

# 8,000 WORKERS' UNITED STRUGGLE

## Management Seek Police Aid To Break Strike

### Nationalist Press Blacks-Out News

**E**IGHT thousand workers, both Hindu and Muslim, of the Kesoram Cotton Mills, Calcutta, owned by the Birlas, have been on strike since the end of November. The mill authorities are openly seeking Police aid to suppress the workers. ABDUL GAFFAR and ABDUL MATIN, both members of the Textile Union, and another two workers have been arrested. Warrants have been issued against fourteen more.

Yet the Calcutta nationalist press is blacking out all news of this great struggle of eight-thousand workers—probably because of their concern for the "nationalist boss."

How did the strike come about?

On November 27, about six hundred and fifty workers of the Hosiery Department demanded that they should be given the same Dearness Allowance as the workers in the Weaving Department were getting. If the Birlas had agreed, it would not have cost them more than Rs. 20,000 a month.

There was already serious agitation among the workers on the question of the bonus, but if the Birlas had then agreed to accept the demands of the hosiery men, the strike would have been averted for the time being at any rate.

### They Counted On Dividing The Workers

But counting on the possible division among the workers and thinking that the workers of the Weaving Department would not stand by the demands of the hosiery workers, the mill authorities flatly refused these demands. All the eight-thousand workers stood firm and launched one of the biggest strikes the Birlas have ever seen among their workers.

Earlier, six workers of the Roving Department were served with notices of dismissal. The Birlas said that there was no work for them because the workers in the Spinning Department had refused to do any over-time with the result that the Roving Department could not be fed. But what actually happened was that the workers of the Spinning Department wanted double rates for 'overtime'—a reasonable demand—which the Birlas, of course, refused to concede. Hence, there was no overtime work in that Department.

Here too, the Birlas had calculated that they could play off the workers of the Spinning Department against their brothers in the Roving Department. But their game of dividing the workers proved a damp squib. The entire ranks of the workers stood firm against their offensive.

The issue involved in this strike is not one of the workers' bread alone. The Kesoram Mills produce over 2,500 bales of cloth every month, roughly one-fifth of Bengal's total mill-made output. The cloth famine in the Province to-day is as acute as ever. Yet the Birlas would rather close down the mills altogether—re-

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sign greeted the "distinguished visitor"!

### Their Treatment Of Workers

And how are the workers treated by the Birlas? Not only are just living wages denied to them, but they are often made to work more than their time. The Mills start half an hour earlier and close half an hour later than the scheduled time. There is no provision for provident fund nor are the workers paid any 'over-time' wages.

Most of the workers have to find their own houses. About one thousand workers who live in the slums owned by the Kesorams are charged between two to four rupees each per month. In Kesoram's books, these levies, are, however, entered as "Welfare Contributions." None of these tenants have any rights; they can be thrown out of their homes whenever the Birlas wish. Not only this. In the Lichu Bagan area, about two thousand people will be affected by the eviction notices which have been served to acquire the slums "for the exten-

sion and expansion of the Kesoram Mills." Most of these people who are going to be thrown out of their homes work in the Kesoram Mills.

### Congressmen & Nationalist Press

Such are the conditions of the workers in Kesoram Mills—against which they have at last risen in revolt.

It is a shame that such treatment should be meted out to them when all the Directors of the Mills claim to be followers of the Congress; and two of them—HIMMATSINKA and BHUWALKA—are Congressmen and actually members of Sarat Bose's INA Relief Fund Committee in Bengal!

And even while the strike of the eight thousand workers was going on, the Birlas were getting the hosts to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who was staying at Birla Park, their residence. Is this how Congress leaders fight for the rights of the workers and enhance their faith in the Congress?

Naturally enough, following from all this, the Calcutta Nationalist Press too is siding with the Birlas and blacking out all news of the workers' strike.

### Editor Of Premier Madras Congress Daily Resigns

**S**JT. KHASA SUBBARAO, one of the leading Congress journalists of Madras, recently resigned his editorship of the Indian Express, the premier Congress English daily of Madras Presidency. Giving his reasons for the resignation, Khasa told a newspaper correspondent:

"I severed my connections with the Indian Express on the 4th instant on account of disagreement with the proprietor over policy. The latter wanted a deliberately anti-Rajaji policy to be pursued in the paper and also to conduct it with wilful denial of fairness to the Communists, in fact, as a weapon to 'liquidate' them. I declined to pursue both these aims of the proprietor."

Indian Express is owned by GOENKA, whom I might call the BIRLA of the South. He has become a great 'patron' of the Congress these days—and is the god-father of the anti-Communists of the South. It was Khasa who by his energy and initiative built up the Indian Express into what it is today; now he has to go because he happens to be a man of honest convictions and refused to twist and suppress truth to suit the policy of the proprietor.

This is just one instance to show how our Nationalist Press, reared up in the best traditions of truth and freedom, is now becoming the monopoly of the Birlas and the Goenkas, and is rapidly going the way of the worst kind of yellow journalism, of the Hearst and Beaverbook presses.

### Refused To Be Tool Of Press Magnate Goenka

Khasa stood up courageously for truth, the first basic tenet of our national movement; the newspaper bosses however do not want it today. The fatwas given to him are being given today to innumerable honest patriotic journalists all over the country; most of them dare not revolt and have to acquiesce because otherwise they will be thrown on the streets. I have come across several

And all that "Congress-Labour leaders" like Suresh Bannerjee belonging to the Birla-sponsored Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh, do for the workers is to denounce the Red Flag which is leading their struggle and ask them to leave it! Even the most backward workers are seeing through the shameful role these gentlemen are playing as the agents of the bosses.

### Workers Stand United Under Red Flag

But the entire mass of the eight thousand workers—Hindus and Muslims—stand united behind the Red Flag and are determined to fight out their battle against the Birlas and the disruptors. On December 2, at a public meeting, their voice roared in the air demanding "Chuck the Birlas out of the Congress."

On the success of this strike of the Kesoram Mills largely depends not only the future of the textile workers but also that of the entire working-class now faced with postwar retrenchment and unemployment. Birla's victory would only be a signal to every other boss to go all out against the workers in their post-war offensive.

The workers are standing firm behind their main demands which are:

1. One month's bonus for all.
2. Increment of Dearness Allowance for the workers in the Hosiery Department.
3. Discharged workers to be reinstated.
4. Police cases against the workers to be withdrawn.
5. Provision for Provident Fund and over-time wages.
6. No victimisation.

## A Patriot's Notebook

friends of mine with whom I have had arguments about Communist policy and on anti-Communism; and in the end they would turn round and say: "But, if what you say is true, how is it that the entire Nationalist press in the country is speaking against you?" I would ask all such friends to read the story of Khasa and the Indian Express.

The "entire" Nationalist press may be speaking against us today, but in reality it is the voice of half a dozen Birlas and Goenkas. And you do not have to stretch your imagination very far to find why these gentlemen are so much opposed to the Communist Party and Communism! The only pity is that today they are permitted to do their dirty work under the cover of the Congress.

### Daughter Of Old Congress Family Donates To Party Fund

**A** PARTY comrade of ours has just received a cheque for a hundred rupees for our Party Fund from a young Congress-minded lady. She is not a Communist, has differed and still differs from us today, politically, on a number of vital issues. She comes from an old Congress family, knows Gandhiji personally and used to correspond with him regularly. She is also a great friend of Acharya Kripalani and of Kaka Kalelkar.

Along with the cheque, she sends a letter to our comrade wherein she writes:

"To begin with, what is uppermost in my mind, I am enclosing a cheque which though small comes with our best wishes for the Party. The day we received the first election supplement, we had some British army men over to dinner and I mentioned that I was going to sell my gold bangles and contribute to the Five Lakhs Fund, so they dished up forty rupees between the three of them. Not bad eh? The rest is from us. Shall send along anything else I can lay my hands upon later, if possible.

"I have missed getting the index for the P.W. Could you possibly procure it for me somehow as I am keeping a file and need it badly?"

"The other day two top Congressmen came along to ask me to help on the election day. As the oppos-

ing candidate is a Mahasabhaite, I agreed, but... (a friend of mine who is an old Congressman—N.K.K.) is so disillusioned about the Congress tactics that he was quite irritated at my doing so. He does not feel like having anything to do with them, but I feel if we co-operate and then criticise, our bonafides are proved and the criticism carries weight also.

### Her Reaction To Present Policy Of Congress Leaders

"The other day I was arguing with Kakasheeb (Kalelkar) about the goondaism (against Communists—N.K.K.) in Bombay and said, 'You know Kaka I have certain differences. I'm not a Communist'. 'I don't know', he replied. During the argument what he said shocked me beyond bounds. Evidently some students of his who are your Party men now, went to him and gave the facts and what do you think was the reply of the other side? Not that they hadn't done it but that they had not beaten up the whole Party indiscriminately, but chosen out those who had told on them in 1942! It really breaks my heart.

"I had it out with Kripalaniji too. It is all a very long story and you can hardly imagine how painful it is to me. Told him how I had worshipped him for standing up for truth and non-violence, and open diplomacy in politics and how I felt he had changed. He said I had changed and told me not to try to discuss politics with him and what not. What sent him absolutely wild was my saying that the Communists may call the '42 stand mistaken, but I call it immoral. I know you will disagree but I still maintain my point.

"There were other things which came out too, which it is not in the public interest to repeat and which it behoves us as workers of unity to slur over as far as possible with an aching heart. Honestly politics can be a very dirty game when it is not kept above board!"

This is the reaction to what is happening inside the Congress today—of a daughter of an old Congress family in Bombay whom family traditions, love of truth and honesty and a good patriotic heart brought into the Congress and made a devotee of Gandhiji and other Congress leaders.

*N.K. Krishnan*

JAGIRDARS AND TITLE-HOLDERS, NOT MEN OF THE PEOPLE

Against Current Of Popular Awakening

Out of the thirty-eight candidates selected by the Muslim League Parliamentary Board for election to the Provincial Assembly there are seven Khan Bahadurs, one knight, five Nawabs, one Khan Saheb and two army recruiting officers.

IN the district of Dera Ismail Khan, out of four rural seats, Nawabs have been nominated for three. One of the biggest Nawabs of the Frontier to get the League ticket is QUTUB-UD-DIN KHAN of Tank (Dera Ismail Khan).

Nawab NASRULLAH KHAN is another jagirdar who has been given the League ticket from the district of Dera Ismail Khan.

Yet another nominee is Nawabzada ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN from the same district.

None of these worthies was a Muslim Leaguer. Their entry into the League coincided with their application for nomination for Assembly membership. It goes without saying that there is no record of public service associated with any one of these. On the contrary Nawab Nasrullah Khan is notorious for the ill-treatment of peasants in his jagir.

Why has the League given tickets to Nawabs for three out of four seats from Dera Ismail Khan? It is because Dera Ismail Khan is a poor and politically backward district of the Frontier and the League, as an organisation, is practically non-existent here. So in order to win the seats somehow or other these shady elements, who can afford to spend a lot of money, have been mobilised by the League.

What Of Congress Candidates?

What of the Congress and Khudai Khidmatgars of the district? Congress nominees for these seats are hardly better than their League rivals. Rival jagirdars have been given Congress tickets.

For example, against the Nawab of Tank, the Congress has put up another big Khan—ABDUL HAMID of Kundli. Agamb Nawabzada Zulfiqar Ali Khan the Congress has set up Nawabzada ALLAH NAWAZ. And against the only good League candidate from Dera Ismail Khan, ABDUL QAYUM KALACHI, a lawyer, the JAMIAT-UL-ULMA, supported by the Congress, is putting up a landlord, SARDAR ASADULLAH JAN.

