only 30 votes—a number far smaller than even the total number of C.S.P. members of the A.I.C.C., not to speak of the total strength of the opposition, which included the Forward Bloc, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and independents like Swami Sahajanand.

Finally Gagged

Pandit Nehru's speech which followed, finally and completely gagged all the revolt and dissatisfaction of the C.S.P. Panditji's attacks on the Viceroy and the bureaucracy, his hint that "it is possible that we may soon have to launch a struggle"—all this was enough to "satisfy" the CSP leaders.

The Meerut Session after this was only a repetition of the 'smooth-sailing' noticed at the recent Delhi A.I.C.C. meeting.

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali's amendments to the official resolution on States, sought to express the Congress' sympathy with the struggles in Travancore and Kashmir. The amendments called upon the States peoples to move forward for the establishment of responsible government and to secure civil liberties, and assured them full Congress support.

But these amendments secured only 20 votes each in their favour, ten less than the number secured by the opposition on the first day.

Sjt. Achhyut Patwardhan had intended to move an amendment to the Congress Manifesto, committing the Congress to a policy of nationalisation of the means of production. But for reasons which have not been made public, this amendment was not even brought up.

Changes in Constitution

Not only this. The CSP even failed to give a determined fight to the Rightist proposals for changes in the Congress Constitution.

Sjt. Shankar Rao Deo, on behalf of the Congress Working Committee, proposed in a resolution that although changes in the Constitution are always made in the Session, this time, the AICC be authorised to do the needful.

The real purpose behind this resolution was quite clear to the Congress Socialists. Sjt. Ram Nandan Misra, CSP leader from Bihar, had said:

"The amendments to the Constitution must be brought before the open Session of the Congress. We are afraid that those Congress leaders who propagate the slogans of 'One Party and One Leader' want to crush all leftist elements under cover of these changes in the Constitution."

It was generally expected that the CSP would fight to the last on this resolution. The issue affected the very character of the Congress as a mass democratic organisation.

But I was shocked to find that not one person in the entire Session, not even Sjt. Ram Nandan Misra himself, voted against it.

The same story was repeated in the open Session. Out of about 3,000 delegates, only about 100 voted against the official ratification resolution, and on the 'Constitution' resolution, the CSP leaders did not even feel the necessity to speak.

Why Collapse

Why was there this ignominious collapse after the brave anti-compromise speeches made by the CSP spokesmen?

The rank-and-file of the CSP has been continually urging its leadership to stand up firmly, and courageously oppose the Congress Rightists.

Just before the Meerut Session, a meeting of the CSP

your separate party of reformists.

"Leave the Congress in the hands of revolutionaries, who believe in non-cooperation and mass insurrection, so that they may meet the British Sword with an Indian Sword."

Not Against Compromise

But at this private meeting of CSP workers, Sjt Jai Prakash Narain declared:

"We are not against compromise. We would not object to a compromise with the British, if it comes on respectable terms. You criticise the Congress leaders, but you should not forget that Sardar Patel is as great a revolutionary as any of us." (!)

Revolt, insurrection and direct action in public and compromise in private. No wonder one speech from Pandit Nehru was sufficient to damp all their fire; no wonder, Sardar Patel's slogan of "Sword against Sword" and his declaration that "Our battle is no longer against the British" completely demoralised our revolutionary friends.

None of them even dared to get up and expose the real meaning of Sardar Patel's call as a call for communal warfare and hence perpetuation of British rule in India.

After all, how could the CSP leaders make such a declaration? For them too, the League and the millions of its fol-

States and the Congress Constitution. They assumed a remarkable "silence" on both these issues.

* Their happiness, of course, knew no bounds when Sardar Patel compared the other Leftist wing of the Congress, the CSP, to a dog.

"The Sardar", they said, "has done a real good job; at least he has put the CSP in its place."

The Forward Bloc leaders were not worried an iota that Sardar Patel had virtually given a call for Civil War.

And why should they have been? For after all, their only complaint against the Right has been the "Chamberlainian appeasement," of the Leaguers.

The strong Sardar had given a sharp blow to "appeasement"—that was all that mattered.

