

PEOPLE'S AGE



IN THIS ISSUE

1946 IN REVIEW

-by G. Adhikari - Pages 2-3

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

-by M. Kumaramangalam - Page 5

RAIDS ON COMMUNIST OFFICES CONDEMNED

- Pages 8-9

CONGRESS AND THE STATES

-by Ramesh Sinha - Page 4

INDEPENDENCE DAY MANIFESTO

- Page 16

INDIA IN REVOLT

- Sketches by Chittaprosad

YEAR OF UNPRECEDENTED

On this Independence Day, we are in a position to review the first complete year or more that has passed since the end of the Second World War. In India, as everywhere else in the subject countries of the East, it has been an year of an unprecedented revolutionary freedom upsurge of the people seeking to break through the tottering bulwark of imperialist-feudal rule.

It has also been an year of imperialist counter-offensive against the freedom movement which has taken unusual forms, and has created ghastly internal conflicts to drown the freedom fight in a fratricidal blood-bath.

BUT the deep economic crisis, born out of the intensified imperialist exploitation of the war years, which has brought unbearable suffering and starvation to the broad masses of the toiling and common people, and sharpened their political consciousness and militancy, continues to operate as a mighty driving force, behind the rising revolutionary fight of the masses.

In Burma and Malaya, British imperialists betrayed the anti-Fascist peoples' liberation movements which played such a heroic role in the defeat of the Japanese occupation forces, and have established their old rule. But a new and widespread freedom upsurge is rising to challenge it—as is seen by the recent events, especially in

In December, the late Bhulabhai Desai, defending the I.N.A. prisoners in the spirit of the anti-imperialist demonstrations throughout the country, asserted the right of the oppressed people to revolt.

In January, the British Commander-in-Chief had to bow down before the popular storm and release the prisoners.

R.I.N. Mutiny

Hard on the heels of the 'Release I.N.A.' demonstrations and powerfully influenced by it, came the discontent in the ranks of the R.I.N. and the R.I.A.F.

The young Indian navy-men and air force-men demanded nothing more than equality of treatment in food, etc., with their British counterparts.

The naval ratings struck work and went on hunger strike, for their demands, in the ships and shore establishments. They demonstrated for the demands in the city—demanded the release of the I.N.A. and the withdrawal of the Indian troops from

murder in the streets. Over 200 peaceful citizens fell victims to their bullets in two days.

The naval rising and the great solidarity action staged by the advanced-guard of the Indian working-class in its support, were not an isolated incident.

They were a flaming signal which announced to the world that a volcanic discontent and anti-imperialist urge was smouldering in the minds of the Indian people and their armed forces, ready to be united and harnessed for the final annihilation of the rotten structure of imperialist-feudal rule.

Mass Actions

One has only to recapitulate the striking events and mass actions of the first six months of the year to be convinced of the truth of this generalisation.

● Within a week of the R.I.N. strike, some three hundred military sepoy-s stationed at Jubbulpore struck work and paraded through the streets with

Record Strike Figure

In the first six months of 1946, the strike figure of man-days lost was double that of the total figure for the year 1942, which was an year of maximum national activity and strikes in the war period.

The terrific fighting spirit of the striking workers is shown in the ease with which the workers responded to the call for protest strikes on every national and anti-imperialist issue.

It was seen in the unprecedented enthusiasm and the cent per cent strike vote in the ballot taken in April for the all-India railway general strike—on all principal railways.

It was seen in the rapid spread of the strike enthusiasm to other employees, to bank clerks, peons, primary teachers and to Government servants.

It was seen in the dogged manner in which the workers fought back repression (Amalner, S.I. Railway strike and Cawnpore).

It was seen in the gigantic sympathetic strike actions staged by the workers to support brother strikers. The most significant were the sympathetic one-day strikes in Bombay and Calcutta, where four and sixteen lakh workers, respectively, struck work in support of the all-India strike of the postal workers.

Kashmir Struggle

This dynamic pace of events in the rest of India was producing the first repercussions among the peoples of the feudal-autocratic States.

Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the people of Kashmir, launched in May a movement for the end of autocracy of the Dogra House and for the immediate introduction of a democratic constitution.

The Ruler promptly arrested Sheikh Abdullah and unleashed a reign of terror against the Kashmiri people, who, however, struck back and performed marvels of heroic resistance.

Pandit Nehru went there to intervene personally to get the repression stopped and negotiations reopened, but the arrogant Ruler, instructed by the British Political Agent, arrested Nehru

Instantaneously there were protest strikes and hartals throughout the country (20-21 June) demanding Nehru's release and supporting the struggle of the Kashmiri people.

It was clear that a new round of States peoples' struggles, this time for the final abolition of Princely autocracy, was being heralded by the fighting people of Kashmir, and the people of rest of

1946 IN REVIEW

Rising Tempo

Despite the secret military plans to crush our freedom-struggles which British imperialist statesmen have hatched behind the curtain while they publicly talk of a peaceful transfer of power and quitting India; despite their back-stair intrigues to pitch popular parties against each other and provoke a fratricidal war; despite the compromising, disruptive and anti-struggle policies pursued by the Congress and League leaderships; the tempo, the sweep and militancy of the struggles of the workers and employees in the cities, of the peasants and tenant-serfs in the countryside, of the common people in the feudal autocratic States have gone on steadily increasing through the year.

All Asia In Revolt

It is well to remember that the events in India are part of the rising post-war revolutionary freedom-struggles of the subject peoples of Asia.

During the course of the war, the prestige of British, French and Dutch imperialists was shattered in the eyes of the colonial peoples of East Asia. The people saw their former rulers run pell-mell before the advance of the Japanese Fascist armies.

Under the whip of the short-lived Japanese rule, their anti-imperialist consciousness and movement were strengthened.

The world victory over Fascism and the collapse of Japan gave the peoples of Indonesia and Viet-Nam the chance to seize arms and establish their own National Governments before the old imperialist masters arrived on the scene.

Today the people of both Viet-Nam and Indonesia are defending their independence, arms in hand, against the intervention and intrigues of their former imperialist rulers aided by the British imperialists.

The British imperialists are, as usual, seeking to counteract it by deceitful negotiations for "peaceful transfer of power" on the one hand, and by disruptive manoeuvres to split the freedom forces on the other.

No doubt the struggle is taking different forms in different countries; but the fact remains that the first post-war years finds the whole South-East Asia a seething cauldron of freedom revolts.

Significantly enough, the year opened with the victory of the country-wide campaign for the release of the soldiers and leaders of the I.N.A.

In 1942, when Pandit Nehru said that he would oppose a Jap-sponsored "Indian Army" invading India together with the Japs, the whole country supported him.

Release I.N.A. Campaign

But in 1945, when it was known that tens and thousands of these captured patriotic I.N.A. men were being maltreated in several concentration camps and when the victory-mad imperialists launched a treason-trial against I.N.A. leaders, the whole country rose in a flaming indignation and demanded their unconditional release.

In November 1945, the students and the working-class of Calcutta, led by the Communist Party, became the spear-head of the big protest hartals and strike demonstrations. They marched under the joint flags of the Congress, League and Communist Party and were fired upon by the police and the military. It was then that the first martyrs of the post-war period fell.

Indonesia. They ran Congress, League and Red flags up their ships.

The naval officers, bewildered and panic-stricken by the new patriotic spirit in the navy, sought to suppress them by arrests and bullets.

Then it was that these navy-men seized their ships and fired back.

By their heroic, though short-lived, resistance, the navy-men of Bombay and Karachi heralded the beginning of the new period of revolutionary upheaval. Their brave, patriotic and united action sent a thrill through the ranks of all branches of the Indian armed forces.

Men of the R.I.A.F. struck in several places in fraternal solidarity with the R.I.N. The Indian troops, wherever they were called out against the revolting men, refused to fire.

Solidarity Strikes

The Indian working-class, led by the Communist Party, instinctively saw in the naval rising a historic turning point in our freedom struggle and supported it by total protest strikes and hartal in Bombay, Calcutta, Trichinopoly, Madras and Madura.