Feudal and tribal rivalries are being utilised both by the League

and the Congress in order to win the elections. Principles have been thrown to the winds. The people and their interests are forgotten.

Another politically backward district is Kohat.

Here also there are four seats. One of the recipients of the League ticket here is Khan Bahadur MOHAMMAD RAFIQUE KHAN. Besides being a Khan Bahadur, this gentleman has the additional "qualification" of being the protegee of Nawab Baz Mohammad Khan of Tehri—one of the biggest Nawabs of the Frontier, and like the rest of them, a toady and tyrant.

Another Nawabzada who has got the League ticket is Khan Bahadur MAHABAT ALI KHAN.

Using Religious Conflict

From this district has also been put up MALIK RAHMAN KIYANI, of the Bangash tribe professing the Shia faith. As this Bangash tribe has a predominance in this constituency, the League ticket has been given to him. During the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in 1930, Government utilised the tribal and sectarian conflict and used the Shia Bangash tribe, who were recruited as special police, to crush the Khudai Khidmatgars who belonged to the Sunni Khattak tribe. The League is now utilising this conflict for its own benefit!

The only good League candidate from this district is KHAN YUSUF KHAN, a Barrister of Peshawar. However, he too has got the League ticket not because of his work in the League, but because he belongs to an influential family of the Khattak tribe.

Of the four seats in the Bannu district, Khan Saheb DAMSAZ KHAN has been nominated for one. This gentleman is a military contractor—one of the neorich. It is said that he told the members of the League Parliamentary Board, who stayed with him during their visit to Bannu, that he would apply for the League ticket only if he got an assurance from them that he would be nominated!

Another candidate, who is himself a member of the League Parliamentary Board, is Pir ABDUL

LATIF ZAKORI. He earned notoriety during the Hindu-Muslim riots in Dera Ismail Khan. All Frontier knows him to be in league with Government officials.

Rich But Illiterate!

The third recipient of the League ticket is ZARDAD KHAN—an illiterate landlord.

Only HABIBULLAH KHAN, an old Khilafat-Congress worker, can be said to be a good League candidate from this district.

Among the six League nominees from Mardan district, is Nawab Sir MOHAMMAD AKBAR KHAN of Hoti—the richest landlord of the Frontier. Mr. Jinnah stayed with him when he visited Mardan last month. Except his riches—he has no qualifications. Like his peers elsewhere he is a toady.

Sincerest Leaguer Left Out

While the Nawab of Hoti has got the League ticket, the oldest and sincerest Leaguer in this district, Khan BAKHT JAMAL KHAN, ex-President of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League, has been rejected as a nominee. Bakht Jamal Khan is an old fighter for freedom, who was in the Khudai Khidmatgar movement from its inception. For several years he has been working selflessly in the League. But factionalism and the poverty of Bakht Jamal came in the way of his nomination.

Big Fights

In the Mardan district, the Khudai-Khidmatgar movement is strong. The sitting M.L.A.s from this district belong to the Congress. With its present team the League will have a very stiff fight with the Congress.

But the really big fight between the Congress and the League would be in Peshawar district which, including the city and the Mardan-Peshawar landlord seat, sends ten Muslim M.L.A.s to the Assembly.

It is significant that the two Muslim League leaders from here—politically the most advanced district of the Frontier—Khan ABDUL QAYUM KHAN and Sardar ABDUL RAB NISHTAR—both ex-Congressmen.

The League candidate opposing Dr. KHAN SAHEB from Charanada is Khadim MOHAMMAD AKBAR an ex-Khudai Khidmatgar himself who has spent long years in prison. For another seat two cousins, ABDUL RAHMAN KHAN (sitting Congress M.L.A.), and ABBAS ATAULLAH (Leaguer), are facing each other. The son-in-law of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, YAHYA JAN, will be contesting the Peshawar city seat on behalf of the Congress against Khan Abdul Qayum.

From South Nowshera, Khan MIR ASLAM (Leaguer) will contest Mian JAFAR SHAH, Congress Parliamentary Secretary. Mir Aslam Khan is a rich contractor, while Mian Jafar Shah is an old Khudai Khidmatgar. Qazi ATAULLAH, Congress Minister for the P.W.D. and Education is also a candidate from this district.

Good Riddance

The League candidate from Mardan-Peshawar Landlord Constituency (which has only 1,100 voters) is Khan Bahadur Mian MUSHARAF SHAH, brother of the Congress leader Mian JAFAR SHAH. In this connection one should mention the agreeable fact that AURANQZEB KHAN, who was the sitting member from the other landlord constituency, has not been given a ticket and has been dropped by the Muslim League.

Remains the Hazara district. Here the Muslim League is quite strong. The Congress (Khudai-Khidmatgars) as an organisation is weak. Ten Muslim M.L.A.s are also elected from this district. But inner League factionalism has played havoc here. One of the Leaguers to get a ticket from this district is Raja HAIDER ZAMAN. He is a big landlord owning ninety villages and is notorious for his oppression of peasants. He holds the rank of a Major and is in charge of recruitment to the Army.

Another League candidate is Chary Bahadur MOHAMMAD ZAMAN KHAN, who is also a recruiting officer, with the rank of a Captain. An old and loyal Muslim Leaguer, Mohammad Sardar KHAN TAHIR KHAILI has been rejected. Except for Khan ABBAS KHAN (Ex-Minister who recently resigned from the Congress and joined the League), and Sardar BAHADUR KHAN (Speaker in the present Frontier Assembly), none of the League candidates are good

choices. The most unworthy of all is Khan Bahadur JALAL-UD-DIN who is a member of the League Election Board and who has got for himself the League ticket for the safe urban seat of Four Cities. This gentleman is a notorious toady. Everyone knows him to be a Government-man. He has made a lot of money as a war contractor. Against him the Muslim Leaguers of Hazara have been agitating for a long time.

Most Unworthy Of All

It is said that many local Leaguers asked him to declare publicly that he was an anti-imperialist. He refused to do so and boasted that he was a "super-toady." Yet through intrigue and flattery and through the influence of wealth, he managed to make himself popular with the League top, and got himself nominated. All this has resulted in strong discontent in the League ranks in the district of Hazara.

With this set-up it is no wonder that factionalism is rampant among the top leaders. It is the common joke in Peshawar that as many as four League leaders are aspiring to be Prime Minister in the next League

Ministry and for this purpose each tried to get men of his group nominated. Under the circumstances merit, public service and honesty were at a discount. Mr. JINNAH, when he was in the Frontier, seems to have sensed this and in his public speech referred to persons "who were manoeuvring to be Ministers after the elections as cats who only dreamt of meat." Understand that Khan Abdul Qayyum Malik Bahman Kujani and Habibullah have formed a group in order to secure offices in the next League Ministry.

Tragic Result

This is the tragic consequence of the policy pursued by the League leadership in the Frontier during the last two years. They did not organise the League on a proper democratic basis. They appointed Qazi MOHAMMAD ISA "to organise" the League in the Frontier. He promptly dissolved the Provincial Organisation and discouraged the healthy local elements from coming on top in the League.

At the moment no provincial Muslim League exists in the Frontier. There is only a Committee with the inevitable Qazi Isa as President whose job is to pilot the League through the election.

When united service of the people is discarded; when you turn your back against fellow patriots in other camps; when the great freedom sentiment surging in the hearts of the Muslim League masses is canalised not against British Imperialism but against brother Hindus, then you open your doors wide for disruptors, self-seekers, and toadies to creep into your organisation and poison its very soul.

Then even the incorruptible leaders harassed and unhappy, shout, "Vote for the League candidate, even if he is a monkey." But can Muslim solidarity for Pakistan under the great freedom banner of the Muslim League be built in this way?

Behind The Scenes

WHAT TRANSPIRED INSIDE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE

by Our Political Correspondent

I LEARN from reliable sources that sharp differences were revealed inside the Working Committee when discussing the Election Manifesto.

There was hot discussion on the sentence in the Manifesto "The Federation of India must be a willing union of its various parts." Sardar Patel pressed for deletion of the clause "willing union," he thought even this was going too far. But Pandit Nehru insisted on its retention and Maulana Azad said, "We won't approve of the Manifesto without its inclusion." A deadlock was almost reached on this which was solved only with Gandhiji's intervention.

In regard to Labour, the Manifesto says "the State shall safeguard the interests of the industrial workers and shall secure for them a minimum wage and a decent standard of living, proper housing, hours of work and conditions of labour in conformity, as far as economic conditions in the country permit, with international standards."

Here the qualifying phrase "as far as the economic conditions in the country permit" which had been put forward by Sardar Patel was opposed by Pandit Nehru. In the end Sardar won his point.

Congress-Govt. Truce?

The A.P.I. political correspondent's revelation about a truce between the Congress and the Government is resented in Congress circles, but there is strong talk that such an estimate came from a Working Committee member himself. Nationalist circles are surprised at the Congress demand for a judicial enquiry in connection with the Calcutta firing instead of a non-official enquiry committee, which is what the public have been demanding. They link up this stand of the Congress with reports of the Congress-Government truce.

Maulana Azad's praise of the Calcutta students and criticism of the leaders' refusal to come to the spot during and after the firing is taken by all as a direct attack against Sarat Bose and his son Amtya Bose.

Recently discontent of the Official Congress group in Bengal against Sarat Bose has been growing fast. They feel that they are edged out of all power by Sarat Bose and openly scouted by him on every occasion. I hear they complained against Sarat Bose

Wooing Shyamaprosad

To counterbalance Sarat Bose, it is said, negotiations with Shyamaprosad have been started. It is known that Gandhiji sent a letter to Shyamaprosad and Nehru and Patel met him. The rumour goes that Shyamaprosad is likely to join the Congress. Though the Mahasabha Secretary has recently contradicted this, many think that it is likely that Shyamaprosad will come to a deal with the Congress leaders. Dr. B. C. Roy is supposed to be the intermediary.

Casey Reports to Wavell

I hear that Casey during his recent flying visit to Wavell just after the Calcutta disturbances told the Viceroy that the situation would not have taken such a serious turn had not the Communists participated and brought about the transport strike. This, according to Casey, threw thousands into the street, with nothing to do but join up meetings and processions and create mischief! In confirmation of this Casey cited the fact that he had got the assurance of the Bengal political leaders dissociating themselves with all that had happened, and said that the Communists by spreading troubles actually tried to discredit the Congress!

Casey is also reported to have told Wavell that the recent strikes in Bengal (which are really being fought by workers to defend themselves from retrenchment and being thrown on the streets) are purely political strikes worked up by the Communists.

All this is linked up in semi-official circles with reports of a Congress-Government truce.

BELATED BUT WELCOME

(Continued from page 8.)

I met the Mahila deputation when they came to see P. C. JOSHI. They were very angry at the way Patil had treated them.

Anti-Communist Tail Wags

It now became too difficult for him to sit quiet. Too many non-Communists had raised their voice. One had only to meet the Mahila deputation to see that the most respectable and honest non-party housewives were demanding condemnation of hooliganism.

Finally, Shri Patil issued a press statement. Even here Patil attributes the goondagiri to 'mob fury', 'election heat' etc. He 'hastens' to assure the public a full month after he was requested to do so. The fact of the matter is that the attacks on our girls who sell Lok Yug took place long before the elections, and the raids on our Party office were not 'spontaneous mass outbursts', but were deliberately planned and organised.

A great deal of mischief has been done. The poison has spread,

it has destroyed the respect for women political workers so much so that even the Peeli Pughdis (police constables) were emboldened to be rude to Communist women workers—as happened at Parel to one of our women workers who was insulted by a police constable and threatened with arrest when she stood up to defend herself.

That is why Patil's statement though belated is welcome. It tears the Congress mask from the face of the goondas and makes the job of silencing them far simpler.