RSP's Communalism

The Revolutionary Socialist Party (RSP) has only recently come into existence, formed by the leaders of the old Anushilan Samiti of Bengal, who were earlier members of the C.S.P. Their main centre of activity is Bengal, but now they are doing some work in U.P. and Bihar too. They claim to be "the only genuine Marxist-Leninist working-class party in India."

Many young, brave revolutionaries of U.P., who were prominent in the August Movement, have joined this Party, attracted by both the "Revolutionary" and "Socialist" parts of its name.

But at the Meerut Session, the leaders of this "Marxist-Leninist Party" did little more than echo the communal viewpoint of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji and Mr. Savarkar.

They did oppose the Rightist policy of compromise, but on the ground that

"The Interim Government has failed to help the people of Noakhali, Tipperah and Dacca". (Speech of Sjt. Sushil Chandra Deb on November 21).

Addressing Pandit Nehru, Sjt. Deb further said:

"If you could exercise your authority in Bihar, then why did you fail to do so in Bengal? Are you afraid of the Muslim League Ministry?"

Serious Threat

Obviously, the leaders of this Party had absolutely no objection to Sardar Patel's call for "Sword against Sword".

The existence of various Left parties in the Congress is today being threatened seriously.

The new Kisan-Mazdoor-Praja Party, founded by Pandit Shrikrishna Dutt Patil with a view to fight and smash the Left parties, is now extending its sphere of work to other provinces too. Sjt. S. K. Patil from Bombay and Professor Abdul Bari from Bihar have been asked to convene at an early date an All-India Conference for this purpose.

It is learnt that even the new General Secretary of the Congress, Sjt. Shankar Rao Deo, has become a member of this Party, and other Rightist leaders of the Congress are also supposed to be patronising it.

At Meerut itself, a resolution was expected to come up before the Working Committee, disallowing the existence of Parties within the Congress.

This resolution, though held back this time, is bound to come up within the next few months. Even Pandit Nehru does not seem to be against such an undemocratic move.

The Rightists are determined to keep their leadership intact, even at the cost of destroying the mass character of the Congress.

The Leftist leaders in the Congress are fully conscious of these moves, but, as if in a state of complete paralysis, they are helplessly waiting for the evil day to come.

End Your Quarrels

The only way out is for the wide and life of the Congress Left parties: to bring pressure on their leaders, and tell them:

"End your quarrels and petty jealousies. Unite all the Left forces, inside and outside the Congress and resist the suicidal policies of the Right-wing leaders."

Instead of merely waxing eloquent about struggle and revolution, take part in and support the struggles of workers, peasants and States' people that are already taking place in different parts of the country.

"Instead of hurling abuses at the Muslim League, search for the honest and anti-imperialist elements inside its ranks and, together with them, build common organisations and develop common struggles of the Hindu and Muslim masses."

There is no other path to save the country from the flames of civil war and take it forward on the road to Indian Revolution.

by O. P. Sangal

Executive was held at Delhi.

I understand that certain CSP leaders of Travancore, against whom warrants of arrest are pending, also attended this meeting. They gave a detailed report of the atrocities let loose in the State against the rising popular upsurge, repression without any discrimination between Communists, Socialists and others.

The Travancore leaders demanded that the All India Executive of the CSP should support the struggle in Travancore.

"New Line Of Action"

Not being able to ignore this pressure of their ranks, the leaders of the CSP adopted a resolution on the States and laid down a new line of action for the Meerut Session.

Oppose the constitutional policy of the Congress Right-wing; demand a policy of direct action instead; suggest direct action in the States, but keep mum over the issues in British India; and do not open your mouths at all about the policy of the Congress Ministries, for that will at once bring the club of the Right-wing on your heads.

Obviously, this policy was not an honest policy. It was a policy meant only to silence the criticism of the rank-and-file, and cheat them through sham threats of direct action.

At a private meeting of the workers of the CSP convened at Meerut, the leadership quite openly exposed itself and the real nature of its policy.

All those who attended the Meerut Session must remember the words of Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali. When replying to Sardar Patel, she said:

"The revolutionary people of India did not shed their blood in 1942 for a victory of compromise and constitutionalism. If yours is a path of cooperation with British Imperialism, then you can quit the Congress and form

lowers are merely the "King's Party."

