

FOR FREEDOM FOOD And LAND

"The aus harvest is one-fourth of the original estimate.

"The Government's purchasing policy has failed.

"The surplus is flowing secretly into Bihar.

"The price of rice is steadily rising."

This was the report on the food situation in the surplus district of Dinajpur, given by SUSHIL SEN at the recent Bengal Provincial Kisan Conference held at Moubhoge in Khulna district. Sjt. KRISHNA BENODE ROY presided.

IT was a momentous session, because it met at a time when Bengal faces a repetition of the 1943 famine. The eyes of Bengal are turned on the kisan—for it is he who grows the food and it is he also, paradoxically enough, who suffers most in a famine.

Four hundred and fifty delegates from all parts of the Province assembled at the Kisanagar—a marvel of peasant initiative, skill and efficiency, built by voluntary labour.

For three days and three nights—from the 21st to the 23rd of May—the delegates discussed the various resolutions placed before the Conference.

Snapshots Of Food Situation

They related the concrete conditions in their own districts as the living backing for their amendments to the draft resolution on the food situation. And as they talked, Bengal's food position stood out clearly in all its broad features.

Here was JITEN GHOSH from Dacca—one of the worst affected districts in the last famine:

"The Government through its official food committees is compelling us to eat rotten, decomposed rice. But the supplies even of this foul stuff are precarious. The stocks are diminishing and the prices are rising every day."

BHUPAL PANDA spoke for Midnapore:

"The Government has declared Midnapore a surplus area. But this time the harvest is not more than two-thirds of what it usually is. Famine has already shown its grim face in Ghatal. In Sadar

Sub-Division a great deal of the crop has been damaged, while throughout the district excessive rains have ruined the aus harvest. Ispahani and Co., the Government agents, are carrying away the rice—nobody knows where."

Mymensingh Deficit—80 Lakh Maunds

From Mymensingh, came SUNIRMAL SEN to report on the food situation:

"In normal years Mymensingh is counted as a surplus area, but this time it will face a deficit of about 80 lakh maunds. The aus crop has been seriously destroyed—leading to a critical situation. The Government instead of supplying us with rice, is carrying cart-loads out of Mymensingh."

It was on the basis of such reports as these that the final resolution on the food situation (cols. 4 and 5) was drafted and passed.

End Permanent Settlement

The resolution calling for the abolition of the Zamindari system (cols. 4 and 5) also provoked a great deal of interest and discussion.

Should the landlords receive compensation? Every kisan worker had to be equipped with an answer to this question, which was bound to be raised by the landlords to cause a certain amount of confusion among the middle-classes and the rich and middle peasants. Up sprang a delegate excitedly:

"Who will compensate whom, I ask. Who has suf-

fered all these years under the Zamindari system? If the landlords start talking about compensations, then they better look out—for it is WE who shall demand compensation for all the years of living death we have been through."

Another delegate proposed an ultimatum to the government, demanding the abolition of the Zamindari system.

"We are not ready to give more than six months' time to the Government. Within this period we must raise a volunteer corps of one lakh. Through our kisan struggles on every urgent issue, we must advance towards the final battle for the abolition of the Zamindari system."

For Freedom, Against British Plan

The political resolution characterised the Cabinet Mission's Plan as a conspiracy.

"To add new strength to the foundations of British Imperialism in India, by strengthening the vested interests and increasing internal dissensions."

The Conference gave a ringing call for "a united campaign against the Cabinet Mission's proposals" and for the "evacuation of British troops and immediate transfer of power."

Congressmen, Communists Together

This was the militant spirit of this historic Conference.

What was most heartening was that although the District Congress Secretary had

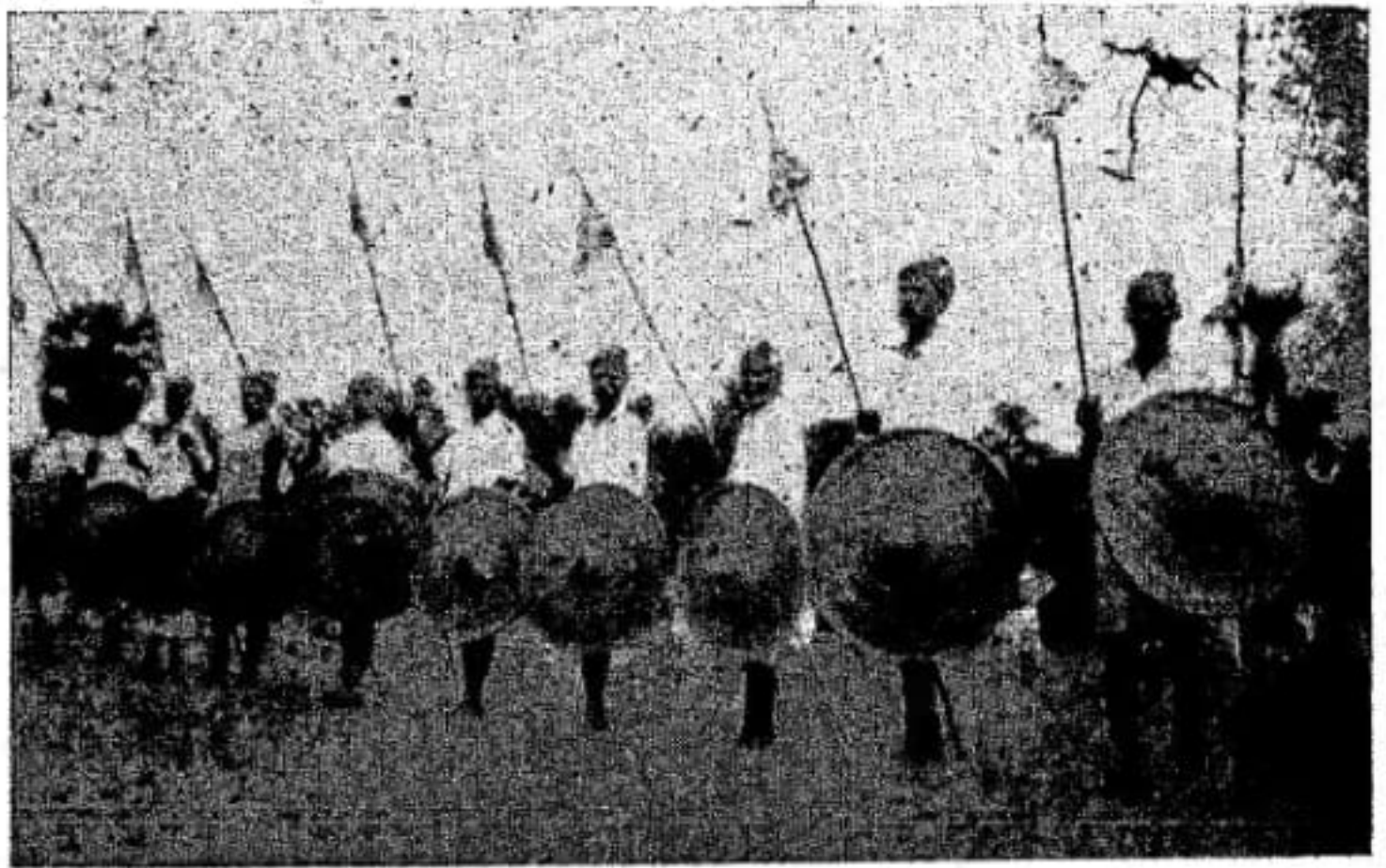
issued handbills calling for a boycott of the Conference (on the ground that it was organised by the Communists), a large section of the leading Congressmen opposed this move and jointly with the Communists called on all people to make the Conference a success.

Leading this section of Congressmen, were Sjt. NAGENDRA NATH SEN, ex-MLA, Dr. NAGENDRA NATH BHATTA-

CHARYA, Sjt. SARAT CHANDRA DAS and others.

Professor AMRITA LAL GHOSH, a well-known Congressman, was the Chairman of the Reception Committee.

These were encouraging signs for the future strength and unity of the Kisan Sabha, and high-lighted the Conference's appeal to all political parties and patriots to "strengthen the united Kisan movement of Bengal."



Kisan volunteers with spears and shields

Resolutions

- STOP THE FAMINE!
- ZAMINDARI MUST GO!

Food Crisis

EVEN before the country has recovered from the effects of the famine of 1943, the dreadful spectre of another famine is on Bengal. This time the famine is not confined to Bengal only, it is an India-wide, nay world-wide problem.

The problem of fighting famine in Bengal this time has become exceedingly complex due to the following reasons:

- (1) Complacent propaganda by officials during the Section 93 regime; failure of the Government in the matter of procurement; corruption among officials and wastage.
- (2) As a result of political disunity there has been dissension of an all-pervading nature among the people, which now stands in the way of all united movements.
- (3) The profiteers who have had a considerable grip over the machinery of supply and distribution, have taken full advantage of the prevailing political disunity and have been able to extend their influence to the political parties, too.

Our Duties Now

In the circumstances we have to come forward to solve the problem through the united efforts of the people.

The following measures have to be effected through constant agitation in and outside the legislature:

- (a) Ceaseless efforts to import food grains from outside and to stop the despatch of food grains out of the Province.
- (b) Commandeering all stocks of food grains from the traders by the Government and direct purchase of food grains by the Government with popular co-operation. Effective measures will have to be taken for the procurement of aus crops.
- (c) Effective measures have to be adopted for price control and hoarding.
- (d) Reconstitution of the existing food committees, which are hotbeds of corruption, on the basis of democratic election.
- Severe and summary measures have to be adopted against corrupt officials and profiteers.
- (e) For areas of scarcity and for destitute sections of the people:
 - (1) Supply of grain.
 - (2) Distribution of doles.
 - (3) Providing grain at cheap rates.
 - (4) Extension of work centres.
- (f) To save the peasantry during the crisis and to prevent a thorough breakdown of production, the following measures have to be passed by the legislature:
 - Remission of arrears of rent and debt;
 - Suspension of collection of rent for the present year in the famine-stricken areas;

Stoppage of eviction;

Stoppage of land transfer;

- Abolition of Section 48 (c) of the Bengal Tenancy Act;
- Return of land which had gone out of the hands of the peasants during the famine of 1943, and of land requisitioned by the Government during the war to the peasants;
- Ban on keeping cultivable land fallow and distribution of such land among the peasants;
- Initiation of small irrigational projects for growing more food and distribution of land benefited by the projects among the peasants.

Permanent Settlement

THIS Conference is emphatically of the opinion that immediate legislation should be passed to the following effect:

*(1) Abolition of the permanent settlement and Zamindari system without any monetary compensation.

*(2) Abolition of all rent on the cultivable land, either in cash or in kind, either official or private.

*(3) To keep cultivable land fallow without serious reasons will be punishable by law.

*(4) Minimum wage for the agricultural labourer. Any attempt to employ labourers with less pay will be punishable.

*(5) Non-official rent on water, forest, etc., should be abolished.

*(6) After the abolition of all these rents, a graduated system of agricultural income-tax should be introduced. People living near forests should have the unfettered right on them to pasturage and collection of fuel for their daily use.

To save Bengal from the clutches of chronic famine, apart from these revolutionary changes in land and rent system, we need further immediate action on the following lines:

*(1) To bring all cultivable fallow land under the plough, a well-planned irrigation scheme should be immediately taken in hand and the land thus brought under cultivation should be divided amongst landless labourers on the basis of economic holdings.

*(2) To settle lands on the basis of economic holding keeping the present cultivator on his land as far as possible.

*(3) Legislation to prevent land from going uneconomic to the cultivators due to fragmentation.

*(4) Arrangement for public pasturage and improvement of cattle.

*(5) Opening of Government banks to advance ploughs, cattle, seeds, manure and other improved implements of agriculture all over the Province.



A general view of the open Kisan rally held during the Conference. Fifteen thousand attended despite heavy rain.

SHEIKH ABDULLA'S "SEDITIONS" SPEECH BECOMES NATION'S CLARION CALL

Every Kashmiri Repeats The Same Words, Shouts Same Slogans

May 31
KAK had a new idea last week. He planned a "petition of loyalty" to be signed by all the pro-Government elements—to show the world that Kashmir is behind the Maharaja! (Yes, you are right, Kak does have some stupid ideas).

Well, today was the day when the petition was to be signed at a meeting in the office of the Governor of Kashmir. Kak and his satellites rubbed their hands in glee. It was a good crowd to "show the world."

The Governor started the proceedings. Everything went off according to Kak's plan. He was being very, very happy.

But suddenly just as the time for signing the petition came, somebody in the "loyal" audience shouted "Inqilab" and there was a surprising number who shouted back "Zindabad."

Suddenly the whole room became full of shouting people. And then equally suddenly the crowd marched out, still shouting.

The Governor of Kashmir was left, scratching his head in amazement.

And the whole of Srinagar laughed and will go on laughing. Petitions of loyalty! No, Kak, not in Srinagar today. Your ideas are pre-historic. And they and you have now only a place in the dust-bin.

June 1
MAHARAJA HARI SINGH imagines he is as tough as the toughest of the French despots. They had their Bastille. Hari Singh wants one of his own.

A New Bastille Being Got Ready

High up in the mountains in Jammu Province, the fortress of Gajpat is being got ready for Hari Singh's prisoners. The locks are being tested, the chains cleaned up. Hari Singh's grand-father used Gajpat as a hell-house where the most dangerous criminals were "broken-in."