Honest Congressmen all over the country who are proud of our freedom movement and respect the honour of our women workers, must raise their voice. They must compel all Congress leaders to stop their slander of the Communists (which directly encourages the goonda elements), condemn goondaism, smash police provocateurs and make clean democratic life possible. The conduct of the police constables in Bombay is a danger signal that should wake up all of us.

—by A. S. R. Chari

★ Wavell's Imperialist Trap
★ Congress-League Reactions
★ Each For Separate Compromise?

IN our Editorial last week, we analysed Wavell's speech and showed how it is nothing but the most reactionary Imperialist blue-print for post-war India based on the game of "divide and rule" against our national movement.

Wavell's main appeal was to the Congress for he knows he cannot carry through his plan in the teeth of Congress opposition.

As a second string to his bow, Wavell kept a bait hanging for the League by promising the Indian people "a government or governments of their choice."

If the Congress agrees to such a shameful compromise, then it would get the semblance of independence and a "United India" (Coulpland Plan) and British help to crush Muslim League resistance, if any, to the same.

This is the real plan which lies concealed behind Wavell's talk of "co-operation" and "conciliation."

Congress Leaders Sounded

Wavell's speech in fact, came in the midst of prolonged talks between himself, Mr. Casey and the Congress leaders (including Gandhi); and the Congress Working Committee meeting which was in session at the same time.

From knowledgeable circles, it is reliably reported that the Congress leaders were sounded about the British plan for settlement and that post-election constitutional developments were discussed.

The political correspondent of the A.P.I. who has access to Congress Working Committee circles and is generally well-informed, has reported that "a kind of political truce between the Congress and the Government appears to be the outcome of the recent discussions between Congress leaders and the representatives of the British Government in India."

A similar report comes from the equally well-informed Calcutta correspondent of the Madras Hindu.

All this is corroborated by the fact that Calcutta correspondents of Nationalist papers in their despatches throughout the period of the talks wrote of the "optimistic feeling prevailing in Congress circles."

Reference was made by these correspondents to the two resolutions on non-violence and the INA passed by the recent session of the Working Committee. Maulana Azad significantly enough characterised the resolution on non-violence as "the most important one passed at the Session."

Its significance at this juncture can be realised if it is contrasted with the one passed at the Bombay AICC Session last September. There the Congress leaders for the first time after their release took stock of the events of 1942 and after, but the resolution passed

and then did not condemn sabotage and violence in the unequivocal terms in which Gandhi had done it. The Congress leaders in their speeches at the Session did so even less.

This has been done for the first time in the present resolution, which not only deprecates violence, but rules out a mass movement for sometime to come:

"... such non-violence does not include burning of public property, cutting of telegraph wires, derailing trains and intimidation.

"The Working Committee is of opinion that Civil Disobedience, mass or any other, meant for the attainment of freedom is inconceivable without the adoption of the constructive programme on the widest scale possible by the masses of India."

The Calcutta correspondent of the London Daily Express in a

marks: "On the other hand the very inevitability of effect being given to the majority decision of a representative body like a Constituent Assembly induces a desire among all its elements to agree as far as possible."—A polite hint to the British to throw in their weight against the League.

Hindi & Marathi Press

The premier Hindi and Marathi Congress papers too comment in the same strain of mingled hope and fear. The hope is that the British will settle with Congress and torpedo the League; the fear is they may not!

It is from this angle alone that Wavell's speech is looked at and commented upon.

The Delhi Hindustan (Birla owned) says: "The Congress is not impatient for a clash, but is Britain prepared for a compromise?"

The Benares Aj does not like the harsh passages in Wavell's speech and where he throws sops to the League; and is "sorry because the speech has spoilt the atmosphere created by the Calcutta talks."

by N. K. Krishnan

message published on December 14 says that Mr. Casey in his meetings with the Congress leaders, "has won them over from hostility to something like friendliness... the Congress Working Committee has reaffirmed its policy of non-violence. The tone of their political speeches has changed. A triumph, this, for Mr. Casey."

Maulana Azad has come out and denied any Congress-Government "settlement or compromise," but the above facts are enough to show which way the Congress leadership is moving.

One gets a clear confirmation of this when one goes through the reactions of the Congress press to the Wavell trap and the Working Committee resolutions. What the leadership thinks and reasons out cautiously, the followers put quite bluntly and crudely.

Congress Press Comments

National Herald, Jawaharlal's own paper, calls Wavell's speech "well-meaning, but utterly unsatisfactory." It says:

"The resolutions pushed by the Congress Working Committee and the statement issued by Maulana Azad explaining them constitute a complete answer to Lord Wavell's appeal for co-operation and goodwill... the worst critics of Congress cannot say that the Working Committee has queered the pitch for Lord Wavell in any way. There is still enough goodwill and there is still enough of the spirit of co-operation. It cannot be wholly on one side, however. And what then?" (Dec. 15).

The Hindustan Times (Birla owned) makes pointed mention of the Working Committee resolutions on non-violence and the INA and says:

"While the Congress leaders acting on the advice of Mahatma Gandhi have done their duty (sic!) in taking their unequivocal stand on non-violence, it will be a sad mistake on the part of the authorities in India and England to think that they will now be free to deal with the Indian question leisurely. When millions are on the move the ability of leaders to direct and restrain their march (my emphasis—NICK) is necessarily limited..." (Dec. 15).

Having enlarged on the spirit of co-operation and willingness for settlement on the Congress side, it wants to know what the British Government will do if the League proves non-co-operative; a clear question,—will you help us to put down the League?

The Bombay Chronicle (Dec. 12) complains that "agreement becomes extremely difficult when every party is given a veto on a settlement." And pointedly re-

The main point of attack in Wavell's speech of Lokshakthi (official Congress daily in Marathi, whose patron is Shankarrao Deo himself) is his reference to "one or more governments"; it has nothing to say against the Viceroy's offensive filibuster against the Congress. It advises Lord Wavell that if he encourages the League today it will prove a boomerang for the British tomorrow: a clear pleading,—settle with us in your own interests, not with them; we alone can deliver the goods.

Help Us To Fight League?

It is shocking the way the Congress Press has reacted to the Imperialist plan for post-war settlement envisaged in Wavell's speech. There is no recognition that it is an offer of a shameful compromise fraught with dangerous implications for our freedom movement; there is no frontal attack on the most reactionary features of the plan—the alliance it envisages between British and Indian vested interests at the cost of the common man, the way it perpetuates the most rotten feudal props of Imperialism inside the country like the Princes and thus continues their own domination.

They do not even defend the self-respect of our national movement against Wavell's insolent sermonising.

The main question which disturbs them and which they ask Wavell, hopefully is: Will you side with us against the League and help us to fight it?

Where else does all this come from—except from the illusions which the Congress leadership themselves nourish about the British and which have intensified after the Calcutta talks?

League Press: Reverse Of Same Medal

The League Press (Dawn, Iqbal of Bombay, etc.) exhibits the opposite side of the same medal. They openly gloat over the insolent gibes of the Imperialist Viceroy against the Congress, our biggest freedom organisation. They catch eagerly at the bait of a separate settlement (a "Pakistan" under British auspices!). Wavell offered in his speech and openly appeal to him to settle with them on that basis, putting down Congress resistance.

Just what the Imperialists want, in case the Congress rejects their plan and goes in for a struggle—settle separately with the League and use it against the freedom struggle.

A POLICY DOOMED TO FAIL

P. G. Joshi's Statement On Expulsion Of Communist AICC Members

P. C. JOSHI, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following Press Statement on the latest Working Committee resolution expelling the Communist members of the A.I.C.C.:

Anyone who reads the Working Committee resolution and our answer to their charges will see for himself that the judges do not seem to have even read our answer. They have closed their eyes and ears to the mass of documentary evidence marshalled by us to disprove every single charge against us.

We have honestly admitted the authenticity of all our Party documents but we have proved to the hilt that they have either misquoted or misused our quotations to suit their charges and not themselves endeavoured to get at the truth.

They are such judges that, though we asked for the evidence against us, of which they have made great use in their final resolution, they refused to give it to us.

The less said about the language the Congress leaders have used the better. They have gone to the extent of using the same language which Imperialist Prosecutors have always used against our defence in the numerous conspiracy and sedition trials we have faced, saying that our defence was meant for "propaganda".

We have shown all the respect that is due to the leadership of a great national organisation. But we have defended truth as we know it with the tenacity that the descendants of Ram Mohan and Tagore, of Sir Syed and Iqbal, must show if they are at all to be true to their own conscience and the common cause of freedom.

It is not we who suffer from "self-righteous arrogance" but it is the Congress leadership that is demonstrating blind sectarian pride. We suffer from no sense of guilt, we seek no favours. Therefore we use plain and blunt words.

We are pained at the disruptive policy that the Congress leadership are following, not because it hurts us; we can look after ourselves; we have not built up either our Party or the working-class and kisan movements through their favours, but with our own sweat and through our own sacrifice. But we are pained because their policy hurts and postpones the day of a united final struggle against British Imperialism.

In our answer to the Congress leadership we have shown that it is not we but they who went against the fundamental policy of the Congress by adopting a double-faced strategy of diplomatic bargaining with the British rulers and demagogic speech-making with the people. It only means swinging to and fro from a policy of negotiating with the New Delhi Sahibs to one of talking big of struggle to the people.

Their demagogic threats of a struggle after the shame of Simla and then their sermons on non-violence after the Calcutta firing, close upon another talk with Lord Wavell, are only the latest example of the path the Congress leadership have been following ever since 1920. We do not believe that such duplicity can be the fundamental policy of our freedom movement.

It is a bad day for a great patriotic organisation when its leadership begin to think that it is not only 'the' national organisation but also the entire people and the sole monopolist of all the patriotism that exists in our great land.

We have stated our agreement and differences about the past in our answer. The future alone will show who is undermining the prestige of the Congress: the traditional allies of the British Imperialists, the profiteering black-marketeers and the feudal parasitical landlords whom the Congress leadership are openly embracing and welcoming into the Congress; or we Communists who are being hounded out, and who have built up whatever organised working-class and peasant movements exist in our country.

They damned our Party as a traitor party long before they looked into the facts. We had to resign from the Congress to be able to explain and defend our policy freely and work earnestly for Congress-Communist unity.

Their policy is doomed to failure because it is based on pride and prejudice. We shall work our hardest and win because ours is the path of brotherhood and the struggle for a truly patriotic policy for the entire national movement with all its sectors, territorial, economic and cultural, for the final bid for power from British Imperialism."

December 14, 1945.

The Manshoor (coming out from the Central Office of the League in Delhi) puts it clearest. It is glad at the use of the phrase, "a government or governments by one who has described Pakistan as an act of operation." "But," it says, "the question as to whether there will be one or more governments in India cannot be settled by negotiations between the Indians. So long as the British Government is powerful in India, it is its job to declare a division of India."

It forecasts "a Hindu-Muslim Civil war" in any other contingency. The Manshoor cites examples when the British did divide India in the past—in the case of separation of Burma, the setting up of Sind, the Frontier, etc. as separate Provinces despite Hindu opposition and argues that it should not be difficult for Britain to do the same today. It concludes: "After the elections, it is Britain's first duty to divide India and convene Constituent Assemblies in Hindu and Muslim areas respectively."

The League Press only puts crudely and bluntly what Mr. Jinnah himself said in his liberal constitutionalist way in his comment on Wavell's speech. Mr. Jinnah welcomed Wavell's refer-

ence to "a government or governments," and where he wielded the big stick against the Congress. He "wished" that the Viceroy would next time "make it more clear that the division of India is inevitable and that it is the only solution of India's political problem."