The total strike and hartal in Bombay on February 23 which came as an instantaneous counter-challenge to Admiral Godfrey's insolent threat to destroy the revolting navy and despite the opposition of Sjt. Vallabh Patel and the Congress leadership, struck panic into the hearts of the bureaucracy.

They called out the White military with tanks and armoured cars to spread terror and

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The Khilafat-Non-Co-operation Movement—1920-21)



Crying Halt To Popular Struggles, Appeasing The Princes

CONGRESS LEADERSHIP'S FATAL PATH IN INDIAN STATES

In 1939, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru described the Indian States as: "Sinks of reaction and incompetence and unrestrained autocratic power... exercised by vicious and degraded individuals."

He said they were the "offspring of the British power in India suckled by imperialism for its own purposes." (Presidential address to the Ludhiana Session of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference.)

He asked the States' people how long they were going to tolerate them.

BUT now the position is changed.

In December 1945, on the occasion of the first post-war session of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference at Udaipur, just when the first battles to destroy these "sinks of reaction" were opening out, Pandit Nehru declared:

"Our approach to the Princes should be a friendly one, an invitation to them to join hands in the great tasks ahead..."

"Some of these Princes and Rulers belong to ancient Houses intimately connected with history and tradition; who can forget the brave deeds of the Rajputs of old?"

Sardar Patel puts it even more clearly:

"Up till now there was a gulf between the Rulers and ourselves. We wanted independence and they wanted to continue their connection with the Crown. But now things are changing. I say... in them also there is patriotism."

"We have to meet and move the Princes in a way THAT THEY DO NOT FALL and so that they may suffer." (Speech before the General Council Meeting of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference, Delhi—June, 1945).

Why This Volte Face?

What has brought about this basic change in the outlook of the Congress leaders at a time when the States' peoples' movement is sweeping the States like an invincible tidal wave?

The trick has been done by the lure of the Cabinet Mission's Plan!

In the Constituent Assembly, created to draw up the Constitution of Free India, the Cabinet Plan has given 93 seats out of 389 to the Indian States—to their "offspring."

In their cleverly-balanced scheme with its network of "communities" and "zones," and with the given Congress-League differences, they want to use this bloc of 93 seats to keep on playing one group against another. Thus they hope to perpetuate their rule over rebellious India.

This is their last hope. The Princes—the last weapon, together with Congress-League differences—are the last bastion of British imperialism in India.

But the Congress leaders, having accepted the path of compromise and having fallen in the trap of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, thought just the opposite.

They thought that now that the British were about to

leave, the Princes would be more amenable to come to terms with the major political party in the country. The leaders thought that they would be able to use the Princes—an overwhelming majority of whom are non-Muslims—against the League and then take their help in framing the Constitution of Free India!

That is how the suicidal illusion of "inviting the British 'offspring', and these 'vicious and degraded individuals'... 'to join hands in the great tasks ahead' arose, and the leaders began to woo them.

From that time onwards, the Congress leaders have step by step, retreated from every one of the fighting democratic principles which they themselves had helped in establishing in the States' peoples' struggles.

Suffrage

It has become almost an axiom of our national movement that no elections not based on adult franchise can be just or democratic and hence acceptable to us. Year after year the same demand was repeated from the tribune of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference.

But when the AISPC met at Udaipur in December 1945, Pandit Nehru changed the whole perspective. He said:

"It has long been the demand of the National Congress that the Constituent Assembly should consist of representatives elected by ADULT FRANCHISE. In existing circumstances it might be difficult... without undue delay, to arrange for an election on this basis."

An amendment proposing "adult franchise" was opposed by Pandit Nehru and defeated.

Not Even Wide Franchise

"But", he declared, "it is essential that the Assembly should be elected on a wide franchise."

By June 1946, however, the words "wide franchise" also were dropped!

The meeting of the General Council of the AISPC held at that time at Delhi recommended the "present legislatures" in the States as "suitable" for electing representatives to the Constituent Assembly.