Now Gajpat is to house Kashmir's fighters for freedom.

But Hari Singh has forgotten his history, when he boastfully speaks of Gajpat as his Bastille. For the Bastille fell.

AND GAJPAT SHALL FALL.

June 2
JUNE 2 Kashmir Day. On PANDIT NEHRU'S call, throughout Kashmir there were hartals, mass meetings,

processions, demonstrations.

The military rushed about all day. Srinagar was choked full of soldiers. It was as if a siege had been declared.

20 Processions in Srinagar Alone

Twenty processions were taken out in Srinagar alone. Again and again they were lathi-charged. Again and again they were reformed and continued to march.

Twenty-eight persons were arrested. Fifteen were seriously wounded.

A mammoth meeting was held at Khankah-i-Mualla where speaker after speaker denounced the Kak regime and reiterated the determination of the Kashmiris to be free.

June 3

SHER-E-KASHMIR is on trial today—for sedition!

What a hoax it all is! Sedition indeed! Why then the whole Kashmiri people should be tried, not Sher-e-Kashmir alone. For they are seditious.

All through today, the soldiers have prowled round Srinagar. The place of trial is heavily guarded. The people cannot enter to see their beloved leader.

But on the streets the defence of Sher-e-Kashmir is being conducted, as no other defence has been conducted in history before.

Defence On Every Street-Corner

Thousands are on the streets. Everywhere there are meetings—at every corner. And every speaker is repeating word for word the same speech for which Sheikh Abdulla is being tried—and the same slogans are being shouted.

Every Kashmiri now has this speech on his lips. It has become the clarion call of a whole nation—a manifesto of freedom, a charter of independence.

What better defence could there be than these speeches! For they tear the mask off the trial and reveal it for the criminal fraud it is.

At night numerous processions marched till the early hours of the morning, up and down the streets, hurling defiance at the Maharaja's soldiers.

No, it is not Sher-e-Kashmir who is on trial. It is Hari Singh and Kak and their British masters who are in the dock. THE CHARGE IS MASS MURDER IN THE FIRST DEGREE.

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KASHMIR'S DAL LAKE

NEW BATTLEGROUND FOR FREEDOM

Srinagar's Dal Lake—all over the world it is famous for its beauty, its crystal clearness—A ride in a shikara (Kashmiri rowing boat) in the Dal Lake—among the pink lotuses—that is the nearest thing to heaven, say the tourists, who come from the ends of the earth.

BUT now no longer will the Dal be famous only for its beauty. And when future generations ride in shikaras through the lotus bloom, they will not merely gasp at the exquisite grandeur of the scene.

For the Dal is now for ever an inseparable part of the Kashmiri people and their fight to be free. And shikaras on the Dal will no longer be remembered as the pleasure boats of the foreign tourists, but as the battle ships of "New Kashmir."

Shikara Procession

Last night, in the darkness, a procession of shikaras sailed out across the Dal. Silently the oars cut the water.

The Maharaja and his retinue slept calmly in their far-flung estate on the banks of the Lake. Suddenly a guard spotted the procession of boats. Before he could give the alarm, the whole estate was awake, for across the waters came loud and clear the slogans:

"AZAD KASHMIR ZINDABAD."

"KASHMIR KO CHORH DO (QUIT KASHMIR)."

Never before had the inmates of the Palace come so close to the people.

Songs And Bullets

The military alarm rang out. The men in the shikaras began to sing.

It was a song of Revolution—song of the National Conference—the National Anthem of Kashmir.

How dare you sing in front of the Maharaja's Palace—on the waters of HIS Dal Lake? The firing began.

There are patches of red in the Dal Lake. . . . You may not see them when you come next to Kashmir . . . but they are there and not all the Maharaja's "cleaning" of the Lake will rub them out. Kashmir's blood is in the waters of the Dal.

The Dal is now a battlefield of freedom—generations of Kashmiris shall come to this spot, halt their shikaras here and pay tribute to the men who dyed it red to free Kashmir. —May 30.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

A Play To Teach Art Of Murder

NEW Delhi's Generals are having a wonderful time planning—planning to "Aid the Civil Power" (that is the respectable military way of saying "planning to shoot the Indians down"). But plans written in cold print do not quite get all the lessons home. And the dyspeptic old Generals have such a dull style of writing!

And so—"By Jove! A Play!" And a bright Colonel sat down to it and wrote up Knowall and Chandit—a confidential play for senior officers—Colonels, Brigadiers, Generals.

It is prescribed "for training in duties in aid of the Civil Power." And it makes really thrilling reading.

We should know all about it; it is all about us. And we appear on the stage too, though it is rather a short appearance. For quite soon after we enter, bang! we get our share of British benevolence—and crumple up to die.

Funny For Them But Serious For Us

But still, we ought to know more about the play. Here is a list of some of the characters—the ones who DO things, not the ones like us who merely get shot in the belly.

First, there is Lieutenant Colonel Knowall, Officer Commanding the 1st Blankshire Regiment. . . . (He KNOWS ALL the ways to shoot).

Then there is Mr. Chanett, the Civilian collector. (He is a bit of a fool—and CHANCES IT—and has not learnt the rules!)

Mr. Juggem—is the D.S.P.—the usual blustering fellow whose main slogan is to "Jug them" ("Jail them").

Another interesting character is Captain Bloodshed (that is a type we know only too well—his hands are quite red).

The entire action takes place in Riotabad (that is another name for Calcutta in November, Bombay in February, Delhi on Victory Day).

One can imagine the rest. And one can see the Colonels and Generals kitting in a theatre laughing themselves sick to see this hilarious comedy.

Only you and I do not laugh. For this funny thing is part of the funny plan-to murder us.

100 Rupees To Put Jallianwalla On Stage

"Knowall and Chanett" is only meant for senior officers. But now even the subalterns has to be proficient in the new "post-war military campaigns." That is why this week the Southern Command has dashed off a circular to all regiments offering two prizes of Rs. 100 and Rs. 50 each to the writers of the best 45-minute plays on the same subject—"Aid to the Civil Power."

Come on, General Dyer, out of your grave! A play to teach every British subaltern to model himself on you. . . . to make India one big Jallianwalla Bagh. Wake up, General Dyer, wake up! The Empire calls.

Who Dares Falsely Use Name Of 'Hindustan'?

I HAVE just seen a photograph of three beautiful cars. They are new "HINDUSTAN 10". Our swadeshi cars—at last! Birlaji has done it. Good old Birlaji!

But—hold on a minute! In the background of the picture is a ship, a huge cargo ship, and it has just got in from U. K. What are the HINDUSTAN 10s "Made in India" doing in Calcutta's Kidderpore docks?

What indeed! Enquire a little more. They have just been taken off the big ship. . . . They have travelled all the way from Britain.

Yes, it is a fraud all right. It is the Birla-Nuffield deal in action. The

first bunch of "swadeshi" cars has come.

Nuffield makes them, Birla sells them. Pretending they are "swadeshi", they cash in on our patriotism. How dare Imperialist Nuffield label a car HE makes with the sacred name of HINDUSTAN!

Stop this swindle. Birla has sold our national pride and integrity for his profits.

Portrait Of A Labour Leader

MR. ABDALI JAFFERBHAY is a "nationalist" labour leader in Bombay—and a pretty big leader at that. He is the head of the Bus and Tram Workers' Union.

A friend has sent me some documents which make startling revelations about Mr. Abdali and the kind of labour leader he is.

The documents are extracts from letters written by Mr. S. MANOHAR LAL, Manager of the Mukund Iron and Steel Works Ltd., Bombay, to his General Manager, Mr. R. P. NEVATIA, on the progress of the strike which has just ended in their works. (Mr. Jafferbhoy is the Secretary of the Board of Directors of this company).

Abidali Jafferbhoy At Work

Here is what Mr. Manohar Lal writes on May 8:

"Mr. Abdali at my request and insistence went today and addressed the workers. He told them that they should accept arbitration and workers should meet Seth KAMALNAYANJI (Seth Kamalnayan Bajaj, Managing Director of the Mills—R. C.).

"He perhaps could not say much nor with much emphasis on account of his connection with the Mukunds. "Anyhow the Strike Committee as was formed by them is going to meet Seth Kamalnayanji again and Mr. Abdali took it on himself to arrange the meeting.

"Hope there will be a meeting to-day evening or tomorrow. I suggested

to Mr. Abidali that he may meet the Committee first and discuss with them."

On May 9, Mr. Manohar Lal writes again:

"Some members of the Strike Committee met Mr. Abidali this morning for advice. He tells me that he has advised them to resume work. . . ."

Yes, this is Mr. Abidali Jafferbhoy . . . at work! Guardian of labour!

270 Martyrs Demand Justice

THE Government of Bombay have intimated to the Bombay Municipal Corporation

their view that there is no reason to hold an Enquiry into the firing by the troops in Bombay City on February 22, during the disturbances following the mutiny in the Royal Indian Navy" (TIMES OF INDIA, June 5.)

How cold this press statement was. No paper flashed it in banner-headlines across its front-page. And yet this is where it should have been.

The Bombay Municipal Corporation, in which there is a majority of Congressmen, demanded an enquiry. The common people of Bombay, the majority of whom are behind the Congress, demanded an enquiry.

But the Congress Ministry voted into power by the same common people, sees NO REASON for an enquiry.

I can give you TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY reasons, Premier Kher—two "hundred and seventy proud Indian men, women, children, who died to free India, to see that India's navy is her's.

Are those reasons not enough?

The white sahibs who shot down your 270 fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, sons and daughters. . . . said there was NO REASON to have an enquiry. NO REASON. . . . because for them. . . . it is the divine right of kings to shoot their slaves.

But Premier Kher, you are of our own blood. Why should you stand between justice and the murderers?

—Romesh Chandra

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ALL EYES ON INTERIM GOVT.

LEAGUE BEGINS CHOICE OF NOMINEES

By-wire from A. S. R. Chari New Delhi, 10th June, 1946

I understand that in the League Working Committee meeting this morning (10th June), Mr. Jinnah reassured the members that he had as good as an assurance from Wavell that the Interim Government would be based on parity.

IT was also I understand decided by the Working Committee that the names of delegates to the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the League would be settled by Mr. Jinnah personally—of course after due consultations with the leaders of the Provincial Leagues.

Move Against Opposition

This action of Mr. Jinnah, I learn from some League leaders, has a two-fold significance:

FIRST, Mr. Jinnah would weed out all those who are "financially unreliable," that is, those who are likely to be "bought over" by the wealthy Hindu Congress (!).

SECONDLY, this would keep out all radical Leaguers, who are not likely to say ditto to Mr. Jinnah's dictates.

While no member of the Working Committee seems to have raised any objection to this undemocratic procedure, quite a few Leaguers whom I met expressed their profound disgust.

While the Nationalist Press is unanimous in expressing its doubt as to whether Wavell had given any assurance to Mr. Jinnah on the question of parity, none of the Leaguers whom I met expressed any doubt on the point.

"Wavell Will Make Congress Agree"

In fact, League leaders take it for granted that Wavell will insist on the Congress agreeing to parity, and will try to bring the Congress in by offering it the bait of having a virtual majority of seven as against the League's five.

They believe that in case the Congress refuses to come in, an Interim Government will be formed without the Congress.

Leaguers argue that it will be quite impossible for the Congress to reject the proposals at this stage without losing the sympathy of the world opinion because;

FIRST, the Congress leaders have all along given the Cabi-

net Mission certificates of sincerity;

SECONDLY, the Congress had virtually agreed to parity last year at Simla;

THIRDLY, the Congress leaders have repeatedly declared that they would not object to the whole power being transferred to the League and would therefore be hard put to explain their opposition to giving the League an equal share of power.

No Doubt About Its Formation

In fact, among the League leaders here the main topic of discussion is not whether an Interim Government will be formed, but which Leaguers will have the chance of becoming Ministers at the Centre.

The League leaders from Sind, the Punjab, Baluchistan, etc., are very busy weighing their chances of getting in.

I reliably understand that Mr. Jinnah will not enter the Interim Government but that the Nawab of Mamdot, Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali and Nawab Ismail are the likely nominees of the League for the Centre.

Another version says that Khuro from Sind is also trying to get into the centre.

CONGRESS DEAD-SET AGAINST PARITY

The Congress Working Committee met for over two hours this afternoon (June 9), and I understand it reviewed the situation on the Cabinet Mission's front.

WHILE no decision of any kind has yet been taken, it is understood that the trend of the discussion favoured the rejection in toto of the Cabinet Mission's proposals if the Congress found Wavell adamant on the question of parity.

It is likely that Maulana Azad and Nehru will meet Wavell.

Gandhiji's Speech At Prayer Meeting

That the trend of discussion favoured rejection was confirmed indirectly by Gandhiji's speech at the prayer meeting this evening. Addressing the audience Gandhiji declared: "Don't give up hope till the last breath is left."

He added that freedom cannot be given by anyone and that it must be taken on the basis of our own strength.

Gandhiji explained his oft-repeated statement that "the Cabinet Mission was sincere," by saying that all that he meant was that the previous actions of the British should not make us say that the British are incapable of being sincere.

He said that his position was like that of a cook who was not in a position to serve food because the dishes were not yet ready.

He warned that discussions with the Cabinet Mission might result in nothing. If that happens, said Gandhiji, we must understand it as one more proof of OUR unfitness and not of THEIR insincerity.