Illusions about a separate unilateral compromise with the British Imperialists, each side looking to British help to put down the other; and resulting from them, the fight of the Hindu against the Muslim, of brother against brother;—this is where the Congress and League leaderships are both moving.

It will bring India not freedom, but continuance of Imperialist domination in a new form and a few crumbs for our vested interests as junior partners of the British Imperialists. This is just the trap Wavell in his speech laid, pitting our two major political organisations, the Congress and the League, against each other and trying to prevent a united challenge to British rule.

Are we going to walk into this trap—or, to blow it up, forge a united peoples' front of freedom, based on equality and justice to all sections of our people and the right of self-determination to all our national units?



PT. NEHRU AND MRS. NAIDU SPEAK UP AGAINST IT

Bengali Nationalist Dailies Attack "Congressmen Who Ape Fascists"

THE clumsy 'anti-Communist' stunt worked up by Sarat Bose's son at the Deshapriya Park meeting and the widespread hooliganism against the Communists that was organised (see centre pages of this issue for full story) in Calcutta following it, have brought about a shake-up of public opinion.

The strength of public indignation has forced Congress leaders to speak up. PANDIT NEHRU, speaking at a public meeting at Burra Bazar (Calcutta) on December 10, glorified the Calcutta students' demonstration against lathi charges and firing and said he would have flown to Calcutta to see such great happenings.

He deplored the action of the leaders who did not go to the spot to guide the students—an obvious hit at Sarat Bose who stayed away and later explained it by saying that the whole thing was a 'Communist conspiracy with the police!' Ridiculing the idea that Communist 'provocateurs' were behind it all, Nehru said:

"Bring such provocateurs to me. They must be great men if they could rouse Calcutta's forty lakhs."

He also had a word of warning against anti-Communist goondaism—which was blacked out in the all-India press, but printed in the Calcutta edition of the Amrita Bazar Patrika of December 11:

"But one thing he wanted to say here. He had heard that a girl and a boy were lying in hospital being beaten up by some persons who put on Gandhi caps and carried the National Flag. The Congress while striving for an United India, welcomed an opposition party.

"In Bombay and Calcutta he had been told that some Communist members tried to 'cut the microphone wires but he wondered why they should do so at all. He had been told that after the Deshapriya Park meeting, members of the Communist Party had been attacked and injured. This must be stopped, Congress wanted to work peacefully and would never support such attacks on members of other parties."

Mrs. Naidu's Appeal To Congress Women

MRS. NAIDU is furious with the whole affair and with attacks on Communist girls. She condemned Communist-baiting and goondaism in the strongest terms when a deputation from the MAHILA ATMA RAKSHA SAMITI met her on December 12. The same evening, she publicly condemned it at a women's meeting presided over by Sita, LABANYA PROVA DUTTA.

"It is not by maligning others, it is not by attacking boys and girls as had happened in the last few days that they would win 'swaraj'. She believed that the Congress had a false message for some who by wearing Gandhi caps had been attacking people of other groups who did not think like them.

"This was cowardly and she wanted that every woman should condemn such occurrences in the name of the Congress. They of the Congress had a pattern of national honour, a national courtesy. They had an example not to sit on judgement on others but to see that nobody sat in judgement on them."

It is a sign of the times that both these speeches have been blacked out in the all-India press and Pandit Nehru though he spoke up clearly at the Calcutta meeting, has not yet issued a public statement against anti-Communist goondaism which would necessarily have gained all-India currency and improved the situation.

Maulana Azad's Stand

On December 11, Communist workers who had been injured by rowdies on the 9th met Maulana Azad. Maulana Azad was shocked when he saw their wounds and said he would do his best to con-

demn such acts but added: "Communists are responsible for starting violence in the political field as in Bombay, Poona and other places." This was flatly denied by the Communist deputation, but a garbled report has come in the Press which only says that Maulana Azad accused the Communists of starting violence!

Two days later, on December 13, a deputation from the Mahila Atma Raksha Samiti saw Maulana Azad who said he was grieved at all that had happened and that he would do his best to stop such incidents which could not be regarded as Congress activity. But he too would not issue a statement about it.

The Jugantar, a Bengali nationalist daily with a wide circulation, made a straight attack editorially on December 12 on anti-Communist hooliganism:

"Those who run amok on hearing the word Communist, those who have no patience, restraint and power of judgement to investigate into the whole matter—have such people the right to be in the Congress and use its name?"

The Basumati daily, a Hindu Nationalist paper, in its editorial of December 13, wanted to know:

"If any political party or organisation has the right to brow-beat any other party, to interfere in its free expression of opinion? If not, then why do a group of so-called Congressmen, taking the name of the Congress, spread slanders against the Communists and indulge in goondaism and even attack ordinary members of the public by falsely accusing them in many cases to be Communists?"

"Those inside the Congress who are aping the Fascists by indulging in these heinous acts of political goondaism and false slanders, it is they who are the worst enemies of the Congress. We appeal to-day to every Congressman, patriot and our people to save from the clutches of these fascist goondas the Congress organisation and the great ideal for which it stands."

So two of the three Bengali dailies with the widest circulation in Bengal have spoken up. Only the Ananda Bazar Patrika, Sarat

Bose's mouthpiece, continues the hymn of hate against the Communists.

Students Set An Example

Leaders might still be held back by prejudices, but Calcutta students—Congress, Muslim League and Communist—have taken matters into their own hands to put things right.

On December 11, Pandit Nehru was due to speak in the University Senate Hall. Microphones were being tested in the morning outside the hall while a Mohurum procession was passing by. The noise was resented by the Muslim crowd and bricks-bats were thrown about and the police stepped in to disperse the crowd. The next day, the nationalist papers called it Muslim goondaism, while the Muslim League paper, Azad, called it Hindu badmashi.

Meanwhile, Congress students in the Post-Graduate Department met and passed a resolution condemning Muslim goondaism and held the League responsible for it. Prahlad Dey, an anti-Communist student leader, attacked the Communists as 'instigators' but fumbled when challenged to prove it. The Communist students opposed the clause blaming the Muslim League and said it was a pure act of goondaism, for which it was not correct or fair to blame the League. But the Communist amendment was lost and the resolution was passed.

On the 14th, Muslim Students' League boys put up a poster in the Post-Graduate Department saying that Gandhi-capped Hindu students had tried to remove the League flag from the Muslim Girls' Hostel and called it 'Congress goondaism'. A large number of students read the poster and communal tension mounted high.

Immediately, Communist stu-

dent leader GAUTAM CHATTO-PADHYAYA, General Secretary of the Calcutta Students' Federation (in which Communist and non-Communist students both work), got up and spoke for an hour saying that both incidents were acts of goondaism and Congress and Muslim League students should not use them for mutual recriminations. The general opinion among the students was in Gautam's favour and the Muslim students' leader, NIZAMUDDIN HYDARI, agreed to withdraw the poster provided Congress students stopped attacking the Muslim League for the microphone incident.

SAMAR BOSE, leader of the Students' Congress, (rival student organisation to the Students' Federation, in which Congress boys normally hostile to the Communists and the Muslim League work), then put up a poster condemning the attack on the League flag and the Muslim students tore off their own anti-Congress poster too.

'Peace Maker' Thanked

In the afternoon, a general meeting of students was held in the Ashutosh Hall. Nizamuddin Hyderi presided and said:

"This meeting is not to carry on bickering but to stop goondaism. From here we shall declare that no political party supports goondaism and shall defeat the mischief-makers. So I want your sincere co-operation."

The Muslim girl students described the incident in their hostel. Congress student, SUSHIL SEN GUPTA, condemned goondaism and MOAZZEM on behalf of the Muslim Students' League, moved a resolution condemning both acts of goondaism. At the end of the meeting, many students who had been saying 'irreconcilables cannot be reconciled' came and complimented Gautam as being the 'peace maker'.

S. K. PATIL'S BELATED CONDEMNATION Bombay Citizens Protest Against Use Of Violence To Fight Political Opponents

ON this page we publish the Press statement issued by Mr. S. K. PATIL, General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee (BPCC) on December 13. It has by no means come too early. We had sent a letter to Shri NAGINDAS MASTER, President of the BPCC a month earlier on November 14, requesting him to dissociate the Congress from and condemn the goonda attacks on our Party Headquarters. We offered to meet him to discuss the matter. There was no reply.

Even as late as December 4, Patil wrote to D. S. VAIDYA, Secretary of our Bombay Committee (see elsewhere on this page) that he was waiting for more 'authentic details.' Now at last has come his press statement.

Pressure Of Events

That it is the pressure of events and public indignation raised from all quarters, and not love of democratic principles or of non-violence alone, that led Patil to issue the press statement would be clear from the following facts.

On November 24 came the fourth attack on Communist Party Headquarters. In sheer self-defence the raiders were beaten back. It was such a clear goonda attack that even the Nationalist press was divided. The Free Press Journal and Lokmanya gave the fact that it was a goonda attack on us; the Navakal, A.P.I., etc. put out the official Congress version that Communists rushed out of their office and assaulted innocent crowds—returning from Sardar Patel's meeting.

During the Central Assembly Elections Congress supporters beat up Mahasabha boys which enraged Mahasabha supporters so much that when Patil went to Goreganjkar building to pacify the people, he was nearly mobbed.

Congress supporters had actually brought out a mock funeral procession of Dhandere, the Mahasabha candidate (who was defeated), went to his house,

stop." Some said, "We wanted to come forward to stop it, but we saw the mood of the mischief-makers and knew they would not listen to us." Others said, "We have seen that you restrained yourself all along and were patient." There were some who said, "Of course, these things are done in the Congress name, but we are sure the Congress has no hand in it."

Slowly the democratic conscience of our people was being roused. Patil was finding it more and more difficult to keep quiet.

Women's Deputation

Then on December 12 a deputation of women workers of the PAREL MAHILA SANGH went and met Shri Patil. They were worried about the filthy abuse and attacks on women political workers. They had met Dr. SAVARKAR and Dr. AMBEDKAR. They had now come to Shri Patil, to ask him to sign an appeal to put a stop to it.

Shri Patil refused to sign saying that it would be derogatory to the dignity of the Congress, to sign jointly with leaders of what he called 'mushroom parties.' He indulged in a vitriolic attack against the Communists and told the Mahila workers that non-Communist women had nothing to fear.

The women deputationists would not be so easily brow-beaten. They stuck to their guns and said that Communist women are also women; that Dhandere's wife, a non-Communist, had to face the worst type of hooliganism and that they expected Shri Patil to condemn any attack on women political workers.

Shri Patil had to say, "Of course, he was against any attack on women," but hinted darkly that non-Communist women who agree to work with Communist women would have to face some trouble for "green wood burns along with dry wood."

(Continued on page 4, col. 1.)

HIS PRESS STATEMENT

"During recent weeks several incidents have been reported in the Press and to the Congress House of unseemly mass demonstrations, very often resulting in violent acts against the members of the Communist Party and Hindu Mahasabha. It is alleged that these violent demonstrations generally accompany and follow the elections when public excitement is at a boiling point.

"The Communist Party of India several times complained that their offices and even some of their members were foully abused and molested by an infuriated crowd. It is difficult to examine the veracity of every reported incident. However, complaints coming from responsible persons must be assumed to be true.

"On behalf of the Congress, I hasten to assure the public and particularly the injured parties that by no stretch of imagination can any Congress organisation or a responsible Congressman have any hand in these demonstrations, sometimes culminating in violence.

"The Congress, both by its profession and practice, is opposed to every form of violence. On behalf of the Congress I have not the least hesitation in strongly and unequivocally condemning mob violence in every shape and form. The Congress has a responsibility to the public and it has developed in popular imagination its standards of public morality.