How far has the leadership stepped down the demand would be realised when we know that by the "present legislatures" is meant the few assemblies which exist in the States, over-weighted with the Rulers' nominees and elected on a franchise, varying, in most cases, from 1 per cent (as in Hyderabad) to about 5 per cent (as in Kashmir)! Then it has not been made clear if ALL the delegates of the States to the Constituent Assembly are to be elected, as has been the demand of the Congress and the AISPC throughout.

In fact, rumours have it that not less than 50 per cent of these representatives will be nominated by the Princes. And the rest will be elected by the above-described legislatures!

Who Represents States

The attitude of the leaders on this question would be known from the fact that a member of the Standing Committee told me that they might even accept 25 per cent quota, if the Princes were not agreeable to give more!

The States' peoples' movement and Pandit Nehru had so far always insisted that the Committee formed on behalf of the States to negotiate with the re-

sending blessings to the Cochin Raja on his fake "Reforms."

The Legislative Assembly and the "popular" Interim Government formed under these "reforms" in Cochin State have no control over Law, Finance, the Police and the Army of the State!

The Raja continues to enjoy all autocratic powers over the State people. The sovereignty of the people has been made a laughing matter.

Kashmiris Let Down

Similarly, when the "sovereign" Kashmiri people launched their struggle against their Raja the Congress leaders frowned upon them.

Addressing the General Council of the All-India States Peoples' Conference in June 1945, at Delhi, Sardar Patel taunted the Kashmiri delegates and exonerated the Dogra Army by saying that:

"People who take decisions on their own responsibility and without gauging their own strength have no right to complain if they have to meet sudden repression."

Affirming the sovereign rights of the States' peoples to shape their future Pandit Nehru had declared in 1939:

"It is fantastic to expect the people to keep on their chains of slavery imposed upon them by force and

To GWALIOR where 17 workers were shot dead by the State police, he wrote:

"In view of the fact that important discussions are likely to take place soon regarding the future of India, it is not desirable to start satyagraha or civil disobedience at this stage."

He added that he was "sorry to learn" that a buffer has been created "in many of the States" that the Princes' declaration had no reality behind it!

The same thing has been repeated by the leadership in the case of HYDERABAD, MYSORE, KOLHAPUR, KOTAH, FARIDKOT, PATALI, PATIALA, TEHRI, BILASPUR, TRAVANCORE and a number of other States in the last one year.

But when even this intervention did not check the elemental upsurge in the States, the leadership launched upon a new course—a still more fatal course—of causing disruption in the States' Peoples' Front.

● The Udaipur Session of the AISPC disqualified members of the Communist Party from holding any elective posts in the Praja Mandals.

Many key functionaries of the local Praja Mandals were thus eliminated in Gwalior, Hyderabad, Travancore, Tehri, etc.

● The Rajputana Regional Council of the AISPC condemned the work of the newly-formed Rajputana Kisan Sabha and banned Praja Mandal workers from associating with its working.

● In July 1946, the Standing Committee of the AISPC meeting at Bombay disaffiliated the biggest peasant organisation of any State—the Andhra Mahasabha of Hyderabad, having a membership of a lakh—from the State Congress.

Strikes Condemned

● Simultaneously, the Standing Committee attacked the workers' movement, condemned the workers' strikes and instructed the Praja Mandals not to have anything to do with trade unions which were not affiliated to the Hindustan Mazdur Sewak Sangh.

An effective wedge was thus driven between the Praja Mandals on one side and the workers' and peasants' movements on the other.

When struggles could not be stopped in spite of all these steps, the leadership fell on the Leftists inside the Praja Mandals themselves.

They were called "irresponsible mischief-makers" and threatened with expulsion.

In September '46, the Delhi sitting of the Standing Committee of the AISPC after condemning the Praja Mandal workers who were anxious for struggles, clamped them down by decreeing that in future,

"when necessity for any direct action arises, reference must be made to the Regional Council and to the General Secretaries of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference."

(Continued on page 13)

by Ramesh Sinha

representatives of British India must contain representatives of the people also.

But now the Negotiating Committee formed by the Princes wholly of their own stooges has been accepted to speak to the representatives of the Union on behalf of the States.