Gandhiji added that if nothing happens and if everything is spoiled then we should not become dejected. We must then think what should be done and act as our good sense dictates.

I reliably understand that there is not much difference of opinion on the question of parity in the Working Committee between the two groups of Sardar Patel and Pandit Nehru.

Sardar Patel in off the record talks is reported to have said that even though Nehru and Azad had not been opposed to parity at one time, they are today of one mind with him.

Sardar Patel's Objections

Sardar Patel tabled the Congress objections to parity and said that—

● FIRST, parity is not based on any principle but is only an attempt to appease Mr. Jinnah.

● SECONDLY, the Interim Government now to be formed would profoundly affect the future and, therefore, the principle of parity if accepted, would cost the Congress any amount of trouble in the future in the Constituent Assembly.

● THIRDLY, the League has accepted the proposals with the clear-cut declaration that it will fight for the division of India and as such there is no reason why the Congress should concede parity to the League.

If, however, Mr. Jinnah approached the Congress in a friendly way, the Congress would not bother about the number of seats he got but "if he comes with a dagger equipped to fight, the Congress will not and cannot concede parity." There are still a number of Nationalist Pressmen who believe that when Wavell sees that the Congress will not accept parity, he would inevitably have to change and refuse parity to the League.

However, there is a noticeable air of defection in the Congress camp today.

League Council's Secret Session

WHAT Mr. JINNAH SAID

(We print below a summary of the points made by Mr. Jinnah in his speech at the secret session of the All-India League Council at Delhi on June 6.)

The session decided by a majority of over 200 to 13 to accept the proposals of the Cabinet Mission and to participate in the proposed Interim Government.

Many who had spoken for rejection and a whole group from Bengal, under the leadership of Mr. Abul Hashem, kept neutral.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani, the veteran Khilafat leader, moved an amendment urging that the resolution should demand that the proposed Constituent Assembly should be a sovereign body and that the British forces should be withdrawn from India. Mr. Jinnah ruled this amendment out of order.

Of those who argued against the policy of the League High Command besides Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Mr. Abul Hashem and Mr. Abdul Qayyum Cawnpuri were prominent.

Mr. Suhrawardy, Chaudhri Khaliquz-Zaman, Mr. Hossain Imam led those who spoke for the resolution. —EDITOR.)

Mr. Jinnah stated that,

FIRST, Pakistan remains the goal of the League but the League, unlike the Congress, has never promised that it will get it within a year or through a short and swift struggle.

SECONDLY, that because of past sufferings at the hands of the British, the Muslims regard Britain as Enemy No. 1—"But there was no difference between Enemy No. 1 and Enemy No. 2—the Hindu Congress."

"Under Hindu Imperialism, we will not have even this much civil liberty."

Mr. Jinnah concluded by saying that it may be that Enemy No. 1 may become a friend and No. 2 remain the only enemy.

THIRDLY, he urged the acceptance of the proposals on the ground that the League's fight is constitutional. The Cabinet Mission had given the League a compulsory grouping of six Provinces because these are the six Muslim Provinces.

FOURTHLY, Mr. Jinnah said that as the Constituent Assembly was not a sovereign body, its

KASHMIR MAHARAJA'S MARIONETTES ARRIVE IN DELHI

Whitewashing Official Terror

From Our Delhi Correspondent

On June 7th, a deputation from Kashmir chaperoned by the State Home Minister, WAZIR GANGARAM, arrived in Delhi and put up at a rather obscure hotel, the Minerva, situated amidst some smelly lanes in Old Delhi.

THE obvious purpose of the deputation is to whitewash the official terror, and to slander SHEIKH ABDULLAH and the National Conference.

Who is who in this official-sponsored delegation?

WAZIR GANGARAM

He is the Home Minister in the Kak Cabinet.

He is a zamindar having lands in Jammu as well as in Kashmir, owns tea-gardens and is one of the biggest zamindars of Kashmir.

He seems to have been rewarded with his present job because of the dirty intrigues that he carried on to bring the present Maharaja to the throne. It is an interesting though dirty story of palace intrigue.

Gangaram was the Private Secretary to the late Maharaj Pratap Singh. And in this position, he carried on intrigues to win the right of succession for the collateral line of Amar Singh—brother of Pratap Singh—whose son is Hari Singh, the

functions would only be recommendatory and the last word would lie with the British.

FIFTHLY, that though the Muslims would be a minority in the Constituent Assembly, they were given certain instruments by which they could create a deadlock at any stage if the Assembly did not act as the Muslims wished.

SIXTHLY, Mr. Jinnah declared that though Defence would be a Union subject, it would, as in Egypt, remain for several years in British hands.

notorious "Mr. A", and the present Maharaja of Kashmir.

This Home Member can hardly read or write and his only qualification, I understand, is his loyalty to the dynasty and his anxiety to protect the Jammu interests.

SHIV NARAIN FOTEDAR

He is a Kashmiri Pandit and is an unworthy toady son of a patriotic father. His father was one of the first nationalists in Kashmir State and was even imprisoned many years ago for sedition.

Shiv Narain owns land, is well to do, is a nominated member of the State Planning Committee.

For many years, he stuck like a leech to the presidency of the Kashmiri Pandits' organisation, the Yuvak Sabha. It was only last year, when Nehru visited Kashmir that he got hell from him for continuing eternally as the President.

He reluctantly accepted the General Secretary's post but the character of this organisation can be gauged from the fact that the Vice-President of the Sabha is Kak's brother, Amarnath Kak.

It is thus a non-official puppet organisation of Kak and as such of Kashmir despotism.

S. N. CHAKU

This man is a second-rate lawyer of Srinagar and has been made President of the Kashmiri Pandit Yuvak Sabha mentioned above.

S. N. DHAR

He is also a Kashmiri Pandit, a family friend of Kak's and a

well-to-do lawyer who has vested interests in the continuance of the Kashmir despotism, because many of his relations are in Government service and two or three of his brothers are Gazetted Officers.

SANSAR SINGH

He is a jagirdar who served in the Kashmir army, is a member of the Raja's biradari and is the President of the Rajput Conference, a Jammu organisation inspired and backed by the Dogra ruling dynasty.

He is a nominated member of the State Assembly, where he has never opened his mouth but always voted with the Government.

He was involved in the abduction of a Rajput girl though the case ultimately failed. Most of his relations are in the State Army.

S. NANDA

He is a nominated member of the Assembly and a man who came to Kashmir as a mere clerk, became a Government contractor and amassed property worth several lakhs, because of favours from the State.

J. D. TENG

An obscure lawyer, a friend of the Kak family, who was nominated to the Assembly for his political ignorance and loyalist views.

SRINIVAS SHAH

He is a mahajan from Jammu, a notorious money-lender and President of the Sanatan Sabha of Jammu.

VAISHNAV GUPTA

A petty vaid who is the President of the Hindu Rajua Sabha of Jammu, the counterpart of the Hindu Mahasabha. There have been more than one

cases against him for misappropriation of the funds of the Sabha, but they were all later withdrawn.

There are two others, both Sikhs, one of whom is a Government contractor.

These are the men who have come to Delhi to meet the Congress leaders and prevent them from backing the Kashmiri people. The immediate objects of the delegation are:

1) To secure a statement from Pandit Nehru which, in one way or the other, implies a recantation of his previous allegations against the Kashmiri raj.

2) To prevent Pandit from attempting to go to Kashmir to see things for himself.

We make a gift of these short biographies of the delegation's members to all patriots in the hope that these will help to secure for these shady characters from Kashmir the answer they deserve from our national leaders—namely, the first train back to the Maharaja's arms.

★ DEBACLE AT DELHI

★ Cabinet Mission's Last Manoeuvre

★ Reliance On Imperialism Ends In Fiasco

These are the very last days of crucial negotiations for the formation of the Provisional Government. We are going to press before the outcome is known. One thing is quite clear: whether an Interim Government is formed at the Centre or not, the initiative and upperhand are bound to remain with the British Government.

THE Cabinet Mission's plan for the Interim Government is of a piece with its Constitution-making machinery and is similarly conceived.

Here too the hypocritical claim of adjusting the conflicting views of the Congress and the League about the Interim Government is made the excuse for denying it power, for keeping it under the thumb of the Viceroy.

The Congress is told that through unwritten conventions the Interim Government would function as a virtual Dominion Government. The Viceroy would, of course, have the veto and the Government would function under the 1935 Constitution but in practice the veto would not be unreasonably exercised.

The League is told it would, of course, be a Government of balance. The Congress would not be allowed to dominate and the balance would be in the hands of the Viceroy.

The Cabinet Mission's own solution of four nominees from the Congress, four from the League and four drawn from other minorities, appears to be a *via media* to bridge the conflicting claims of the Congress and the League. It is really calculated to give the Viceroy the whip-hand in all contingencies except in the most unlikely one of the two joining hands to function the Interim Government as a free Provisional Government despite bureaucratic hindrance.

In short, in both the negotiations for the formation of the Constitution-making machinery as well as in those for the formation of the Interim Government, it is the British Cabinet Mission which has retained the whip-hand.

In both the cases it is the Imperialist plan of denying India independence and immediate freedom, of perpetuating Princely rule, of accentuating Hindu-Muslim and Congress-League conflict, of consolidating British Imperialist domination over India in a new form which has succeeded.

Mass Upsurge

This happens at a time when a mighty wave of anti-Imperialist discontent is gathering momentum among all sections of the people including the armed forces and in every corner of the land:

They are willing and ready to be organised and led into organised battles for freedom and well-being, to fight the impending famine by constructive activity as well as by fighting the hoarder and profiteer.

The unprecedented rally of the people behind their patriotic organisations, the Congress and the League, is symptomatic of this upsurge.

At such a time the key task is to create conditions for the building up and unification of all these forces of struggle into one joint front for the final fight for the complete independence of the country.

But it is quite clear that such conditions could have been created only if the leaderships of the two main parties, the Congress and the League had defined their attitude and stand towards the plan in terms of a common platform which honest patriots and true democrats cannot but stand by against

their common Imperialist enslavers.

Democratic Principles

Such a platform was defined by P. C. Joshi in his article last week.

We would call upon every freedom-loving Congressman and Muslim Leaguer to judge their respective leaderships from common standards and demands of Indian patriotism and democracy laid down in that platform.

We want Congressmen and Leaguers to judge the stand of their respective leaderships towards the Interim Government as well as towards the Constitution-making machinery from these common demands of elementary anti-Imperialism, patriotism and democracy:

● Have they stood unequivocally for the functioning of the Interim Government as the

free Provisional Government?

● Have they demanded the immediate withdrawal of British troops?

● Have they firmly set their face against the participation of the Princes in the Union Centre and insisted on the representation of the States' peoples?

● Are they fully supporting the rising people's struggles in the States and the mighty wave of strike struggles of the workers as well?

● Are they prepared to insist that the Constitution-making machinery must be completely sovereign vis-a-vis the British?

● Do they ensure that the same is just and democratic among ourselves by being based on adult suffrage and the unqualified acceptance and implementation of the self-determination of every redemarcated culturally and linguistically homogeneous national unit?

The tragedy of the situation is that the leaderships of the Muslim League and of the Congress have not remained true to these common behests of anti-Imperialism and democracy.

League Stand

Take the stand of the Muslim League leadership as laid down in the resolution of the All-India League Council and as explained by the Qaid-e-Azam in his speech before the secret session of the Council which we report elsewhere (page 4.)

The League resolution expresses the willingness to cooperate with the Constitution-making machinery on the basis of one totally undemocratic feature of the plan, viz., "the compulsory grouping of six Muslim Provinces in Sections B and C", in which it sees inherent the foundation of Pakistan.

The resolution has not a word to say about the withdrawal of the British troops, about the denial of the rights of the States' peoples, about the Constitution-making Body being not sovereign, etc.

Mr. Jinnah's Speech

The full implications of the blindly reactionary and compromising nature of the League stand become clear

from the reported substance of Mr. Jinnah's speech:

"To Mr. Jinnah Britain which was enemy No. 1 has now become a friend and the Congress which was enemy No. 2 remains the only enemy! Why? Because the British have awarded 'the compulsory groupings of Muslim Provinces' which can be the basis for fighting further for winning Pakistan."

"Fighting whom? Not the British but now exclusively the Congress. Mr. Jinnah is happy that the Constitution-making Body is NOT sovereign. He hopes to create deadlocks and get what he wants by using the British arbitration against the Congress."

"If Defence and the Army are to remain in the hands of the Union Centre he would see that they remain in British hands and not in those of the Congress."

"On the issue of the Interim Government the stand of the League is for parity with the Congress which in the context of the rest of the League's stand as outlined above is a demand on the British for the retention of Wavell's veto as against the Congress."

It is quite clear that the League leadership in its blind power-politics is pursuing the suicidal policy of "ganging up" with the British Imperialists as against the great brother freedom movement of the Congress.

Whatever the outcome of the present negotiations, this stand can never lead to the common liberation of Hindus and Muslims from Imperialism but only to the sharpening of their conflict and their common enslavement.

Congress And The Plan

The Congress has taken its stand vis-a-vis the Cabinet Mission's Plan in terms of its progressive demands of complete independence, of eventual withdrawal of British troops, of

a single Indian Union based on Provincial autonomy, of sovereign Constituent Assembly, and democratisation of the States and the participation of the representatives of the States' peoples in the Constituent Assembly and of a free Provisional Government for the entire period.