"In the name of the Congress, I have to call upon the people of this city and particularly political workers to observe greater restraint and tolerance against their political opponents, whatever their crimes may be. It is nothing short of cowardice to attack or abuse women workers because they belong to the opposite camp. If people love Congress as they do, they must obey Congress and follow its principles in their personal conduct. Non-violent conduct is the greatest help to Congress in all its activities.

"I have to specially appeal to Congressmen to shoulder the burden of maintaining peace and discipline especially during the election campaign when feelings are bound to run high. Let us fight out these elections with the utmost restraint and goodwill."

(Bombay Sentinel, December 13 '45).

- U. S. DESIGNS ON CHINA
IRANIAN DEMOCRACY GROWS STRONGER
NEW BRITISH INTRIGUES IN GREECE

LAST week, President Truman made an important statement redefining U.S. policy in China. The occasion was the impending departure of General Marshall on a special diplomatic mission to Chungking—Marshall is replacing General Hurley who resigned his post some weeks ago, because he could not persuade the U.S. Government to openly throw its entire armed might on the side of the Kuomintang and against the Communist-led democratic armies and governments.

Truman in his statement underlined two points; first, the need for ending the Civil War; second, the convening of a conference of representatives of "major political elements" to stop the "internal strife" and "bring about the unification of China."

Explaining these points, he stressed support of Chiang's Government as the only legal Government of China, but also emphasised that that "support will not extend to United States military intervention to influence the course of any Chinese internal strife," and that the U.S. would strive for a broadening of Chiang's Government.

On the face of it, Truman's statement looks good—as though the U.S. has finally rejected the Hurley policy of backing Chiang's war on Chinese democracy and is going to work sincerely for a China, "united, democratic, and peaceful."

U. S. Uses Jap Troops

But the past policy of the U.S. ever since the Japanese surrender certainly does not rouse confidence in Truman's sincerity—and justifies the guarded comment on his disclaimer about military support for Chiang, made by Communist spokesmen—that "we hope this is so."

For the truth is that Truman has been doing in China what Attlee has been doing in Indonesia and Indo-China.

Everyone knows Britain has made use of Japanese troops in its attempts to suppress the national movements of Indonesia and Indo-China.

So also has the U.S. in China. NOYES THOMAS, Times of India correspondent, cabled on December 16 that "both Chinese Central Government and American forces have been forced to use Japanese troops defensively, (of course)—M.K.) just as the British were forced to use them in Indonesia and French Indo-China."

Again it is common knowledge that British imperial intervention in Indonesia springs from no love for the Dutch but out of its fear of the effect of the break up of the Dutch Empire on their own Colonial Empire and of its desire to safeguard its economic interests—i.e. the oil monopolies.

Financial Interest

So also the U.S. in China. The Hongkong correspondent of the London News of the World wrote on November 29, that:

"Powerful American business interests, represented by U.S. subjects in service uniform entered Hongkong shortly before the Japanese surrender. Chinese merchants confidently promise to do business in U.S. goods within a week or two."

A Chungking report (Dec. 2) of the official Chinese Central News Agency also reveals that the U.S. chemical, electric power, electric goods, steel and railway installation companies are planning to begin 'operations' in China in 1946, while oil interests are negotiating for oil concessions.

These are the real objectives of the U.S. in China—the same as

those of British reaction in our own country and in all south-east Asia. Truman by supplying Chiang with arms and some armed support had hoped to suppress the Communist-led democratic movement and establish, through Chiang, U.S. economic domination of China.

He failed and U.S. public opinion was too strong to allow him to intervene openly and fully, with millions of soldiers, guns, tanks, atom bombs and the rest—the only way to destroy the democratic armies. This is why he has become so 'pacific', so warm in his desire for ending 'internal strife'—strife that only began because Chiang was sure of U.S. backing.

Truman's statement, however, certainly does not mean that the U.S. has finally given up ideas of destroying Chinese democracy. The United Press of India reported on December 18 that his plan for settlement in China was "primarily designed to silence criticism and create a favourable impression in Moscow."

The report goes on to state that "General Marshall is being sent to Chungking with very precise and definite instructions."

"These instructions are believed to imply a complete backing of the Chiang Kai-shek regime and contain specific orders in support of all efforts to wipe out the Communist influence in China which is seriously hindering the American plan for commercial hegemony over the Far East."

Thus it has yet to be seen how sincere this statement is—whether the U.S., seeing no other way today, will allow the Chinese people to settle their own affairs minus its intervention on the side of reaction, or whether after the Moscow meeting has ended Truman will come out into the open with a fully anti-democratic policy.

Which Way In Iran?

IN Iran events are moving fast. The people of Iranian Azerbaijan have set up their own democratically elected Parliament, and a new Government has been established whose objective is provincial autonomy with freedom to teach their language in their schools and elect their own cabinet, apart from the Ministers of War and Foreign Affairs. The Government will collect taxes itself and give a percentage to the Central Government.

And with the democratic movement in the north reaching a new height, the real cause of the anxiety of reaction in Iran is beginning to appear. The News of the World correspondent reports that "there is now every indication that the rebel movement is not confined to Azerbaijan. In Tabriz the Democrats openly claim to be leading the way for all other provinces in Persia."

Only a few days before Reuter too had reported discontent even in the provinces where there is no Tudeh (People's Party) movement; particularly "against the manner of living of the deputies in Teheran and their total neglect of the provinces."

In reality, the democratic uprising in northern Iran must have inspired and encouraged the people all over Iran—and there is no doubt that with the consolidation of the Azerbaijanian movement, the movement in other areas will also grow; it is this that will finally determine Iran's future—and teach the British that intervention on the side of the reactionaries will no longer bring any solution in their favour, and that agreement on the basis of a democratic independent Iran has to be achieved.

Vetoing Progress

WHILE the British reactionaries protest against Soviet 'interference' in Iranian affairs and Reuter broadcasts it to the entire world, their own mis-

deeds in Greece, of course, pass unnoticed.

First, they tried to keep a puppet Royalist Government in power; this proving completely ineffective, they were forced to agree to a Centrist Government with the support of the EAM, the Greek Liberation Front.

This new Government began with certain important progressive measures; relations with the USSR have improved, the Minister of Labour has restored general trade union liberties.

On the other hand, on two key questions—general amnesty for ELAS (Liberation Army) troops and supporters who are still in jail and purge of monarchists and former fascists from the army and police—nothing has been done.

The new Greek Government has made it clear that it is the British who have vetoed their amnesty proposal.

Greeks Vs. British

To discuss the question of the purge, Sophoulis, the Liberal Premier and Sofianopoulos, Foreign Minister, met on November 30, Sir Reginald Leeper, British Ambassador, Generals Scobie and Rollins, commanders of British occupation forces. The two Greek statesmen proposed certain changes in the leadership of the army and police. The three British representatives refused to sanction this change, the Government accepted their veto.

The EAM has sharply criticised this weakness of the Government and declared that representatives of the EAM should be included in the Government—for its mass support alone could ensure the Government standing up for and carrying out a progressive policy. This certainly is the only way in which a Government, independent of British control and representing the wishes of the people, can come into existence in Greece. December, 18.

Communist Election

Pamphlets

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At The Trial Of Nazi War Criminals

LET THERE BE LIFE, DEATH TO DEATH

AS I look at them in the dock, I recall their misdeeds. I in Kiev, at the Babi Yaar Rzehev, in burning Bryansk, dreamed of this hour near Ravines, in Minsk, in Vilnius. I remember the streets of Paris, with Keitel's soldiers marching through. I remember our girls hunted down by Saukel, the grief of Poland, Frank's playground of Byelorussia and the Ukraine, where Rosenberg raged.

Barbarism In The Dock

We are listening to annals of evil we know by heart. They were written not in ink, but in the blood of people whom we loved. It is a book whose contents we know by heart.

As for the accused, they are petty criminals who have committed major crimes. In the dock is not merely a score of bloodthirsty gangsters, but Fascism itself—its wolfish ideology, its amorality, its haughtiness and its meanness.

People have gathered in the ruins of Nuremberg from all parts of the world, not to witness the exemplary punishment of twenty criminals, but to unfold before the nations a bloody scroll, a history of unparalleled crime. Their purpose is to save their children from a recurrence of the plague.

Before us are the infanticides. We think of the cradles of dead children.

The United Nations have decided to try the murderers in the city where they prepared their sin. And with what does the "master race" busy itself today, amid the ruins of Nurem-

wound of Leningrad. Humanity is the judge. Everyone of us is the judge.

Here in Nuremberg you feel history drawing breath. The criminals will hang—conscience demands it. It is not only Fascists that will be condemned. The verdict will also be passed on Fascism, on those who created it, on those who wish to revive it, on its forerunners and its successors. The nations have suffered too grievously to be satisfied with anything less.

People In Court Room

They cannot take their eyes off Nuremberg—the old Montenegrin woman whose children the Germans burned to death, the friends of Gabriel Peri (French Communist murdered by Nazis), the women from Mariupol who told me how a German pulled the garments off her little girl, so that she cried and said: "It's cold, uncle. I don't want to have a bath." But his purpose was to kill her. And he buried her alive.

The Russian soldier's widow, the child from Lidice (Czech village razed to the ground, its people massacred)—they watch Nuremberg. All people on earth who have human hearts are in the Nuremberg courtroom. They all say:

"Sweep Fascism from the face of the earth! Sweep the infamy of Nuremberg from hearts and brains! Let there be care of eyes, and children, and towns, and poetry! Let there be life! Death to death!"

by Nitya Ehrenberg

It serves coffee, shines boots, whitewashes the tribunal walls.

"My Brothers, My Sisters"

I have the impression that, although the accused are badly depressed, they find something rather reassuring about the atmosphere of the court, which—come to think of it—must seem quite mild to them. After all, in the kind of court they are used to, executioners, not lawyers, do the talking.

Are there only eight judges here? No! Assembled in the Nuremberg courtroom are my brothers, my sisters, war prisoners, starved to death, children gassed in murder vans, shadowy ghosts from Maidanek, Oswiecim and Treblinka (three of the biggest Nazi death factories). And what are these sounds that haunt the ear? The faint sound of ashes drifting to the wintry earth, the creak of Barakka towns, the blood of hostages dripping to that same earth. Before my eyes is the blood-



# BRITISH ATROCITIES IN INDONESIA

## The Soviet Puts Some Questions

THE American and British press is loud in its denunciation of "Soviet interference" in Iran—the worst rags even about of "Soviet totalitarianism" which is like "Hitler's Fascism."

The truth however always comes out in the end; and any honest man who reads the FACTS we have given about Iran,—and the lies that Reuter has given,—should know the real worth of the imperialist rantings of London's yellow press.

The reality is that with Hitler and Tojo gone, the black cap of reaction has been neatly taken over by the Anglo-American imperialist reactionaries.

Last week came news of an atrocity committed by the British authorities in Java which can well be put on the same level as the worst of Hitler's acts; using petrol, they systematically burnt down an entire village of 1,000 houses; a day before, aeroplanes, using bombs and rockets, wiped out the entire village of Tjibadak.

But these acts are only serving to rouse the Indonesian people to a more solid unity behind their Free Government—and honest British democrats are raising their voice against these vile acts of terror.

"Are such shameful deeds," protested the Liberal London daily the News Chronicle, "now to be done in the name of the British people and no voice be raised in protest? The British nation fought the war because it believed in the sacred value of individual human life. It fought the war hating violence and loving freedom and mercy. Because of the way it fought, it emerged not merely victorious but was crowned with new honour. Shall we see that honour tarnished in the eyes of the world and knowledge of our own conscience by stooping to the crimes of our enemies—crimes we fought to avenge? Orders must be given for this wickedness to stop."