Their socialism has not yet taught them that the right of self-determination is a just right and that the grant of this right alone, can win millions of Muslims for the freedom battle.

The other left parties in the Congress present an even more pathetic picture.

Forward Bloc

Sometime back, at its meeting in Delhi, the Forward Bloc Working Committee passed a resolution, condemning the anti-working-class policy pursued by the Provincial Congress Ministries, as manifested particularly in the repression on the SIR strike, and the Amalner firing.

The resolution had strongly urged upon the Congress the immediate necessity of getting out of the British trap, in order to start a revolutionary mass struggle against imperialism.

But what line of action did they pursue during the Meerut Session?

* They did not say a single word against the anti-people policy followed by the Congress Ministries.

Master Mota Singh rightly referred to the latest Ordinance in the Punjab, but conveniently managed to forget the Ordinance promulgated by Pantji.

At the Meerut Session, they even forgot the martyrs of the Golden Rock and Amalner.

In order that they should not be left behind in their race with the CSP, the Forward Bloc leaders delivered thundering speeches on almost every resolution and moved a number of amendments.

But on not one issue did they give the Right-wing a fight, and every time their thunder ultimately ended in their withdrawing their amendments.

* They were not bothered at all about the resolutions on the



TWO LEAVES AND A BUD

By Mulk Raj Anand. Kutub, Bombay. Standard Edition: Rs. Library Edition: Rs.

One of the best novels of Mulk Raj Anand, not allowed entry into India, and suppressed even in 'free' England, is at last made available to us by Kutub.

With a sensibility that is at once delicate and forceful, Anand has painted here the picture of Assam Tea Plantations—in the background of luxuriant green nature, here are the sordid brutish and stupid planters, complete with their chota pegs of whisky, their clubs, their polo chukkers, and their India-hating mom-shibs, and the down-trodden, backward, suffering and toiling workers, imprisoned in their coolie lines, and the gangster Sardars and pinips who keep them down.

And yet, with all this, the essential strength and mobility of character of the exploited men and women of these plantations stands out in the whole book.

I do not know of any other novel written by an Indian—including Anand himself—where there is a no powerful indictment of British Imperialism in India.

Anand's indictment is terrific, because it is truthful, and it is telling, because it is made with passion and artistic skill by an Indian writer who loves his own people and loves his country.

No wonder that the Burra Sahibs do not like this book, but that is just the reason why all good Indian patriots must read it!

The reader might feel the absence here of the organized working-class movement which is now blasting its way, even through the enclosed Tea Plantations.

But the book was written about ten years ago, and deals with conditions in the thirties and twenties.

Furthermore, as far as the hold of the Planters over the tea garden labourers is concerned, it still remains in general all-powerful and quite as satanic as it is depicted here.

This novel, therefore, retains an immediate political and social urgency, quite apart from its abiding artistic qualities.

—S. S. Zaheer

Books Received

PERIOD OF TRANSITION (1818-1825). (Selections from the Deccan Commissioner's Files).

Edited by R. D. Choksey. Available from the Author at Irwin Road, Poona. Rs. 6

WORLD MONOPOLY AND PEACE. by James Allen. Published by International Publishers, New York. \$3.00

10 ESSAYS ON FRENCH REVOLUTION. Edited and with introduction by T. A. Jackson.

Published by the Bookman, Calcutta. Rs. 3-8

INDIA STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM. by Harendranath Mukherjee. Published by Kutub, Bombay. Rs. 4

Cloth bound Rs. 6-8

NATIONAL HARMONY. by Poojari-Spar. Oxford University Press. Rs. 0-6-0

A PLAN FOR REHABILITATION IN BENGAL. by Professor K. P. Chattopadhyaya and R. K. Mukherjee. Published by Statistical Publishing Society, Calcutta. Rs. 4

DHARAVI—AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SURVEY OF A VILLAGE IN THE SUBURBS OF BOMBAY. by Institute of Social Sciences. Re. 1

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE. by V. Y. Kolhatkar. Popular Book Depot. Bombay. Rs. 3

AGRIAN REFORMS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES. Published by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics. Rs. 3

INDUSTRIAL CO-OPERATION. by J. B. Taylor. Published by Industrial Co-operative Organising Committee, Bombay. Rs. 1