The Congress leadership has taken a firm stand against the undemocratic features of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, especially against the arbitrary groupings of the Provinces, the denial of representation to the people of the States, the non-sovereign character of the Constitution-making Body and the insistence on parity and retention of veto in the Interim Government.

But how does it seek to achieve its demands?

Not by sticking steadfastly to its anti-Imperialist demands and by advancing to the more democratic position of accepting unconditional self-determination for culturally and linguistically homogeneous national units; but by toning down its anti-Imperialist demands, seeking Imperialist aid to beat down Mr. Jinnah's recalcitrance.

Foil Imperialist Game

The Cabinet Mission has deliberately put forward the arbitrary grouping of Muslim Provinces to accentuate and perpetuate Congress-League conflict in their own interest.

The Congress can foil the Imperialist game not by toning down its demands for the withdrawal of the British army or for the sovereignty of the peoples of the States, but only by taking its stand on complete self-determination to linguistic and cultural units.

Herein is a basis on which the question of the Pakistan demand can be democratically put to the people by the Congress and the League agreeing to do so and thus forge a common front against the British.

Similarly, the Cabinet Mission is pushing forward and bolstering up the League's demand for parity in the Interim Government to cover up its own refusal to suspend veto and part with real power.

The Congress leadership cannot obviously foil this Imperialist game by asking the Cabinet Mission to persuade Mr. Jinnah to give up the demand. For the League leadership itself hopes to get its parity in the Interim Government with the aid of the British, just as it got the undemocratic compulsory groupings.

The Congress leadership can foil this Imperialist game by itself taking the stand that the question of Pakistan will be solved democratically by the vote of the people as indicated by us, and by offering to the League parity in the Interim Government, provided the League agrees to that democratic procedure.

Whatever the outcome of the present final stage of the negotiations, the debacle created by the suicidal and compromising policies of the Congress and the League leaders, playing directly into British hands instead of joining hands to oust them on the basis of a just and democratic solution which we advocate, is bound to remain.

The fight to liquidate it, to build up patiently the forces of unity and struggle for the final united fight for independence lies ahead.

VICTORY FOR RAILWAYMEN

INDIA'S nine lakh railway workers have announced their grim determination to go on strike from the morning of 28th June as per decision of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation. The strike will affect all railway lines from Peshawar to Kumbhakonam and from Karachi to Chittagong—a total mileage of 49,000 miles.

For Decent, Human Conditions

The railway workers are not demanding the moon from the Government. They are asking for decent, human conditions of existence.

Their first demand is against retrenchment. With the close of the war, more than three lakhs of railway workers stand under the threat of unemployment. The Railway Board is preparing to throw these three lakhs on the streets together with their families.

Against this, the entire body of railway workers is demanding that their fellow workers should not be thrown on the streets to die of hunger. The Board does not give any assurance that they will not be dismissed, nor does it agree to refer the demand to adjudication.

The second demand of the railway workers is one for which they have agitated and fought for a quarter of century, one for which tens of thousands struck work in the past. It is the demand for a revision of the scales of pay.

Clerks who rot on Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 for the entire lifetime, gangmen who will never see a wage above Rs. 18, and tens of thousands who can never expect to get beyond Rs. 15—this is the scale of pay in existence on the railways which year in and year out pay Rs. 28 crores by way of interest charges alone!

Is any decent existence possible with a wage of Rs. 30 and Rs. 15, or Rs. 8 per month? Can a man and his family maintain themselves and save themselves from degradation and degeneration on these wages?

To do away with these degrading conditions, the workers demand a drastic revision of scales of pay—and who dare say that this demand is unjustified? They demand that no railway worker should be paid less than Rs. 35 and that all other grades should be revised in the light of this basic wage.

Burden Of High Prices Thrown On Workers

The third demand is for adequate dearness allowance. According to the recommendations of the Rao Committee appointed by the Government in 1946, the railway workers ought to be getting between Rs. 40 to Rs. 45 as dearness allowance, whereas today they are hardly getting Rs. 16 to Rs. 18 in the big cities, and half this sum in the rural areas.

Callously and shamelessly, the Government has thrown the burden of high prices on the workers refusing to compensate them adequately for the rise in the cost of living.

The last demand relates to bonus. It is only the railway employers who have made enormous profits and yet refuse to give bonus to the workers. Every other employer was compelled to give some bonus at least to his employees.

The railway workers carried on protracted negotiations to settle these demands. They tried direct negotiations; they asked for important adjustments. But the Railway Board arrogantly threw down every demand and point blank refused even to refer the demands to adjudication.

In this grim hour, when nine lakh railway workers are preparing to go on strike, when hunger and repression, loss of jobs and food face them—the voice of every honest Indian must be raised in support of them. To raise it is to raise it against economic degradation and starvation of millions of Indians against their exploitation by Imperialists.

The railway workers' struggle today is the acid test of the sincerity of every party to stand by the masses. The workers can be saved and even the strike, with all its inconveniences to the people can be averted, if the people and the Popular Ministries seriously warn the Central Government against suppression of the workers' struggle.

Popular Ministries Must Not Allow Repression

Let the Popular Ministries—Congress and League—make it clear that they will not help the Central Government by lending their police force to repress the workers, and the battle of the railway workers will be won without a shot. The Popular Ministries must make it clear that they have not taken power to do the dirty job of repressing the people.

Let there be no doubt. The Government counts on division among the people. To mislead the people, it has started talking about famine and food conditions, and advising the railway workers to postpone the strike.

The workers on their part had given a two-months' notice to the Board and offered to carry as much food-stuff as is necessary for the needs of the people. They will do it even now and will solidly stand by the people.

But if the Government has declined to take advantage of the offer, should the people blame the workers and fall into the official trap, or should they direct their anger against the Government and join with the workers?

The people owe very much to the railway workers who ran their transport in the years of war and famine. They must see through this game of incitement, line up behind the workers and warn the Government against any attempt to repress the railway workers.

The strike might be on us on June 28th, thanks to the railway bureaucrats.

If it comes, despite all the inconveniences it causes to the public, it must be welcomed and supported as a big battle against poverty and exploitation —as the beginning of a series of battles that are going to take place in India.

The place of every worker, every trade unionist, every Left element, every honest man is with the strikers. The entire Trade Union movement must rally its strength of lakhs to support the railway workers to collect strike funds and warn the Government against repression.

Let every factory, every mill echo with the one cry—VICTORY FOR THE RAILWAY WORKERS.

Let every city organise its fraternal demonstration in support of the railway workers.

Stand Firm And United!

To the railway workers we say: Stand firm and united—Hindus, Muslims, Touchables and Untouchables, all. Attempts are being made to divide you; they will be made by big political leaders; but remember your families; remember your pay; remember that you all belong to the great family of under-nourished and poverty-stricken, and keep your ranks solid. Strike on the 28th with all your might; the entire working-class supports you.

Your leaders might be arrested. You are your own leaders. Take the leadership in your hands; form your strike committees all over the line; have firm faith in each other and above all in your flag, and you will be invincible.

Mounting Support For Railwaymen

Mr. Hatim Alavi, ex-Mayor of Karachi and member of the All-India Muslim League Planning Committee and of the Organising Committee of five set up for Sind by the League Council of Action, interviewed by our Special Correspondent, A. S. R. Chari, on the impending railway strike and the demands of our railwaymen said:

THE fact that by a national ballot an overwhelming majority of railwaymen decided in favour of a strike was noteworthy inasmuch as for the first time in the organisation and the history of labour in India a ballot like that has been organised on an all-India basis.

Despite the verdict of the men, labour leaders showed commendable good sense in deferring action with a view to explore all avenues of amicable settlement having special regard to food crisis and the momentous political changes that are taking place in the country.

It is unfortunate that their patience has not proved fruitful, and the country has the prospect of facing before the end of the month a General strike of railwaymen.

While everyone wishes to avert the impending clash, the people and the country at large have not yet woken up to their sense of responsibility and most

men in responsible positions do not appear to realise that it is their duty to do their best by as large a number as over a million workers who will be involved in the railway strike if a clash takes place.

MIAN MUMTAZ DAULTANA (General Secretary, Punjab Provincial Muslim League), MIAN IFTIKHAR- UDDIN (the prominent Punjab League leader) and MD. YUSUF KHATAK (member of the All-India Muslim League Council and of the Provincial League Organising Committee for the N.W.F.P.) in a joint statement for *People's Age*, say:

WE have no hesitation in supporting the demands of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, particularly in view of the concilia-

tory attitude taken by the railwaymen who are prepared not to go on strike if all their demands are referred to adjudication.

The arguments of the Railway Board for refusing to do so are not convincing.

We believe that the public should support the railwaymen and if a strike does take place the responsibility for dislocation and consequent human suffering will be on the Railway Board if it maintains its present unyielding stand on the question of arbitration.

T U C PRESIDENT

"If the Board is so convinced of the utter unreasonableness of the demands of the railwaymen, I wonder why the matter should not be referred to adjudication by a Committee appointed by the Government itself.

"The irresistible inference is that despite the 'facts' and 'figures' cleverly marshalled against the railway workers' case, the Board has a lurking suspicion in its mind that a Committee of Adjudication, however carefully selected, might decide in favour of the men. Even the case as presented by the Railway Board is weak."

"If the threatened strike materialised...the public and the workers would hold the Railway Board responsible for any disaster that might happen."

(Mrinal Kanti Bose, President, AITUC)

AICC FOREIGN NEWS- LETTER

"It would be a tragedy if the threatened Railway strike is allowed to take place in the present context of an impending food famine....

"There is no doubt that their (workers') grievances are legitimate.... The Government have made enormous profits during the war years, and so its argument that it cannot afford to meet the railwaymen's demands will convince no one. To maintain extravagant scales of pay and luxurious living conditions for higher Government servants, and deny even the minimum living standards to the great majority of workers, betrays capitalist mentality at worst."

(A.I.C.C. Foreign Newsletter—May 18, 1946.)

LEAGUE PRESS

IQBAL, Bombay

"We recognise the grave food crisis, but we must also see the condition of the workers in railways. Fifty per cent of the workers get only a basic wage of less than Rs. 20 a month. We hope that the Government will do something to satisfy the workers and avoid the railway strike which will worsen the condition of our country." (6-5-46.)

ZAMINDAR, Lahore

"All the National organisations are with the workers. The Railway Board has started the war of nerves. The magic of figures and statistics is also effective. For this reason the Government has also used it. But the tragedy is that it is not convincing."

"The increase in fares is also a move to alienate the public sympathy which the workers have at present. But the people know these tactics."

"We are not for strike, but no one can deny that public sympathy will be with the workers. Neither the propaganda of the Government nor the work of the Government-sided Unions will have much effect in the matter." (15-5-46.)

KHILAFAT, Bombay

"We are unable to understand why the Railway Board is not prepared to put the case before an adjudicator. It seems that the Government is conscious of the fact that it is giving very little and if the matter is put before an adjudicator, the decision will be against the Government."

"The Government is trying to alienate public sympathy from the workers, but it is impossible."

"We appeal to the Government to concede the demands of the workers if they cannot do this, they must take the help of the Congress and League leaders." (2-6-1946.)

RAILWAY MUSLIM EMPLOYEES' LEAGUE

NOT THE VOICE OF WORKERS, BUT OFFICIAL - SPONSORED RACKET

To S. A. Huggins, Esq., Dy. General Manager (Food) B. N. Railway, Calcutta. No. AIRMEL/BN/KGP/GEN. 18/46.

Dear Sir, ".....A Sub-Committee has been formed to propagate anti-strike feelings on this railway. This Sub-Committee will tour all over the districts with this end in view.

"Will you please let me know what projection the Administration will afford us if at all a time comes when a clash with the 'strikers' becomes inevitable? We are ready to cooperate provided the Administration in turn is ready to help us."

TAKE a good look at this letter. Who wrote it? A traitor! Right.

It is the General Secretary of the All-India Railway Muslim Employees' League (AIRMEL), B. N. Railway, Provincial Branch, Kharagpur.

What is this AIRMEL? Whom does it represent?

Not the workers—that's clear. The ballot on every railway has been overwhelmingly for strike and the Muslim workers have been everywhere among the leaders in the strike preparations.

Then who is behind this AIRMEL which plans to disrupt the strike with Benthall's help? Here are two important men behind the AIRMEL.

CHIRAG KHAN, General Secretary of the AIRMEL—earns Rs. 400 a month as a

Boiler Inspector. On his propaganda tours, he is feted and feasted by the officials, spurned by the workers.

Then there is Mr. KADER who draws over Rs. 1,000 as a Divisional Transport Superintendent on the G.I.P. He is another boss of AIRMEL.

They pretend they talk in the name of the Muslim workers. They fool nobody, except Benthall and his boys whose wishful thinking makes them clutch at every straw.

The Muslim workers are not the fat-salaried, toadying Chirag Khans and Kaders.

They are the rank-and-file workers. They are men like MIRZA IBRAHIM, a fitter in the N.W.R. Workshops and leader of the N.W.R. Strike Committee, who spits on Benthall's offer to make him a foreman and on his threats of dismissal and arrest.

These are the heroic Muslim workers who stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow workers, determined to fight to victory.