### Indonesian Movement Stronger

Meanwhile in Indonesia, the last month has seen a solid growth of support for the Provisional Government.

The turning point came on November 13, when the old cabinet which was formed in August and which included many who had collaborated with and not fought the Japs, resigned and a new cabinet headed by DR. SULTAN SJAHRIR was formed. Dr. Sjahrir, announcing the formation of his new cabinet, emphasised three points:

- \*First that his cabinet included no one who had collaborated with the Japanese.
- \*Secondly that democratic elections for a National Assembly be

held, and  
\*Thirdly—(and this is so important that I give the exact words Dr. Sjahrir used);

"In order to stimulate the growth of sound political thinking, the Government of the Republic has called upon the people to organize parties to represent all shades of political opinion in the country. The nuclei of some such parties were in existence before the Japanese occupation and had to remain quiescent during the period of Japanese rule. Both the Dutch and the Japs were equally hard on Communists and political parties which stood for complete untrammelled independence. The Republic of Indonesia will ban no political organisation so long as their tenets or actions do not run counter to recognised democratic principles."

This cabinet has rallied all—moderates and extremists—against British and Dutch intervention; the Communist Party of Indonesia, underground since 1928, has now emerged as a legal organisation once more, its Chairman is MOHAMMED YUSUF and it has decided to participate in the 1946 elections.

### British Lies Nailed Down

The British and Dutch propaganda has made big play of divisions between the "moderates" and "extremists"—the idea being that the British were only fighting the extremists, but Sjahrir has sharply answered this saying:

"There can hardly be such a thing as war against extremists alone. If the British are going to bring more forces to start military action, then all Indonesians will resist as best as they can."

"There can be" he concluded, "no peaceful discussions if blood is inside to flow in Indonesia."

And that Sjahrir's Government is getting stronger was admitted even by Reuter—who reported on December 14 that his Government's influence in western Java was increasing.

The battles of course go on—but the British are yet nowhere, have not managed to make any headway towards the liquidation of Indonesian authority over any considerable part of Java—while in contrast Indonesia's armed forces remain intact.

### Soviet's Pertinent Questions

All this shows clearly the role of the imperialists—who is being "totalitarian," and who democratic; and it is no wonder that last week ZASLAVSKY, Soviet commentator, asked some very pertinent questions:

"Are there any British troops in PERSIA which appeared there before the 1918 treaty; if so, when did they come? What for? Where are they? How many of them are there? What

are they doing? Do they come under the terms of the 1918 treaty?

"Why are there large British land, air and naval forces in PALESTINE? Why are they turning Palestine into a theatre of operations?"

"What are British troops doing in INDONESIA, which is supposed to be a foreign country to them? How did they get there? How long after the termination of the war will they continue hostilities in Java?"

"The United States, as far as is known, has no treaty with Persia providing for the stay of American troops there. There is no treaty, but there are troops. When did they come, what did they come for, where are they and how many of them are there? When do they intend to leave, and do they intend to leave?"

"We have seen it in China too, where there are United States troops and very prominent American generals. These troops are operating. Why? What for? How many? How long?"

"The world is full of alarming

questions of this kind and there are no answers."

Uncomfortable questions for Bevin and Byrnes? I wonder what the White Sahib's organ—the Times of India—will have to say about this—though I expect all it will do is to preserve a discreet (and uncomfortable) silence!

### "Daily Herald" Exposed

Our paper has made quite a name for itself by exposing the lies of Reuter and the distortions of our own nationalist press. So also has the Daily Worker, the organ of our brother-Communists in Britain. Last week, its columnist WALTER HOLMES showed up the dishonesty of the Labour Party's official organ, the Daily Herald, in its handling of the news of the British Government's All-Parties' Mission to India. Holmes wrote:

"Time moved fast in the Daily Herald on Tuesday night. During the afternoon the Government announced its decision to send a mission of members of Parliament to India and the Daily Herald reported this and printed a leading article approving of the move.

"It concluded: 'We await with confidence the welcoming assent of Indian opinion,' and forthwith there appeared across the Herald's front page the headline: 'CONGRESS WELCOMES MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT INDIA MISSION.' Then in large type appeared the report: 'Rank-and-file members of the Congress and other parties expressed satisfaction at the endeavour by the British Government to clear up the misunderstanding over its plan for India's future.'

"Quick work to get those expressions of satisfaction from India" comments Holmes sarcastically, "But how touch more convincing all this would have been if the Daily Herald had related some of these!"

"Yesterday morning," Holmes goes on, "quite a few views from India criticising the mission began to come . . . Among the Press the Times of India appeared to stand alone in approval of the Government's statement—but then the Times is British-owned."

"One might suspect the Herald of over-zealousness to create support for this latest expedient for fobbing off the Indian people—but the Herald's readers might well ask for what reason they are fobbed off with 'news' which is, not to put too sharp a point upon it, unsubstantiated."

Holmes concludes by saying: "The Government statement continues the hypocrisy under which the present regime in India is regarded as a constitution to be protected from overthrow by force. It is no constitution at all but imperialist rule upheld by overwhelming force. India needs and wants a franchise of free people. It wants no more pious pronouncements but some action showing honest purpose."

A very neat exposure of dishonesty directed at deceiving the British people—and part of the great tradition of the world Communist Press—that always fights for truth and against lies, for the people of every country and against reaction, whether of their own country or elsewhere.

—Mohan Kumaramangalam

## Inside Japan

From A Correspondent

# BIG MEETING DEMANDS ENDING OF TERROR AGAINST DEMOCRATS

## Why Communists Oppose Early General Elections

Delayed. Tokyo, Nov. 10. One of the biggest meetings held since the defeat of Japan took place in Tokyo this week when the Communists raised the demand for the smashing of rightist terrorism—terrorist acts with which the Japanese fascists were attempting to destroy the democratic parties.

THE meeting attracted great attention in Tokyo—all the papers sent reporters, newscamerasmen lit the stage with floodlights and filmed the proceedings. Red Flags decorated the entire hall—and one huge poster read: "DO NOT ALLOW THE MARTYRS BLOOD TO BE WASTED."

KYUICHI TOKADA, one of the leaders of the Communist Party who had been recently released from jail, declared that the party's policy was not to resort to violence so long as "liberty and freedom were guaranteed by the Allied Powers."

"However," he warned, "if the Japanese imperialists use force against the people, then we will be forced to use violence."

Tokada also stated that the Communists opposed the early holding of General Elections—because the time was too short for the general public to know about "the atrocities of the Emperor system", while the reactionary imperialists still possessed too great economic and political power and thus were in a position to influence the elections.

He added that the elections also would be conducted by anti-democratic officials and that the correct course would be that "the elections be held after the solution of the pressing food and housing situations, for the relief of war victims and unemployed."

### Communist Proposals to Socialists

The Communists whose influence along with that of the Socialists is growing steadily, have proposed the organization of a united front between the two parties; the Communist leader, GAKU SANNO has written an

open letter to the Social-Democratic Party and has urged that the Communists and Socialists should fight the elections together and not in opposition.

### Fake Dissolution Of Monopolies

Communist criticism has been particularly directed at the tardiness and reluctance with which MacArthur's occupation authority is moving against the reactionaries.

This same week has come Supreme Commander MacArthur's directive, supposedly smashing the power of the four huge monopolistic combines—the Zaibatsu composed of MITSUI, MITSUBISHI, YASUDA and SUMITOMO; these four between them controlled directly 40% of Japanese economy and indirectly all Japanese economy.

Mitsui, biggest of the four, has always been closely linked with the Imperial family; the sole boss of the family was Baron TATAKIMI MITSUI who controlled the three-fifths of the ten million shares in the company, that were owned by the Mitsui family.

All that MacArthur's directive has done is to approve of the Liquidation Commission set up by the Japanese Government which, under the supervision of the Allied Command, will put through the breaking-up of the Zaibatsu.

It has been officially announced, however, that all that the new Commission intends to do is to force the directors to resign, and to see that the shares are sold in the open market; pious promises have been made that "preference will be given to the little owner" and that "no members of the Four Big Families will be permitted to buy a single share of the new companies," but the fact

is that no ordinary man will be able to buy many shares while these same big rich families who remain wealthy will buy these shares through dummies.

### Nationalisation—Only Way

The only real way by which the Zaibatsu can be smashed is through the nationalisation of these huge concerns, so that they become the possession of the people.

This reluctance of MacArthur's command to take full action against the big industrialists who also control the trade mechanism has led to growing hardships. In the first week of November, large crowds picketed Premier SHIDEHARA'S Official residence, demanding that the Government should take immediate measures to control prices, introduce effective rationing and smash the black-market.

It is commonly said here in Tokyo that at least one-third of the city's population is on starvation diet and goes out regularly into the countryside to get sweet potatoes. The blackmarket price for sweet-potatoes is 86 yen per kan-shih while the official price is one yen per kan-shih!

Unemployment is also rapidly mounting, while winter is approaching and at least 50% of the people are still clad only in light summer clothing.

### Growing Distress

The situation in Japan, therefore, remains bad. The MacArthur policy of working through the Shidehara Government which is still dominated by reactionaries, agents of the Zaibatsu and the military clique, has only resulted in growingly worse conditions for the people—with the possibility of food riots not far off.

It is also rumoured that American Big Business is making contacts with high Japanese industrial circles and is attempting to reach an agreement by which some sort of joint exploitation of Japan will be achieved by them working together.

## MR. KANHAIYALAL VAIDYA'S REJOINDER

In connection with the article "Paid Agent of Gwalior State" printed in People's Age of December 2nd, 1945, Mr. Kanhaiyalal Vaidya has sent us a long statement in which he says that he is not a paid agent of the Gwalior State, and that the letter printed there which had been widely circulated in the nationalist press, including Vandemataram, is a forgery. He also says that he had never made any propaganda against the Communists.

Mr. Vaidya has also sent us a statement of a purported press interview by Mr. Hirway, the addressee of the letter, saying that he had nothing to do with the document.

In a printed appeal in Hindi addressed to the people of Central India, Mr. Vaidya says that he is retiring for the time being from all responsible positions in the States' People's organisations.

The people of the Central Indian States will be able to judge the whole matter best themselves.—EDITOR.

# Freedom-Loving Persian People On The March

## AGAINST IMPERIALIST HIRELINGS AND GOVT. TERROR

[Today in Iran the battle between the democratic movement and the pro-imperialist landlords, capitalists is on; naturally most of the news sent by Reuter's to India, hides the truth and paints the pro-imperialists as leaders of the Iranian people's struggle for freedom, the 'democrats' as agents of "Soviet imperialism."]

This account of happenings in Isfahan and Teheran, two of Iran's biggest cities, from a Soviet journalist who visited Iran late this year, gives a glimpse of the real truth—of the mighty upsurge in Iran and the desperate fascist methods, that imperialism's agents are resorting to in attempts to suppress the democratic movement—Editor].

Isfahan is one of the biggest industrial centres of Iran. It has more than half a score modern woollen, cotton, carpet and other mills built comparatively recently, a power station, and many small handicraft and artisan working shops. We visited two of the largest woollen mills. One of them, the *Vatan*, belongs to Kazeruni, a well-known Persian manufacturer. The other, the *Pashmbaf*, belongs to a joint stock company. They impress one as being quite up to date.

We passed through the bright and spacious shops, with their modern machinery, where all the principal processes were mechanized. The courtyards were abundantly planted with trees and flowers. Each of the mills employs over one thousand hands.

In all, there are more than fifteen thousand industrial workers in Isfahan. If we add the workers of the numerous, still almost medieval, workshops, and the craftsmen, we would probably get a total of upwards of twenty-five thousand workers.