The AIRMEL pretends it speaks for the Muslim League. Take a look at the statements we publish on this page of prominent League leaders from the Punjab, Sind and the N. W. F. P. supporting the railway strike. They are the voice of the League masses—the common people who are with their railway brothers.

"Rally Behind Our S. African Brothers' Just Struggle"

- P. C. Joshi's Appeal

P. C. JOSHI, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

THE Communist Party has received today the following cable from Dr. Naicker, Chairman, Passive Resistance Council of the Natal Indian Congress:

"The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill is now law.

"This act puts an end to Indian economic, cultural and social progress in South Africa.

"Over a long period of years by incessant toil, hardships and sacrifice, indentured Indians, with an annual income of six pounds, and a small number of traders, faced with all the administrative impediments that vindictive human imagination could devise attained a standard of living, comparable favourably with any community in the world situated similarly.

"Now by slow and increasingly painful process these standards are undermined and destroyed. The Indian people are to be treated by law as subhumans and helots.

"Such an attack is totally at variance with the principles of democracy and justice. It is an affront to non-White peoples throughout the world particularly of Africa and Asia.

"It is an insult to national honour and dignity of India and to the Indians throughout the world.

"South African Indians are determined to resist this further encroachment upon their rights and the deadly attack upon their honour.

"The South African Indian Passive Resistance Council, born out of the South African Indian Congress decision to oppose this aptly designated Ghetto Act, has declared Thursday, June 13, 'Resistance' Day on which Indians will close their business, absent themselves from schools, colleges, hold meetings.

"It will mark the beginning of the passive resistance campaign in which India's honour, justice and freedom will be vindicated. We appeal to our brothers and sisters throughout the world, especially those in our Motherland to give us every assistance in their power.

"Observe with us hartal on Thursday, June 13. Hold meetings, give us your moral support.

"Raise funds, give us direct help.

"We look to you in this grave crisis that threatens our very existence for light, inspiration and succour. The sufferings, inevitable in our struggle, will be borne more easily in the knowledge that deep in the bosom of every Indian wells sympathy and oneness in our just cause."

I appeal to all parties and people in our country to support the just struggle of our brothers in South Africa.

This is an issue on which there can be no differences between any of our parties, which has been demonstrated by the sharp condemnation of the actions of the South African Government by the leaders of both the Congress and the League.

In particular I appeal to all parties to join with us to express our complete solidarity with the heroic action of our brothers in South Africa and to demand that immediately economic sanctions be directed against South Africa and the Indian delegation be instructed to bring up the issue at the next session of the United Nations Organisation in order to rally world opinion behind the demand for the withdrawal of the Ghetto Act and the grant of full citizenship rights to Indians in South Africa.

June 10.

PROPAGANDA SPECIAL

G. I.P. Victoria Terminus (V.T.) on the evening of June 1, presented an unique sight. The Poona train stood on the platform gaily decorated with Red flags, banners and placards flying from the windows and doors of a number of carriages. Porters, coolies, clerks, all started shouting slogans that echoed and re-echoed on the platform "Lal Zanda Ki Jai", "Long Live G.I.P. Railwaymen's Union", "Railway Strike, 27th June", "Railway Strike Zindabad," etc.

It was a send-off to their Propaganda Special. And indeed, that is how the 100 clerks and 20 other employees from Parel, who travelled in it, wanted it to be. It was their way of backing the strike notice.

The Station Superintendent at V.T. was all agog. "This must stop", he told his assistant, "Ask them to remove the Red flags. Can't they see they may be mistaken for a danger signal?" The assistant argued with the men. The latter talked to him and nicely sent him back. The train left as never before a train had left the seat of all the big bosses, flying Red flags, crying strike slogans.

"They Shed Tears Of Blood"

D. S. VAIDYA, Vice-President of the G.I.P. Union and member of the A.I.R.F. Council of Action, accompanied them. In every carriage, on every platform, at every halt he and his colleagues addressed passengers, railwaymen, all.

"The tears the railwaymen shed are no ordinary tears. They are tears of blood. They want your help. Give that and no terror, no repression, no prison can deter them from their resolve", said Vaidya, and the people responded. They saw how railwaymen's just demands did not call for a raising of their fares. They sympathised with the demands, helped the strike.

At Poona, the Assistant Station Master Ferkin thought he could terrify these men. He rushed at the gate with some

policemen and a sergeant and would not allow them to pass through. Half of them were already out; the other half waited.

Shouts of "Shame", "Down with Poona Station bureaucrats" greeted the police. A large crowd gathered to support the men. Then D. S. Vaidya and Samuel (Union organiser) were marched off to the Station Master under police escort because they assumed responsibility for the demonstration.

There the Union leaders warned Ferkin against the uncalled for interference in their activities. One of Ferkin's bosses also made him see his mistake. Amidst slogans and cheers, the police was withdrawn. The men marched out.

Next day in the same way as they had left, they returned to Bombay, flying flags, shouting slogans, addressing meetings, not only in the train and on platforms, but also in towns on the line, at Karjat, Neral, Lonawala, etc.

"Won't Use Arms Against You"

Passengers, of course, donated and did it generously. But even policemen and railway officers donated.

Some armed policemen were travelling in the train. They not only paid, but on their own assured the Union leaders that they would never use their arms against the strikers. The men greeted this assurance with the slogan, "Long Live Workers' and Soldiers' Unity."

A railway official, who desired to remain anonymous, donated Rs. 25 to the strike fund. At Neral, Camp Organisers of the Rashtra Seva Dal (Congress volunteers) invited D. S. Vaidya to address them on the railway strike.

In all Rs. 150 were collected, apart from the collections by way of sales of the strike badge, which hundreds bought and put on.

-by P. B. Rangnekar

ANGLO-AMERICAN DRIVE TO THIRD WORLD WAR

The breakdown of the Paris Conference and its aftermath mark a new stage in the post-war international situation. They bring to a logical climax the growing division of the world into two opposing camps.

Of course, when the Soviet Foreign Minister, Molotov, accused Britain and the U.S. of forming an anti-Soviet Anglo-American bloc, the U. S. Secretary of State denied the charge vigorously. But this was merely words; as the Washington correspondent of the Free Press reported on June 2, "Official quarters in Washington make no secret of their belief that M. Molotov is nearer to truth than Mr. Byrnes."

At Paris, the Anglo-Americans showed their determination to go back to the old pre-war policy of building up an anti-Soviet anti-democratic bloc in Europe and consolidate their monopoly-imperialist hold on the major part of the world—the policy that in fact led to their financing and backing Hitler and thus to the outbreak of the Second World War.

During the war, the necessity of achieving victory over Hitler drove them temporarily to work together with the Soviet; this was how they agreed at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam to strive to eradicate the roots of German and Japanese Fascism, to destroy the power of the mighty industrial combines and of the landlord-militarists of Germany and Japan.

But as the end of the war approached, the Imperialists more and more began to work for the same objectives that had dominated their foreign policy between the two wars.

After Last War

After the last war, the policy of the victorious allies was summed up in Lloyd George's statement that "the greatest danger" is "that Germany may throw in her lot with Bolshevism" (March 1919). Hoover, then, as now, in charge of American relief in Europe, also wrote that "the whole of American policy was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Bolshevik" (1921).

To do this, the Anglo-Americans preserved the might of monopoly-industrialists in Germany, brought to power their own puppet regimes throughout Central Europe and the Balkans, while Britain and France in particular grabbed German colonies and expanded their Empires.

With relentless energy, they crushed the revolutionary outbreaks in Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland while at the same time a coalition of fourteen States launched a fierce and bitter war to destroy the infant Soviet Republic.

They failed to destroy the Soviet—though they succeeded in crushing European democracy and in paving the way for Hitler to rise to power and enslave almost the whole of Europe outside the Soviet Union.

Finally the monster they had given birth to and nourished turned on them too, and faced with their own people's rising anger and fear of German enslavement, they turned to a policy of collaboration with the Soviet.

Western Bloc Plans

But after Hitler's defeat they went back to their old game.

They had hoped to see a weakened Soviet emerge out of an exhausting war; instead, the Soviet emerged stronger than ever before. They had expected easily to put back in power their puppets Mihailovitch, Braianu, etc., in Eastern Europe; instead the people cleaned them out.

by
Mohan Kumaramangalam

Desperate at their power slipping away, they returned to their traditional plans of building up reaction in that part of the West still open to them and consolidating their Empire.

They are today "listening to tempting bids by German industrialists," to partition Germany and create out of its Western part "a powerful anti-Soviet buffer region... with German heavy industry permitted twice its agreed (at Potsdam) safe production level," i.e., enough to spearhead a major anti-Soviet war (Free Press, June 2).

In Japan, MacArthur is putting through with 'Socialist' Attlee's warm approval, the same policy, believing, as his Chief of Intelligence Service indiscreetly remarked, that "with careful guidance, the Japanese might sometime prove useful allies of the U.S."

All over Western Europe they are going ahead with plans for "a Western Bloc," based on using their economic power to back reactionary Catholic parties and undermine democratic unity for popular progress, achieved in the struggle against Hitler.

At Paris, they fought hard to achieve the economic enslavement of Italy and total British control of the Mediterranean.

Consolidate Empire

In Greece, the Middle East, India, and South-East Asia, they are using all their military and economic might plus their political cunning to preserve intact their pre-war monopoly.

Fake 'independence' which retains real control in Imperialist hands, as in Transjordan, India and Egypt; armed attacks, as in Indonesia; bitter colonial repression based on a policy of dividing popular forces, as in Palestine, Burma and Malaya;—such are the ways by which the decaying grip of Imperialism is sought to be preserved and strengthened.

It is this objective, this policy, that dominated their work at the Paris Conference. This is the meaning of Bevin's threat of signing 'separate' peace treaties (see story below); it signifies their determination that even if they cannot put the clock back in Central and Eastern Europe, in the West at least they will use all their power to re-impose their pre-war domination.

Soviet Goes Forward

Against this, the Soviet, unafraid, a hundred times stronger than in 1917, mature and steeled in the battle against Hitler, is going forward with masterful determination to build her own strength through a new gigantic five-year plan. Simultaneously, over all Eastern and Central Europe, it is giving its every support to the democratic movements in their efforts to destroy the old bases of foreign reaction.

While in the West, the landlords and industrialists are protected and encouraged, in Eastern Europe, the big landed estates have been divided, the major part of industry nationalised, the backbone of reaction broken.

The contrast is most glaring in Germany.

In the West, the Anglo-Americans discuss anti-Soviet proposals with Hitler's heirs, the

bosses of German Big Business, while the old system of landed estates remains intact. In the East, however, forty lakh acres of Junker big estates have been divided among two and a half lakh peasant families and the whole of big industry nationalised.

In the West, the democratic parties are discouraged, many Nazis retain positions of big influence; in the East they have been cleaned out and day-to-day administration is virtually in the hands of the anti-Fascist parties.

Thus, while the Anglo-Americans try their hardest to gather together the scattered forces of German Imperialism for their age-old anti-Soviet anti-democratic aims, the Soviet backs the people, to sweep away tyranny and build up democracy anew.

Real Issue

This then is the real division in the world of today. Desperate at the growing advance of the people, the Imperialists yet plan to re-establish their might and power, to destroy the Soviet, democratic Europe, the colonial liberation movements—through a new world war, more devastating than any the world has yet seen.

As a first prelude to this, they aim to put through an Im-

IMPERIALIST PLAN TO FORCE SOVIET OUT OF UNO

By Cable.

London, June 10.

LAST week, the diplomatic correspondent of the London Daily Worker, in a sensational dispatch, revealed the real plans of Anglo-American Imperialism, which aim at excluding the Soviet from UNO and organising it as an anti-Soviet front.

The dispatch runs thus: "Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes have worked out a joint plan of campaign against the Soviet Union. It will be put into operation at the meeting of the Foreign Ministers in Paris next week-end."

"The plan is this: The British and American delegations will go to Paris with a series of impossible demands directed towards breaking down the new economy of the Eastern European States in favour of British and American 'Big Business'."

"These demands, they assume, will be naturally resisted by the progressive peoples of Europe. Thereupon Mr. Bevin and Mr. Byrnes will seek to break up the Paris meeting and call instead a meeting of the 21 nations who fought the war. That will be a preliminary demonstration in which the various Anglo-American satellites will denounce the Soviet Union."

"In that case, says Mr. Bevin, the next step will be to try to 'reform' UNO without the Soviet Union. In a conversation he has used the phrase

"we would rather throw them out than have them in without their giving up their position."

"This would involve two things: First, a complete re-drafting of the UNO Charter and its repudiation by Britain and the United States, who solemnly signed it a year or two ago, and secondly, it would involve Britain finally denouncing and violating the Anglo-Soviet Treaty."

"For Mr. Bevin has in mind a series of separate treaties with the former Axis Powers and satellites. But the Anglo-Soviet Treaty says Britain will not 'negotiate or conclude except by mutual consent any armistice or peace treaty with Germany or other State associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe.'"

"Mr. Bevin, as he has made plain, is fully prepared to violate this treaty as a mere scrap of paper. Having done that he and Mr. Byrnes will seek to tear up the Charter of the United Nations and turn the United Nations into a simple anti-Soviet gang of satellites dominated by Britain and the United States."

"The scheme has been worked out step by step."

"It has the support not only of Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin but also of Mr. Churchill. Its existence presents the gravest possible danger to the organisation of lasting peace that could be imagined."

perialist peace, like the one at Versailles after the last war, and to expel the Soviet from UNO; for as the Hindustan Standard reported, they "seem to be jointly preparing against the U.S.S.R. by suppressing colonial and nationalist movements." (May 28).

This is their objective though they seek to confuse world opinion by talk of "an iron curtain" and by accusations of "Soviet Imperial designs."

Against them the Soviet Union

is pushing forward undeterred to consolidate the democratic front and rouse all people to the dangerous and reactionary game of Western Imperialism.

The division is clear and plain for all to see. And it is the task of every honest Indian—proud of his past battles against Imperialism, to be in the battle against the drive to war and Imperial domination, and for peace and freedom for all peoples.

June 11.

At The Paris Conference

Soviet Insistence On Agreed Decisions As Only Way To Peace

Main Issues Discussed

THE objective of the Paris Conference of the Four Powers was the drafting of the peace treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland. The Conference failed to come to any agreement. With the speeches of all the principal participants at the Conference before us, we can now say what were the different standpoints of the powers.

Italy

The main points of difference over Italy were the question of reparations, the future of the Italian colonies, and Trieste.

(1) The Soviet demanded reparations for the devastation done by Italian armies—100 million dollars for herself, 200 millions for Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia. The Anglo-Americans objected on the grounds that Italy could not pay.

Yet the fact is that Italy at present is already paying virtual reparations in that it has paid several thousand million dollars in cash to support Anglo-American occupation troops, a heavy burden on Italian economy; even a small reduction in this sum could have enabled Italy to pay the reparations suggested by the Soviet.

Secondly, the Soviet asked for reparations in kind which in fact would have helped Italian industry to expand and thus would not have been a great burden on Italian economy.

Italian Colonies

(2) Over the Italian colonies, the Soviet first suggested trusteeship for Tripolitania by the Soviet; when this was objected to, they suggested trusteeship by Italy, under the UNO Charter.

The U.S. originally agreed to the latter, but eventually supported Britain in her suggestion for "independence" for Libya and a "Greater Somaliland" including British and Italian Somaliland plus two parts of Ethiopia (1) as territory under Britain's trusteeship.

Considering that "independence" for Libya was to be conferred without withdrawal of British troops, at present in that country, this proposal obviously meant that

Britain would have two new colonies, which are so strategically placed as to consolidate her Imperial domination of both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea!

(3) The Anglo-Americans stood for the "internationalisation" of Trieste which would have resulted in Yugoslavia being deprived of its most important port; the Soviet stood for Trieste going to Yugoslavia on the ground first, that the vast majority of the population of the Julian March (of which Trieste forms a part) is Yugoslav, and secondly, that it was to the economic benefit of both Yugoslavia and Trieste that the port should be a part of Yugoslavia.

In fact, over Italy, Britain backed by the U.S., tried its hardest to get a peace treaty by which British domination of the Mediterranean and Anglo-American control of Italy's future would be established.

The U.S. even proposed the formation of a Four-Power "Treaty Commission" with executive and judicial powers to supervise the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty.

Clearly this would have been an organ whose powers would conflict with the sovereign rights of the Italian people and would, with the Anglo-Americans plus France in a majority, enable them to impose their own domination over Italy.

On this ground the Soviet turned the proposal down.

Balkans

The main difference with regard to the Balkan peace treaties was over the economic sections of the treaties; the Americans and British wanted to settle certain key economic issues, which in fact also concerned other Balkan States like Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, without consulting these countries—in particular, the regulation of shipping on the Danube.

The Soviet objected to this.

The Anglo-Americans thus here again tried to win certain economic positions through the peace treaties themselves, positions which would have given them the chance of dominating and enslaving the economies of these countries.

Germany

A twenty-five-year treaty of disarmament of Germany was proposed by the U.S. and backed by Britain.

Here again the Soviet objected on the grounds that it was not mere disarmament that was necessary, but also the actual eradication of Fascism and the forces that give birth to Fascism as agreed upon at the Potsdam Conference.

The Soviet insisted on first checking up the decisions of Potsdam, knowing full well that in fact the decisions of Potsdam have been sabotaged by Britain and the U.S., particularly because Britain and the U.S. far from implementing these decisions, were in actual practice, intruding to preserve German landlord-militarism and Big Business, real masters of Hitler, as a weapon for anti-Soviet war.

Peace Treaties

When it became clear that agreement over the peace treaties could not be reached immediately, the Americans came out with the suggestion that the Peace Conference of twenty-one nations should be called and it should consider the peace treaties.

In fact, by this, the British and Americans would have been able to mobilise the votes of their satellites (e.g., the U.S.; Mexico and Brazil; Great Britain; the Dominions, Egypt, Holland, etc.) to push through their proposals and push out the Soviet.

This would not have resulted in a unified peace settlement at all, but in the division of the world into two sharp opposing camps, the prelude to war.

The Soviet opposed this proposal as one that would lead not to peace but war and insisted on further attempts to reach agreed decisions, the only way to establish real peace.

JAI PRAKASH'S ANTI-SOVIET "CRITICISMS"

IN a speech before the Freedom Group in Bombay last week, JAI PRAKASH NARAIN, Congress Socialist leader, let himself go in a "terrific broadside against the present-day tendencies of the Soviet Government."

Of course, I was not surprised at this. There was nothing new or unusual in his criticism of Soviet democracy, Soviet foreign policy, etc.

The Congress Socialist viewpoint is well-known to informed people from the writings of ex-C.S.P. member M. R. MASANI, now Chief Publicity Officer of Tatas, and from what Jai Prakash and other C.S.P. leaders have been saying all along.

But what is really interesting is that but two days later, one heard almost like an echo of Jai Prakash's speech in Bombay, the latest oration, in the House of Commons debate on British foreign policy, of Winston Churchill—arch-enemy of Indian freedom and world Imperialist No. 1.

Churchill in his speech, addressed to the British public, said almost word for word what Jai Prakash had told the Freedom Group in Bombay!

Same Slogans

When Jai Prakash opines that "there was no true freedom in the Soviet" because there was "one-party Government," Churchill repeats the same, saying that the Labour Government in Britain was "following the Russian principle of one-party Government."

Jai Prakash asserts that the Indian Communists "played a treacherous role," Churchill takes the very words out of his mouth, as it were, and says that, when infected with the disease of Communism, "people would not hesitate to betray their country."

Again, Jai Prakash accuses the Indian Communists of "blindly following the interpretations given by the Stalinists at Moscow," Churchill says after him, "everyone remembers how on orders from Moscow they (the British Communists) denounced our life struggle, etc. etc."

Blind Anti-Sovietism

Now I should like to know: What is the real difference between these Churchillian anti-Soviet slogans and Congress Socialist Jai Prakash's?

When Churchill turns to Europe, he fights the Soviet and the post-war new democracies, when he turns East, it is with the well-known cry of "no liquidation of the British Empire," "We have what we hold."

Was Jai Prakash recommending to Indian freedom-fighters to line up behind the latest bankrupt slogans of British Imperialism?

Obviously the answer will be no. Yet this is the company into which blind anti-Sovietism, anti-Communism, and those who call themselves "Left" critics of the Soviet.

No doubt, the "Left" critics think they are making very original and "new" contributions to the cause of

Socialism and anti-Imperialism. The truth is that all these "new" criticisms are very, very old—a quarter century old—anti-Soviet, anti-democratic slanders of the Imperialists themselves dating from 1917.

For example, such choice flourishes as the one that, "in the land of the Soviets one saw the strange spectacle of the working-class imposing a dictatorship on itself" (Jai Prakash), are on a par with Churchill's diatribe in 1940 that "Communism rots the soul of every nation."

Is it not the bankruptcy of the Congress Socialist Plan to recommend a policy that will lead to Indian freedom-fighters following the camp of world Imperialism—post-war model—against the world progressive camp, which includes the Soviet, the people's democracies of new Europe and the national liberation movements of Asia?

Ala In Hot Water

M. R. HUSEIN ALA, the Persian Ambassador to Washington, is going to find himself in real hot water if and when he gets back to Iran. What the trouble awaiting him is I shall presently reveal.

Multi-millionaire Ala's name, everyone will remember, became suddenly world-famous during the discussion of the "Soviet-Iran" issue in the UNO Security Council.

He seemed a person of almost heroic proportions, constantly dashing up, holding high small Iran's cause against the "aggression" of the Soviet colossus.

The only thing that seemed to mar his worthy efforts, however, was that at the same time, curiously enough, he was being snubbed and pulled up, now by Iran's democratic Press, now by Prince FIROUZ, the Minister of Information, and finally was made to shut up by QAVAM-ES-SULTANER, the Premier, himself.

Now some very interesting light is thrown on his role at the Security Council meeting by some American correspondents, who witnessed the sessions and whose stories I have just read. One is by HOWARD FAST, well-known American author, and this is how he describes one scene:

"When Gromyko left, the Chairman would have adjourned to the next day; but again Mr. Byrnes forced the Council to remain in session.

Byrnes' Puppet

"So overtly, so crassly did he lead into the Iran thing, inviting Ala up, allowing Ala to launch a long vitriolic attack on the USSR, interrupting it when it became ludicrous to remind Ala that they were considering procedure and not yet the case of Iran versus the USSR, then asking Ala leading, obvious questions, that the gallery around me rocked with laughter.

"If peace and hope were being murdered, it was not done subtly, and no newspaper man there was deceived." (My emphasis, S.A.A.)

Here is one more by RICHARD O. BOYER, another American correspondent:

"Byrnes overruled the Chairman, a little impatiently. Byrnes said the Council had immediately to hear Dr. Husein Ala. . . . Dr. Quo flushed and then ruled that the Council should immediately hear Dr. Ala. . . . Dr. Quo's voice was winged around the world by the radio as he spoke and while his brothers might have recognised it as Quo's, most people would have known it was Byrnes."

"When Dr. Ala. . . began battling for the rights of small nations, many of his words were echoes. Byrnes had said most of them first in opposing Gromyko's plea for a fortnight's postponement.

"Despite this Ala did not do so well. Byrnes had to intercede. He did not wish to dictate, he said. But would not it be better if Dr. Ala addressed himself to the world in this fashion? He illustrated. Dr. Ala tried again and the Secretary's (Byrnes') hard, knife-like face relaxed a little."

The fact is that Husein Ala was really serving as a puppet for Byrnes and the oil Imperialism of the Anglo-American bloc; that he was speaking for the true interests of Iran was just eye-wash.

Promise Of Bribe

The truth as it has now come to light in Teheran is that Husein Ala received, or was promised, a bribe amounting to the considerable sum of half a million dollars by an agent of American oil interests. And this is the charge that is going to face the worthy Ambassador if and when he returns. There is a possibility that he may be tried in his absence.

These proceedings will be launched as the outcome of investigations that have been going on in Teheran. Husein Ala, they indicate, was operating at the U.S. end of a Persian group which includes members of the former Persian Government and high officials.

It is well-known that sometime ago certain powerful American-British interests were trying to secure oil concessions in North Iran, which to-

gether with the present concessions of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in the South, would give them a complete monopoly of Iran's entire oil resources, thus enabling them to keep Iran as their colony and use it as an anti-Soviet base.

The negotiations for this deal were far advanced by the beginning of this year and very large bribes had been distributed.

The plan was that as soon as the Soviet troops withdrew on March 2, the bought-members of the Iran Government would clinch the deal and 'hordes of "advisers," off-field "police", etc., would proceed to the North.

This would give the Teheran reactionaries new power to "deal with" the democratic movement in Azerbaijan and other Northern areas.

Conspiracy Exposed

Fortunately, the democratic opposition learnt of this conspiracy in the nick of time. The exposure led to the downfall of the pro-British Hakimi Government and the formation of the Qavam es-Sultaneh Cabinet. The departure of the Soviet troops too was delayed beyond March; pending clarification of the situation.

The subsequent reorientation towards a self-respecting policy and the Soviet-Iran negotiations under Qavam es-Sultaneh led to the oil interests shifting their battle to the UNO Security Council.

It was then that Husein Ala was given an opportunity to play his important role by Byrnes and Cadogan, resulting in the New York farce. The entire game ended in a fiasco for the Anglo-American Imperialist bloc when the Soviet-Iran agreement was completed on April 4.

After all this, I think multi-millionaire Ala will prefer his cool and soft sojourn in the arms of American monopoly rather than go back to face the wrath of his own people.

—Sharaf Athar Ali

In The Indian Ocean Area

British Policy Prevents Surplus Food From Reaching India

Truman's food boss, Hoover, when he visited India last month, concluded his visit by advising our country to look for imports of food-grains from "near-by sources," like Siam, Burma and other countries in the Indian Ocean area.

WHAT are the possibilities? The Indian Ocean area is probably the biggest surplus rice-producing area in the world, Burma, Indonesia, Siam and Indo-China together have a normal surplus of over 74 lakh tons of rice per year; India's present needs (for the next five months) are 23 lakh tons of foodgrains (total Indian Ocean needs being 28 lakh tons).

Thus in normal conditions, this entire deficit could be met twice over and more by the surplus of these countries. Yet Britain has done next to nothing to investigate the possibilities of getting rice for India from these countries.

BURMA

Burma's export surplus in 1939 was 32,00,000 tons; Japanese rule severely hit Burma's agriculture—and immediately after the Japanese surrender the main problem was one of rehabilitation of Burma's agricultural resources; this could only be done by the liberal granting of cheap credits to the peasantry to enable them to get seed and implements.