**A**BOUT half the employees at the mills we visited were men, roughly a quarter women, and another quarter children, some as young as six or seven. We later had the opportunity to visit textile mills in Mazandaran and other cities, and everywhere we observed approximately the same proportion of men, women and children. In small workshops in the bazaars and in the artisan shops child labour is employed on an even larger scale.

We were astonished at the low wages. Most of the men receive 15-30 rials per day. Only a small number of the workers, the most highly skilled, and the foremen, receive higher pay. Women are paid 8-18 rials, and children 8-9 rials per day.

### Growth of People's Party

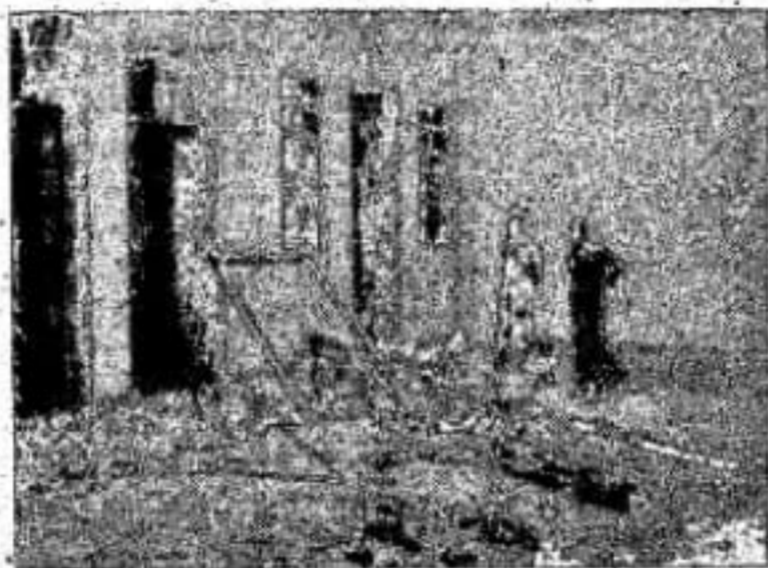
After abdication, in 1941, of REZA SHAH, who did not tolerate labour or democratic organizations of any kind, the Isfahan workers formed trade unions, with whose help they secured a certain improvement in their conditions: reduced working hours, issue of overalls and bread, etc. A large majority of Isfahan's workers joined the trade unions. A trades council was set up to co-ordinate the activities of the various unions.

Almost at the same time a branch of the People's Party was formed in Isfahan. These democratic organizations, having secured certain concessions from the employers, very soon gained considerable influence, not only among the factory workers, but also among the artisans and other sections of the city's labouring population.

It is significant that in the elections to the Mejlis, FEDAKAR, candidate of the trade unions and the People's Party, received nearly 30,000 of the 31-34,000 votes cast. This was almost double the vote received by DR. MOSADDEK, the most popular of the deputies for Teheran, for whom less than 17,000 votes were cast out of the total of 41,000 (how limited the suffrage it may be gathered from the fact that Teheran has a population of roughly 100,000).

The day FEDAKAR left for Teheran he was escorted through the streets of Isfahan and far beyond the city by tens of thousands of people.

In 1943-44 the manufacturers and city authorities were forced to consult the trade unions on many questions.



Isfahan Trade Union offices after a raid.

### Common Front of Reactionaries

The employers were alarmed at the growing influence and prestige of the democratic organizations. KAZERUNI, the owner of the *Vatan* mills, complained to us that the workers were too exacting in their demands and behaved like masters, making him, the millowner, feel like their servant, that the mills brought him nothing but unpleasantness and that if they were to burn them down tomorrow his only regret would be that the workers would be left without jobs.

These lamentations, of course, have to be taken with a big pinch of salt. But they are significant of the attitude of the employers, who wish to be the absolute bosses of their establishments and cannot tolerate the workers to secure even the most elementary human rights.

In order to retrieve their position, the manufacturers joined hands with the local feudal landlords, the most prominent of whom is SAREM-ED-DAWLEH, son of Zilli Sultan, a prince of Khadjar who once laid claim to the Shah's throne. Making common cause with the reactionary elements among the local authorities, the employers and feudal landlords began to take energetic measures to undermine and destroy the labour and other democratic organizations.

### Zia-ed-Din—Foreign Agent

Their principal tool was the local branch of the *Vatan* Party. This Party consisted of riff-raff, criminal elements and suspicious characters generally. Its leader was the disreputable SAYYID ZIA-ED-DIN who is notorious in Iran as a frank and un concealed paid agent of foreign powers. The *Vatan* Party was in receipt of large sums of money.

In Isfahan it first started its disruptive activities in those factories where the influence of the trade unions and the People's Party was strongest. The Isfahan manufacturers supported the Sayyidists in every possible way.

When, after the earthquake in Gorgan, Sayyid Zia-ed-Din demagogically announced that he was starting a fund in aid of the sufferers, the Isfahan manufacturers immediately contributed nearly one million rials. Be it remarked, incidentally, that the Sayyid Fund Committee collected

altogether about ten million rials, chiefly among his rich supporters, but spent, as FALSAPI, the deputy from Gorgan, declared in the Mejlis on May 22, 1945, only thirty thousand rials. The rest of the funds vanished without trace.

Even in the Mejlis, where the exposure of swindles is no rare occurrence, the question of bringing criminal proceedings against Sayyid Zia was actually discussed.

The Sayyidists systematically plot and conspire against the People's Party and the trade unions. They arm their followers, provoke clashes, and so on. The Hamrahan a so-called socialist party formed by FATEH, director of the Teheran branch of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, adopted a somewhat different procedure.

### Workers Shot Down

This organisation campaigned against the People's Party and the trade unions under a socialist label. Fateh himself, who has influential connections in Isfahan—his daughter is married to the son of SAREM-ED-DAWLEH, the big landowner mentioned above—came to visit Isfahan several times.

But in spite of all the efforts of his supporters their organisation only succeeded in recruiting a few score members among the Isfahan factory workers.

In April 1944 the Sayyidists provoked an armed clash with the workers, in which police and troops intervened, and as a result of which some thirty persons were killed or wounded. Shortly after this the manufacturers and the Sayyidists compelled PREMIER SAED to recall BAHROMY, Governor General of Isfahan, who had refused to be an obedient tool of the reactionaries.

But in the April affair the Sayyidists failed to inflict serious defeat on the democratic forces. The trade unions, the People's Party and the other democratic organizations, far from losing, only gained in prestige. The Sayyidists, on the other hand, revealed their true visage and sank even lower in the eyes of the people.

The manufacturers and the reactionary elements thereupon decided to launch a fresh attack on the democratic forces. Bahromy was replaced by VARASTEH as Governor General of Isfahan, who, together with MUHTARY, the Chief of Police, supported the at-

tacks on the People's Party and the trade unions in every way.

Two Mejlis deputies, SEIF PUR FATEMY, a well-known Sayyidist, and DOULATABADI, came to Isfahan from Teheran in the early part of 1945, and with their help an organization bearing the significant title *Alliance of Workers and Capitalists* was formed as a counterweight to the trade unions allied with the People's Party. In order to attract the workers to its ranks the manufacturers raised the wages of members of the Alliance and offered them a number of other inducements.

### Terror And Martial Law

There started a series of terrorist attacks on leaders of the trade unions and the People's Party. When the workers complained to the police and the courts—the only result was that the attacked, not the attackers, were arrested. The employers sacked scores of workers who refused to quit trade unions associated with the People's Party.

Finally, on March 27, 1945, raids were made on the Isfahan committee of the People's Party, and on the offices of the trades council and the *Dunia Emruz*, a progressive newspaper. The raiders wrecked and set fire to the premises and looted everything they could find. About twenty leaders of the People's Party and the trade unions received injuries, including Bograty, member of the Central Committee of the People's Party, and Shahense, editor of the *Teheran* democratic newspaper, *Ferman*.

Simultaneously, raids were made on the homes of prominent members of the People's Party. The raided premises of the democratic organizations are situated next door to the police station. But the police looked passively on and did nothing to restrain the bandits.

When it became clear that even raids of this kind were ineffective, armed police, troops and gendarmes were sent against the workers and the democratic organizations. Active members of the People's Party and the trade unions were hounded and beaten up in the streets. Restaurant keepers refused to serve them from fear that their premises might be invaded by some gang and wrecked.

In June 1945 martial law was proclaimed in Isfahan. Some two hundred members of the People's Party were arrested. Troops of the Isfahan division occupied all the police stations. The army, the police and the gendarmes were placed at the service of the reactionaries to smash the democratic organizations.

### Story Repeated in Teheran

Isfahan is not the only place where such strong-arm methods are employed by the Persian reactionaries against the trade unions and other democratic organizations.

In Teheran the terrorist acts against the People's Party, the trade unions and editors of democratic newspapers were at first chiefly the work of Sayyid's hirelings. The printshop of the People's Party and the trade unions was raided; grenades were hurled into the homes of DR. KESHAVARZ and other People's Party Mejlis deputies, and the doors of their houses were drenched with petrol and set fire to.

Letters have been received by editors of democratic newspapers threatening them with all sorts of dire penalties if they did not quit the democratic movement.

But violence in Teheran had very little effect. The Sayyidists only succeeded in hiring disreputable characters, tramps, hoo-

ligans and pimps for their dirty work. There is a notorious cafe on the square in front of the Mejlis in Teheran called *Lokante* where on the days when some "job" is on foot Sayyid's riff-raff foregather to be treated to a free dish of pilau by their masters.

On one such occasion, in May 1945, there was not enough pilau to go round. This touched the ruffians on the raw. They proceeded in a body to the club of Sayyid's party, the *Eraadee Mellis*, yelling "Death to Sayyid Zia!"

### Government Repression

Around Sayyid Zia are grouped elements who in the recent past were associated with the German fascists, DJAMIL GUZANLU, for instance, political commentator of Sayyid's newspapers, only a year ago was systematically writing up his war reviews from Goebbel's radio broadcasts.

When it became evident that Sayyid's hirelings were unable to cope with the Teheran democratic organizations unaided, the police, gendarmes, troops, the courts and other governmental agencies were brought into action.

In the past few weeks the authorities have closed down dozens of democratic newspapers, made numerous raids on clubs of the trade unions and the People's Party and arrested numbers of newspaper editors, trade union leaders and other members of the democratic movement.

On September 16, a group of soldiers and gendarmes, headed by Major ZARINAI, brutally beat up Dr. Keshavarz, Mejlis deputy in the main street of Teheran.

Police terror reigns in the capital of Iran and the most elementary democratic rights are trampled underfoot.

### Anti-Soviet Campaign

Rampant reaction in Iran is combined with a systematic anti-Soviet campaign. The Sayyidist and other reactionary newspapers, encouraged by the inaction of the authorities, indulge almost daily in calumnious attacks on the Soviet Union.

At the time of the raids on the trade unions in Isfahan on March 27, 1945, outrageous inscriptions appeared on the walls of houses vilifying the U.S.S.R. and its leaders. In Teheran, Tabriz and other cities employees of Soviet offices and Soviet citizens were assaulted in the streets.

Such are the lengths to which the reactionaries have gone. They made their first test of strength in Isfahan and are to-day, with the help of the Sadr government, the police and the army, attempting to rob the freedom-loving Persian people of their most elementary rights. (New Times—October 1, 1945.)

### PEOPLES AGE

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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At Paris ILO Conference

INDIAN WORKERS' DELEGATION EXPOSES GOVT.'S ANTI-LABOUR POLICY

(ABDUL MOMIN, General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress, was one of the three Communists out of the five advisors who accompanied Mr. N. M. Joshi, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) delegate to the International Labour Office (ILO) Conference at Paris in October last. Son of a building mason of Nadia District, a Bengal, Momin joined the Non-Co-operation movement as a school boy and went to jail.