In fact, nothing of the sort was done. The help of Burma's national organisation, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL), was rejected, the entire control of the rice trade was handed over to British firms, and no real assistance has been given to the peasantry.

The result has been that while devastated areas of Soviet Russia have almost reached their pre-war production level, in Burma the Agricultural Department has announced that 1945-46 crop will be "only half the normal crop"—and Burma would have no exportable surplus.

It is, however, very doubtful if this statement is correct; the Associated Press of America reported last month that "conservative estimates place their (Burma's) probable stocks for export at nearly 20 lakh tons." (Times of India, May 28). Also this report has been denied by the Financial Commissioner to the Burma Government! (June 5.)

One thing anyway is clear: British Imperial policy in Burma, aiming at reconquest, economic and political, is resulting in Burma being ruled out as far as help in India's famine-crisis is concerned.

INDONESIA

The same thing would have happened in Indonesia, too, had Britain had its way; and it might still happen if India's people and political leaders do not stir themselves.

Here again Java's normal exportable surplus is about 14 lakh tons (1940). And obviously enough as the threat of famine loomed over India, one of the first jobs of a real Indian Government that cared for its people, should have been to find out how much rice was available in Java.

But India's alien rulers did not do this. For they are out to crush Indonesian people's Republic—and they know that any commercial transaction with Indonesia would mean strengthening the Republic, would enable it to establish its 'bona fides' as a well-organised and effectively run independent people's State.

In the first week of April, however, the Free Press correspondent announced that the Indonesian Premier, Dr. SULTAN SHARIR, had offered five lakh tons of rice to India.

The India Government at first joined with the Dutch imperialists in pooh-pooing the suggestion; later, however, the mounting agitation in India, followed by the SEAC Supreme Commander, Lord Louis Mountbatten's statement that surplus rice was available in Java, forced the Government to send a representative to discuss the matter.

Today discussions are going on; Sharir has clearly stated that if "ships are there, the loading can take place at any time" (May 28); but the India Government is still 'negotiating' while the Dutch are registering "vehement protests" at any notice being taken of the 'rebels'!

And on top of it all, UNRRA (the United Nations organisation set up to help countries devastated by war) is actually sending supplies to Java—to strengthen the Dutch rule of a few cities; in fact, as the Indonesian nationalists in London have commented, "UNRRA food now on its way to Indonesia could well be diverted to India" ("Hindu", May 22).

Thus the chances of getting rice from Indonesia, too, remain small, unless a big row is made in India.

SIAM

Third most important source is Siam; her normal exportable surplus is about 18 lakh tons and India could make good use of this.

But here again Imperial policy has been responsible for India not getting virtually anything till now.

First came an 'agreement' between the Siamese and British Governments last January, by which Siam was to give Britain free of cost, 15 lakh tons of surplus rice as reparations. But nothing came.

Then in the second week of April, the South-East Food Conference reported that Siam would make available two lakh

tons of rice, out of which 1,45,000 would come to India. But still nothing happened.

Finally on May 1st, an Anglo-American-Siamese communique announced that the British were to buy 12 lakh tons of rice at a basic price of about Rs. 275 per ton (the controlled price in India is Rs. 336 per ton).

In all this muddle, no Siamese rice has yet arrived.

On May 17, the Eastern Economist revealed that there was 'no trace of Siamese rice' and went on to comment bitterly that while Britain was going to pay for the Siamese rice with Indian textiles, the supplies are taken possession of by the Anglo-American Imperialist 'coterie', the Combined Food Board and will be disposed of by the Board!

The truth is that in Siam also it is Imperial policy that is the stumbling block.

The British today joined by the Americans are keeping in power almost intact the reactionary formerly pro-Japanese clique; the latter is naturally taking no energetic steps to twist the necks of the big landlords (mostly their own relations) and get rice out of them.

Thus the chances of getting rice from Siam remain slim.

INDO-CHINA

The last area in the Indian Ocean from which rice could be got is Indo-China with its pre-war exportable surplus of 104 lakh tons (1940).

But here again, as in the case of Indonesia, our British Imperial rulers have done nothing to investigate the real position—for getting rice from Indo-China would also involve strengthening the independent people's Republic of Viet-Nam and the Imperialists do not want that. From the interview given by the Annamite leader (see page 11), it is clear that food is available in Indo-China!

Thus the total food picture in South-East Asia is simply this: Burma under the iron heel of Imperial rule denies that it has any surplus; from Siam a little might be got, but only after big pressure and at cut-throat prices; from Indonesia there is 500,000 tons available immediately, with the possibility of more later; about Indo-China, nothing is known.

But nothing in fact will come unless India's people and India's leaders shout their hardest to:

- Break the famine-blockade from Indonesia.
● Force the British authorities in Burma to disgorge their surplus.
● See that rice does come from Siam to India—not at black-mailing rates, but at reasonable prices.
● Open negotiations with the Viet-Nam Republic to buy her surplus rice for India.

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HOW EUROPEANS WILL GET INTO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

An Analysis Of Its Likely Composition

What will happen inside the so-called Constituent Assembly (C.A.) that is to come into existence out of the working of the Cabinet Mission's Award? This is the question many are asking—and here is the answer.

UNDER the Award:

● The delegates to the C.A. are to be elected by the members of the present Provincial Legislatures.

● These members belonging to different communities, will not vote together; the Muslim members will elect the Muslim delegates; the Sikh members (in the Punjab) will elect Sikh delegates, members from all other communities (Hindu, Scheduled Castes, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Europeans) will elect the other delegates.

● The number of delegates to the C.A. has been fixed in proportion to the population of various communities, one delegate representing one million of the population.

Thus, in Bengal, for example, corresponding to the 36 million Muslim population, the number of Muslim delegates to the C.A. will be 36.

Similarly, the number of Sikh delegates from the Punjab will be four since there are four million Sikhs in the Province.

But except for Muslims and Sikhs all other communities including Europeans have been lumped together and their representation in the C.A. will be in proportion to the combined population of all.

● But whereas the number of delegates has been fixed in proportion to the population, the actual election is to take place on the strength of the various communities in the present legislatures.

Elections Will Not be Direct

The elections to the C.A. will not be direct elections.

The entire people of the country do not come into the picture at all except for counting the total number of heads.

The representatives to the C.A. are not to be elected by the mass of people in proportion to their population, as agreed to in principle, but by the present MLAs in various Legislative Assemblies.

It is through this trick that the Europeans will be got into the C.A.

We all know that the strength of the various communities and parties in the present legislatures, according to the consti-

tution of 1935, is not in proportion to the population. Each sitting MLA does not represent an equal number of people.

For example, in Bengal, the population of Europeans is only a few thousand but they have a strength of as many as 25 in the Bengal Legislature.

Inside the legislatures the principle on the basis of which election is to take place is the principle of proportional representation, that of 'single transferable vote,' and not of majority votes. Each MLA in the legislatures has a vote and each vote has an equal status that will be reflected in the final set-up of things. The Europeans in Bengal thus have 25 solid votes.

Now, when there is no proportional representation, the majority party by virtue of its majority, can capture all the seats. In Bengal, for example, taking General seats, 128 MLAs have to elect 27 delegates. A majority group of 103 can, under this system, defeat the European block of 25 and get all the 27 seats.

Misuse Of A Democratic System

But it will not be so under the 'single transferable vote' system. Under this system, taking the same example, because 27 delegates are to be elected by 128 delegates any person who can muster five solid votes can get himself elected.

It is thus that the Europeans who are only a few thousand in number, but have 25 MLAs in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, that is a solid block of 25 votes, can get five of their men into the C.A.

Thus the system of 'proportional representation' and 'single transferable vote,' which is essentially the most democratic system, one which assures exact representation to all shades of opinion, particularly minority parties, is being misused in India by the Cabinet Mission, in order to get the Europeans into the C.A.!

The plan is that the different Provincial Assemblies will elect their delegates to the All-India C.A. It seems, however, that after the elections, the delegates will gather for only one meeting where their Chairman and other officers will be elected and an Advisory Committee on minorities set up. Imme-

diately after, they will split up into three sections to discuss and frame the Constitutions of their sections.

Zone A will consist of Madras, Bombay, the C.P., the U.P., Bihar, and Orissa. Zone B, of Bengal and Assam, and Zone C of the Punjab, the N.W.F.P., Sind, and Baluchistan.

After determining the Constitutions of the sections, all the delegates plus the delegates from the States will reassemble for the purpose of settling the final All-India Union Constitution.

Here is how the parties will stand in the All-India C.A. and the C.A.s of the different sections.

ALL-INDIA CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Total Seats	389
British India	296
Congress	192
Muslim League	70
Non-League Muslims	8
Others	14
Europeans	11
Baluchistan	1
Indian States	93

Thus between the Congress and the League, the States (i.e., Britain's stooges) and the Europeans will be in a very advantageous position for bargaining and will be able to exercise a key influence on the final Constitution.

SECTION A

Section A will include Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa. Three more delegates (one representing Coorg, and the two Central M.L.A.s elected from Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi) are also included.

Total Seats	190
Congress	156
Muslim League	17
Non-League Muslims	3
Europeans	4
Others	10

Thus in this Section, the Congress will have an overwhelming majority of the seats.

SECTION B

This includes the Bengal and Assam Assemblies; on the basis of the present strength, the final results are likely to be:

Total Seats	70
Muslim League	35
Non-League Muslims	1
Congress	24
Europeans	7
Others	3

Thus the the Europeans will hold the balance because if they join the Congress, the League and non-League votes will be exactly equal. It is the Imperial jute-bosses, therefore, who will finally determine the details of the Constitution of Bengal and Assam!

SECTION C

This includes the Punjab, the North-West Frontier, and Sind, plus a single delegate from Baluchistan, whose method of election (or nomination) has not yet been clarified.

The final results will work out as follows:

Total Seats	36
Muslim League	18
Non-League Muslims	2
Congress	12
Akali	3
Baluch Delegate	1

Thus, the Baluch delegate (whose election Cripps will settle) and the opportunist Akalis with their four seats held a neat middle position; if they oppose the League, and the Unionists and Syed group join the Congress, the two sides will be exactly equal! The Constitution of Group C will depend on THEM the most.



A FOOD PLAN FOR INDIA

(Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs)
Published by the Oxford University Press.

Price Rs.2

THE Bengal famine of 1942-3 brought vividly to public notice how narrow is the margin in India between bare adequacy of food supply and disaster.

The attention of the entire world was concentrated on India's food shortage. The apologists of Imperialism, as usual, came out with the traditional explanation that India's poverty is due to her 'over-population.'

This pamphlet blows up without saying so in so many words, the classic Malthusian theory of population that food production always lags behind growth in population.

As the Plan says, "the resolute application of existing knowledge and established methods could lead to an increase in India's food production of between 25 and 50 per cent within seven years."

"A Food Plan For India" estimates that by 1943 the population of India would increase to about 450 millions and an extra 14 million tons of food grains will be required. Prepared by some 'experts,' the plan suggests an immediately 'practical' and administrative solution.

The Plan is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the various methods of increasing production. The primary insistence is on the use of "manures and fertilizers on lands where water supply is adequate." The Plan suggests substantial imports of fertilizers from abroad to cope with the immediate needs.

Next in order of priority come measures like improvement of water supplies and control of soil erosion; use of improved varieties of seed, control of seed-borne diseases and pests; and lastly, control of malaria and other vitality sapping diseases.

The second part suggests measures like improved transport, increased marketing facilities and easy provision of essential consumers goods to the cultivators. A new administrative machinery is sought to be created by re-grouping all villages into some 20,000 or 30,000 centres to provide instruction, distribution and collection of food grains in the villages.

The need for the application of proper technical scientific methods as suggested in the Plan would not be disputed by anyone. That is the only way food production can be increased. But what is required for such a Plan to be put into action is a proper socio-economic background.

In the present framework of agrarian relations in India, with the landlord, the usurer, the trader-hoarder, parties dominating the land, reducing more and more cultivators to penury, the Plan would become merely an instrument for the perpetuation of Imperialist feudal system and increased poverty of the masses.

The poor peasant in India cannot pay for improved seeds and fertilizers. The suggestion made in the Plan that the costs of fertilizers should be recovered from the peasants by dividing the crop "on the threshing floor before the landlord takes his dues, a fixed amount of the whole-crop going to the State" will only result in the perpetuation of his poverty and debt.

The essential part of any food planning for India is to take food out of the clutches of hoarders, profiteers, big zamindars, and traders. The present Plan has nothing to say on this.

The Plan is formulated on the assumption that "India is predominantly and may be expected always to remain predominantly an agricultural country." But there can be no solution of the food and agricultural problem of India without a requisite industrial development.

What is needed is a free Indian Government which will industrialize the country, abolish landlordism and other causes of chronic poverty, free the peasant from the deadening grip of the landlord, usurer, and trader.

No plan without this basic change in the present framework can bring about the desired results.

P.S.

THE OXFORD WAR ATLAS

(Volume 101)
The War In 1944

Published by the Oxford University Press. 3s. 6d.

THIS atlas is a record in maps, diagrams and brief descriptions of the main events of the year 1944. As such it is worth buying.

However, the reader must be on his guard against certain of the views expressed particularly on the section entitled "Greek Tragedy," and those on the neutrals—Sweden and Switzerland who were such only in name, as in fact they helped the Nazis by the backdoor.

Sufficient facts are lacking about the magnitude of the giant Soviet offensive too.

Despite these defects, the volume is quite useful for reference purposes.

S. A. A.

Have You Read These Books?

FASCISM AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION

by R. Palme Dutt

Rs. 4-8

Although the Fascist forces of Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo have been defeated, the Fascist elements in the imperialist-capitalist countries are still powerful, striving to come to power in Britain and America, attempting to organise a new world war, working to crush the democratic and freedom movements of Europe and Asia. This book arms us against the Fascists by telling us what Fascism really is, how it grows, and how it can be defeated.

A SHORT HISTORY OF RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

by R. Page Arnot

Re. 1-8

The author is a well-known Marxist writer and a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The book gives a short account of the Czarist Empire which Lenin called a "Prison of Peoples."

It traces, briefly and simply, the history of the events leading up to the Soviet Revolution of November 1917.

The story of the building of socialism is then described, taking the narrative to 1936—the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

Please write to any of our bookshops at Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, Poona, Nagpur, Bexwada and Calicut.

Have You Got Your Copy?

NUTAN BANGLA

(A Plan For A Free And Happy Bengal)

by Bhowani Sen

As. 12

The author, who is the Secretary of the Bengal Communist Party, describes the picture of Bengal today—a land of poverty and malnutrition, ridden with all sorts of diseases, just emerging from one famine and standing on the brink of another.

The book tells who have ruined this once prosperous Province—Imperialism, the zamindar and the hoarder, the trinity responsible for all its misfortunes. He gives a concrete programme of how to rebuild Bengal with food for all, jobs for all and education for all.

A book everyone should read who is interested in the future of his country.

NOTES ON THE BENGAL RENAISSANCE

by Amit Sen

Re. 1

This short booklet by an eminent Marxist intellectual is the first of its kind on the subject. Bengal has been the province which led the literary and political renaissance in our country. The author here discusses in brief outline the evolution and development of the Bengal renaissance covering the whole of the modern period from Ram Mohan Roy to Rabindranath Tagore.

"VIET-NAM WILL SEND FOOD TO INDIA IF FRENCH CONTROL ENDS"

Exclusive

-- Declares Annamite Leader

During a two-hour interview with your correspondent in Calcutta. Mr. DUONG-BACH MAI, one of the delegation of the Viet-Nam Republic, en route to Paris, expressed his deep sympathy towards the Indian people, especially in view of the impending famine, and mentioned the possibility of Viet-Nam offering surplus rice to India.

MR. MAI is himself from the Province of Cochinchina, often called the rice-bowl of Indo-China, and was one of the foremost leaders of the guerilla movement of his Province.

According to Mr. Mai there is at present a considerable surplus of rice in Cochinchina, one of the five States that formed the former French Indo-China and the Viet-Nam Government would be willing to offer it to the Indian people who are their comrades-in-arms in the fight against Imperialism.

"But," went on Mr. Mai, "I would like my Indian friends to understand that Cochinchina is still under the rigid military control of the French, and it would be possible for us to fulfill our pledge to our Indian friends only when French colonial rule in the rice-producing areas is ended and the popular Viet-Nam Republican Government begins to function there as well as in Annam and Tonking. I hope and I am sure that day is not far off."

Purpose Of Delegation To Paris

The delegation, which is composed of 25 members and led by Dr. HO CHI-MINH, President of the Viet-Nam Republic, is on its way to Paris to carry on further negotiations with the French Government about the future status of the Viet-Nam Republic.

It may be recalled that on March 8 this year an agreement was reached in Hanoi, capital of the Republic, between the French and the Republic.

In this agreement the Viet-Nam Republic was granted the full status as a free State within the French Union, possessing its own assembly, finance and armed forces.

The coming Paris negotiations aim at settling problems between Viet-Nam and France on the basis of this agreement.

One of the most important issues which are to be raised in the negotiations will be the fate of Cochinchina with Saigon as its chief city.

The Importance Of Cochinchina

Out of the five States that formed French Indo-China, two have already joined the Viet-Nam Republic (Tonking and Annam), while the third and the most important State, Cochinchina, originally formed a part of the Republic but was reconquered by French and British troops.

The French, said Mr. Mai, were doing their best to separate Cochinchina from Viet-Nam but the people of Viet-Nam would never agree to this. "We Viet-Namese," he said categorically, "can never compromise on this issue."

He said that apart from being the most fertile part of the Viet-Nam and, therefore, indispensable to the prosperity of Viet-Nam, Cochinchina also possesses the largest sea-port in the country, Saigon, and the great naval base in Camranh Bay. As long as these ports are in the hands of the Imperialists, said Mai, it is clear that they will be able to dominate the Viet-Nam Republic.

Another danger which should not be overlooked is that the naval base in Camranh Bay, the biggest between Singapore and Hongkong, would certainly become a joint-operation base from which to defend and uphold Imperialist rule over the colonial peoples of South-East Asia.



Viet-Nam delegation to Paris. Dr. Ho Chi Minh, President of the Republic, is in the centre (with beard).

"We hope our friends outside Viet-Nam fully realise the importance of the fate of Cochinchina, and will support out just cause."

When asked about the internal political situation in Viet-Nam, Mr. Mai smilingly pointed to the red-grounded five-point yellow star badge in his button-hole, saying that it was most fortunate that the entire people were behind the struggle for the goal of liberation led by a Government in which were represented all political parties.

In the interests of the national movement the Viet-Nam Communist Party to which Dr. Ho and he himself formerly belonged, dissolved itself and was subsequently absorbed in the all-powerful Independence League which under the leadership of Dr. Ho has emerged as the most influential force in Viet-Nam.

There are also other political organisations such as the Revolutionary League and the Nationalist Party.

The present Government, which was formed in January last, is a coalition Government in which all parties are fairly represented.

During the recent free election in the Republican-controlled Viet-Nam, the Government bloc candidates secured more than 90% of the votes.

Talking about the food situation in Viet-Nam, Mr. Mai revealed that though the country was famous as an important rice-producing centre in Asia, yet as the result of the ruthless Imperialist colonialism, the Viet-Namese were never properly fed. Food was taken out of the country to serve Imperialist ends while the people were starving in the villages.

Throughout the 80 years of French rule, flood and famine became almost normal routine for the people and the colonial authorities even openly ex-

pressed their view that the death of a few million of the natives through starvation would not do serious harm to a total population of 25 million!

The Japanese, of course, did no better than the French. For instance, in the spring of 1945 alone some two million people died of starvation in different parts of Viet-Nam.

The establishment of the Government of Viet-Nam Republic marked a big change in the situation. Food production has been considerably increased as a result of a nation-wide food production drive, organised by the Government. "Now we are out of danger of another famine, and are in a position to help our famine-stricken neighbours, if we can act freely in Cochinchina and proper means of transportation are provided," said Mr. Mai.

Mr. Mai continued:

Rice Surplus In Cochinchina

"As a native of Cochinchina, I am sure that there is a considerable rice surplus in Cochinchina and it will not be difficult for it to be diverted to relieve the famine situation in India.

"But unfortunately, Cochinchina is still under the French military control and therefore the people have no say about the disposal of the rice.

"We pledge our aid to our Indian friends, and when we regain control of Cochinchina, which we hope will not be far off, we will certainly help them. A great deal can be done by our two peoples together in our mutual interests."

Mr. Mai regretted that the delegation had to leave India in a very short time and therefore could not have the privilege of meeting the Indian national leaders, but he said that they hoped to fulfil this wish on their return to Paris.

(From Our Correspondent)

WHAT IS VIET-NAM?



VIET-NAM consists of the three richest and most populous Provinces of the five former Provinces of Indo-China—Tonking, Annam and Cochinchina. The first two are today under the administration of the Viet-Nam Government—but Cochinchina is still under French military control. Altogether it has a population of 20 million.

Together with Cambodia and the French colony of Laos (population four and one million respectively) Viet-Nam forms a part of the Indo-Chinese Federation, which is a part of the French Union. At present, however, the French authorities are not allowing any contact between Viet-Nam and the other two constituent units of Indo-China, Cambodia and Laos.

The aim of the Viet-Nam Republic is that the Indo-Chinese Federation should be a voluntary union in which each of the three constituent units, Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos should possess the full right of self-determination. This would enable the three peoples to build together for their mutual prosperity.

ITS HISTORY

Conquered by the French in the last quarter of the 19th Century, the people of Indo-China have never given up their battle for freedom. In 1888, a great partisan war was waged in the Tonking delta area, and another in North Annam.

In 1907 the national movement had its birth—against the poll-tax, while simultaneously with it the cultural renaissance began, comparable to the cultural renaissance of that period in Bengal.

The period of the first world war saw a number of conspiracies and revolts. After 1920, political parties were born: in 1930 the Indo-Chinese Communist Party was formed. It led great peasant demonstrations against French Imperialism, which were ruthlessly repressed.

From 1934-35 with the growth of the Popular Front in France, the national and revolutionary movement became legal; trade unions were formed; newspapers started; revolutionaries elected to the Indo-China Colonial Council and to the Municipal Council of Hanoi.

But in 1939 repression began again.

In 1940 guerilla activity was started against the Jap occupation and two insurrections took place. In 1941 all the popular organisations formed the League of Independence of Indo-China, (Viet-Minh), which planned the insurrection of September 1945 and led to the formation of the Republic.

Attitude To Soviet Union

Asked about their attitude to the Soviet Union he said that though a section of the Indo-Chinese people, as in every other country, is opposed to the Soviet ideals, the large majority of them were friendly to the latter country, regarding it as the bulwark of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Dr. Ho stressed the need of friendly relations with Viet-Nam's neighbours. He welcomed the idea of an Asiatic Conference proposed by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. This, according to him, should cover also economic and cultural problems.

At the close of the interview, Dr. Ho gave the following message to the Indian people through People's Age:

"I am very happy to be in India and I convey my warm greetings to the great Indian people. I hope our brother Indian people will achieve their independence soon and we hope together to do our bit by building a free and happy Asia. I am sure the Indians have the same love and solidarity for our people as we have for them."

Our Correspondent Interviews Viet-Nam's President

STORY OF BIRTH OF REPUBLIC

Message To Indian People

(WE give below the exclusive interview to our correspondent given by Dr. HO CHI-MINH, President of the Viet-Nam Republic (Indo-China). Fifty-six years old, Dr. Ho, who started life as a school master, is the acknowledged head of the Viet-Nam Republic. He, NGUYEN-AI-QUOC, the leader of the Annamite Communists, General TRAN-VAN-GLAN, Commander-in-Chief of the Viet-Nam forces in Cochinchina and Communist leader and friend of Marshal Tito, and the French Communist leader, THOLEZ are regarded as the undisputed leaders of Indo-China's revolutionary movement.

Dr. Ho, after a long exile, entered his country secretly in March 1945, when the Japs set up a puppet Annamite Government. He played a leading part in bringing all parties together in the Viet-Minh which overthrew the puppet Government on September 19, 1945.

Since then, the Viet-Nam Republic has established itself through bitter battles against French attempts to reimpose its domination. Our correspondent met Dr. Ho in Calcutta on June 1. He was on his way to Paris with a Viet-Nam delegation to negotiate the final details of the recognition of Viet-Nam Republic by the French Republic—EDITOR.)

ASKED to describe the birth of the Viet-Nam Republic, Dr. Ho said:

"Since the autumn of 1940 our country had ceased to be a French colony and had become a Japanese outpost. After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies our whole people rose to conquer political power and form the Republic of Viet-Nam.

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

Long And Bitter Struggle

After the Republic was established, long and bitter battles went on against the French who were actively helped by the British and Chinese. However, after de Gaulle's resignation, the situation improved and in March an agreement was signed between the French Government and the Viet-Nam Republic.

It is to fill in the details of this agreement that Dr. Ho and the delegation are going to Paris. Dr. Ho expressed his confidence that the negotiations would be successful as the Viet-Nam Republic had proved its strength.

Free Country Now

"Since March 6th, this year," he said, "the Republic of Viet-Nam has been recognised as a Free State."

He continued:

"A nation-wide uprising has transferred the governing rule of the State into the hands of our people, thus materialising the unity of the country from Namquan to Cape Camau.

"We have gone through so many hardships and sufferings, and have sacrificed so many of our heroes, to see the dawn of this day.

"Today our hearts are throbbing with hope and expectation, joy and enthusiasm, under the red banner with the central yellow star; Viet-Nam is an independent country; Viet-Nam is a democratic republic.

bing with hope and expectation, joy and enthusiasm, under the red banner with the central yellow star; Viet-Nam is an independent country; Viet-Nam is a democratic republic.

"Yet independent Viet-Nam and her republican Government are still in the early days of childhood and we have to work hard to bring them rapidly into maturity, a sturdy, unshakable maturity. The double object we have in view is unification and solidarity.

"The February elections in which the people enthusiastically took part proved the popularity of the Republic. Ninety per cent of the people voted and all male and female population of 18 years of age were entitled to vote."

Constructive Programme

Giving an outline of the elaborate constructive programme undertaken by the Republic, Dr. Ho said that a New Life Movement had been started and the response of the people had been great. He described how big efforts were being made by the Viet-Nam Government to liquidate illiteracy and increase food production. He said:

"Our people are filled with enthusiasm, are disciplined and are volunteering for the most arduous task of unifying and rehabilitating our country."