The collapse of the Non-Co-operation movement urged him to look to a better and a surer method of freeing our motherland from the foreign yoke. A Hindu zamindar's son, drew him into the terrorist movement and during the early twenties, Abdul Momin collected arms and made recruits for the terrorist party.

But in 1928, he met Mirajkar Ahmed, one of the founder-members of the Communist Party of India and he was drawn into the Communist movement. He realised that in Communism, and not in terrorism, lay the hope of our freedom. He began working with Bankim Mukherjee and Abdul Halim amongst the jute workers of 24-Parganas and by June-July 1929, they had organised a strike involving 80,000 jute workers.

At the early age of 21, he was elected Vice-President of the Jute-Workers' Union. As General Secretary of the Calcutta Carriers' Union, he, together with Bankim Mukherjee, the President, organised on the eve of Gandhi's Dandi March in 1930, the huge strike of 40,000 carriers on April 1. The Government called it a 'hobnob' instruction and used the most brutal repression. Seven carriers were killed and 122 wounded and he and Bankim were convicted to four years' R.I. but were released after a year in jail.

In 1931, he was arrested under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and detained for seven years. Released in 1932, Abdul Momin plunged into activity again and began work both in the trade union and kisan movement.

In May 1935, Momin organised a strike in the Paper Mills at Burnpur in Raniganj. The Mill authorities drove their trolley over the bodies of the worker-pickets and killed Sukumar Banerjee. The workers were furious and the Government was forced to intervene and send the dispute to a Board of Conciliation, probably the first case in which the Government agreed to do so in Bengal.

In June 1936, in the general all-India round up of Communists, Momin was picked up and detained for two years under the Defence of India Rules.

Released once again in 1932, Momin devoted himself to trade union work. The whole of the labour organisation in the Jute Belt had collapsed due to the repression against the Communists. Momin worked to reorganise the Unions and by the end of the year had brought 2,653 jute-workers into the organised trade union movement.

He was elected General Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress (TUO) in recognition of his fifteen years of struggle and sacrifices in the working-class and freedom movements.

Abdul Momin returned from the I.L.O. Conference in the first week of December. When I went to interview him, he prefaced his interview with the remark, "Comrade, I come from a working class family. My father was a mason. I had not the funds nor the chance to go to college. My English is what I myself learnt from experience. It is not very good," he said.

This is the story he gave in what I thought was very good English for a self-taught man).

THE ILO is as you know an organisation which was set up at the end of the last World War by the League of Nations. The parent body has gone to its grave unwept. The ILO still continues. Originally they called it a labour organisation, but nowadays they have begun to emphasize what it has always been in fact, a tripartite organisation of the representatives of the Governments, Employers and Labour of all member-nations.

Ever since its birth, it has been dominated by reformist labour leaders, often hand-picked by the Governments of the countries concerned. It used to pass pious resolutions and adopt conventions which the Governments were expected to ratify, but the Government of India has only ratified seventeen out of sixty-eight conventions adopted by the ILO. Whenever inconvenient questions were raised, the ILO Governing Body would trot out the argument that the ILO had no executive authority and its functions were purely advisory.

Except for a handful like N. M. Joshi, the Grand Old Man of the Indian Labour Movement, most of the labour delegates did not bother much about workers and the general tradition of the ILO has been to say nothing which is likely to embarrass any of the Government or Employers' delegations.

Communists At ILO For First Time

Last year at the Philadelphia Conference of the ILO, the Government of India decided to send its own paid-agents, the representatives of the Royist Federation of Labour, which has no support of the workers but the financial and political patronage of the Government. This year the Government could not prevent the AITUC, the genuine body of organised Indian workers—from sending its delegation. N. M. JOSHI, was elected the delegate and a panel of five advisors, S. S. MIRAJKAR, R. B. MORE, R. A. KHEDGIKAR, P. R. K. SARMA, and I.

It was my first visit to Paris and it was also the first time in the history of the ILO that Communists were taking part in its deliberations. There were altogether six Communist advisers, three from India, and Stanley, Fleet and Papworth from New Zealand, South Africa and Great Britain respectively. Teng Fa, leader of the trade union movement in Communist-led North China was also there. He had come there for the World T.U.C.

Paris still bears marks of the ravages wrought by the Nazis. Taxes are low and difficult to get, the French Government have issued an order that invalids and children are to get priority. Even the tram service has not been resumed. Many of the trams were taken away by the Nazis to Germany. The few that were left, are all out of order and free France has not yet had time to recuperate. Cigarettes are so expensive that it is quite common

to see people carrying butt ends in their pockets.

French Resistance To Nazis

Along with N. M. Joshi we met Madame Morin, the fifty-year old

journalist and from her I was able to get some idea as to how the French people had organised and built up their mighty resistance movement against the Nazis. She told me that:

'At first when the Nazis came, the mass of French people were indifferent. Soon they saw what it meant. The Nazis hunted high and low for the Jews. Many of us sheltered them. But the Nazis used to catch hold of our kids. Many of them did not know how to lie, some were bribed with sweets, or terrorised by threats and they got information out of them. They got most of the poor Jews and sent them to concentration camps.

'It was only when the Nazis ordered French youth to be sent to Germany as slave labour that the mass of French people got furious. They did not know what to do. It was at this time that the Communist Party of France showed the French people how to organise resistance covertly. With their help almost everywhere people knew what to do and organised themselves to do it. The Resistance Movement grew stronger day by day in spite of Nazi terror.'

That was how the French Communists led their people in the struggle against the Nazis. Madame Morin, though a middle-aged widow, had herself secretly crossed the French frontier thrice to carry out her duties in the Resistance Movement. The last time, while crossing a frozen stream, she got stuck in the icy dash and had her legs severely frozen which laid her up in bed for over a month.

But I found that after libera-



Abdul Momin

BATTLE FOR DEMOCRATISATION AND UNITY WITH SOVIET

tion and quite recently the old conservative elements in French political life are following in the footsteps of Hitler—they carry on bitter anti-Soviet propaganda and accuse the very Communists who had played such a great and decisive role in the liberation of France of being the agents of Moscow. But the mass of French people know what the Communist Party has done and is doing for France. They gave their verdict in the elections.

New Democratic Voices

Even in the ILO the Paris Conference showed new forces raising their powerful voice—the voice of democracy and socialism.

Everyone knows that the Government of Argentina, Portugal, Iran etc. are either openly fascist or reactionary anti-democratic cliques. Most of those who came to Paris as 'representatives of labour' from these countries were really the henchmen of their Governments, handpicked for their anti-labour, pro-Government attitude.

LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, the world-famous Latin American working-class leader fired the first shot in the battle against reaction. In the Credentials Committee, he powerfully attacked the Argentine Government as a Fascist Government and said that the worker 'representatives' who had been sent there were not representatives of labour at all. He declared we must make it clear to the whole world:

'The ILO is a democratic body,

Fascists have no place in it.'

The Committee decided to put these Government hirelings out. But the Government and Employers' representatives of Argentina remained in their Committees; the Government and Employers' delegates of other countries were not concerned about democracy!

So also when the delegate from Portugal began to speak, voices were heard from the other delegates shouting:

'Yours is a Fascist Government. Why have you come here?'

Iranian Government Sets A Warning

The Iranian Government representing reactionary landlords and careerists had also sent some hand-picked agents of their own as the representatives of Iranian labour. The Government ignored the Trade Union Council, the genuine representative of the organised Iranian working class and the base of Iran's new democracy. The Government just informed its agents that they would be sent to Paris for the ILO and sent them.

The Trade Union Council which is a member of the World Trade Union Congress sent its protest. A great deal of discussion took place. There were many delegates who did not clearly know how reactionary and anti-democratic was the governing clique in Iran. Nevertheless the fact had to be admitted and the ILO Conference sent a warning to the Iranian Government not to send such hand-picked men but to send the accredited representatives of the Iranian working-class.

From Ireland too, the genuine representatives of organised Labour sent their protest, through the British delegation, against the presence of men whom the Irish Government had sent as representatives.

'Firstly, full Post-War Employment

'Secondly, labour problems of dependent territories.

'Thirdly, the welfare of young workers.

'Fourthly, inquiry into how far the various Governments had ratified the conventions they themselves had agreed to in previous sessions of the Conference.

Work Of Indian Delegation

What the Government of India had feared had come to pass. On every one of these issues, we from India ruthlessly exposed the Government's policy and fought for our workers' rights.

MIRAJKAR was on the Conventions Committee and he sharply exposed the Government of India which not only refused to ratify more than seventeen out of the sixty-eight conventions it had accepted at previous Conferences, but during the war brazenly flouted two Conventions that it had itself ratified:

- (1) By withdrawing the ban on employment of women, miners underground, a step which India's patriotic parties had vigorously condemned and fought against.
- (2) By increasing the weekly hours of work.

All the members of the Committee were amazed at this cynical attitude of the Indian Government in spite of Mr. Priot's (Government representative) laboured apology. He rushed to and fro, sent frantic cables to Delhi and finally announced that the Government of India had reimposed the ban on employment of women underground and such employment would be stopped from next February. That was the first victory that India's delegates won.

In the Full Employment Committee, KHEDGIKAR and MORE put the case for the Indian working-class and sharply castigated the Government for their callousness in throwing workers out of employment as soon as the war was over.

For the first time in the history of International Labour, More, himself an Untouchable worker and Communist adviser to the delegation, was attending a world forum to put the case of the Untouchable workers, their social and political disabilities and the Imperialist indifference to the conditions of the Indian people, particularly its mass oppressed sections, forcibly before the delegates.

In the Dependence Committee, P. R. K. SARMA, urged that the Ceylon working-class should be permitted to send its independent labour delegation. Hitherto as a Crown Colony it was deprived of the right and British Labour was expected to represent the cause of the Ceylon working-class. The Committee recommended that henceforward Ceylon should send its independent delegation.

In the Protection of Young Workers Committee, I urged the case of India's young workers. I pointed out that the Government of India had not ratified the convention that children under fourteen should not be employed. I urged that when children who are employed fall ill, they must be given full maintenance for themselves and sustenance for aged parents etc. who may be dependent on the young workers' earnings.

I found that the reformist labour leaders of Great Britain objected to this. They were sympathetic, they said, but they did not want it to be adopted as a Convention. There were several reformist labour leaders whose main anxiety was not to embarrass their own Governments by adopting too advanced measures.

First Breach In Reformist Fortress

I am glad I went to the ILO Conference. While we saw how strong even now is the grip of reformism in the world labour movement, the ILO session itself clearly showed that new forces were rising against it. An example of this was seen when the question of Nationalization of Industries was discussed. The majority of Labour delegations were in favour. But even the Labour representatives from Australia and America stood up, and sang the praises of 'Private Enterprise' that produced the 'Spitfire'! What they were blind to is the fact that the State had to a greater or lesser extent curbed the greed of the 'Private Enterprise' profiteers in the service of the nation which faced the perils of Fascism.

In the entire Conference, India stood out not only by the way it exposed the reactionary policy of the British Government in India, but also by the fact that N. M. Joshi, the leader of our delegation like the fine Liberal that he is, permitted us, his advisers, to speak in the Open Conference. It was only the Indian advisers that spoke in the open session; normally advisers are not permitted to address the open session, only delegates can do so. Others were full of envy and we fell of pride. N. M. Joshi, as India's representative, was a place in the Governing Body of the ILO.

The first breach has been made in the fortress of reformism that is the ILO. We must carry the attack forward, rout reformism which helps reaction. That is the duty of the organised Indian working-class and the world labour movement on a whole.