To give a sop to the States' peoples, the Congress leaders have, however, constituted a Sub-Committee of the AISPC to "assist" them in negotiating with the Princes!

Sovereignty

That sovereignty resides in the people is a sacred principle of all freedom struggles—including ours.

Applied to the States, this means that the constitution of each State—including the question of its Ruler—is to be determined by the elected representatives of the people.

Pandit Nehru has also—even when he has conceded the retention of the Princes—repeatedly declared that "Princes could stay only if their people wanted them..."

Pandit Nehru's resolution in the Constituent Assembly shows that in theory it is still so.

But in practice, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders are

frand, and to submit to a system which crushes the life-blood out of them. We recognise no such treaties and we shall in no event accept them." (Presidential Address at Ludhiana Session of the AISPC).

But when the people of Kashmir under their leader, Sheikh Abdullah, desired to tear off the 'Bainam' (saled-deed, not even a treaty!) between the Raja and the British Government, they were counselled by him to stop their movement and fight elections to the Assembly which was created in 1934 on the basis of 5 per cent franchise and a nominated majority!

But the worst form that the policy of the Congress leaders has taken is that of actively stopping the States' peoples' struggles and disrupting the unity of their organisation.

No Struggles

In January (1946) when a powerful movement broke out in BHARATPUR, Pandit Nehru wired from Delhi:

"In view of the declaration made by the Chancellor in the Chamber of Princes yesterday... I would advise the Parishad not to start satyagraha."

Later when a similar wave of revolt swept over ALWAR and the State Capital could be saved only by mounting guns on the hills guarding the roads to it, Pandit Nehru again intervened and stopped the struggle.

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The Execution of Bhagat Singh—March 1931)



India Must Not Be Neutral In World Battle Between Democracy And Reaction

In the year that has passed since Independence Day, 1946, one big new thing has happened to our national movement. To the last session of the General Assembly of UNO, to an important Conference of all the nations of the world, for the first time a delegation truly representative of the Indian people, spoke and acted in India's name.

Of course, in the past, India has taken part in international conferences—but then it was not the representatives of the Indian people but the puppets of the British Government who spoke and acted in India's name.

But to UNO this time went a really Indian delegation, headed by Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit and including some of India's foremost jurists and politicians.

What are the lessons to be drawn from this first direct experience of India in the international sphere?

INDIA scored a major triumph at UNO—this is the first and most important lesson. Refusing to be side-tracked by British threats and pressure, she pressed home her complaint on South Africa and scored a total victory.

Democratic Stand

But not only this; on every major issue India's delegation showed that her emergence on the international plane was not the routine appearance of yet another Commonwealth delegation, another British satellite like Australia, but the appearance of a country that was a strong defender of the rights of equality and freedom for all nations.

On the issue of Franco Spain, over the withdrawal of troops from foreign countries, over the bogus trusteeship agreements submitted by imperialist Powers, over disarmament—on each of these India took a firm democratic stand which was almost always in opposition to the stand of the Anglo-Americans and on the side of the Soviet.

Even on the question of the 'veto', so often attacked by the Indian Press as "undemocratic", India refused to line up with the Anglo-American attack on it; the proceedings of the General Assembly had shown the Indian delegation that the veto was Russia's only safeguard against being swamped by an Anglo-American majority.

Constructive Role

All India is, therefore, proud of the determination and persistence of the Indian delegation, of its consistent and constructive role as the defender of the rights of the colonial peoples.

But doubts began to creep in; masked friends of India suggest that at New York India was "too close to the Slav bloc" and that it is important to "maintain its

M. Kumaramangalam

on the same side as the Soviet Union?

And from the leader of the Indian delegation, Mrs. Pandit, comes the answer; after reiterating what Mr. Chagla said, she went on to explain:

"The Soviets' approach to most problems has been somewhat more liberal than that of Britain and the United States." (Interview with U.P.A., December 9).

And this is the essence of the truth which Mrs. Pandit expressed in another way in her many speeches after the session.

It was the Slav bloc, i.e., the nations of Eastern Europe, she said at New Delhi, who gave remarkable support: "Russia supported us fully and even canvassed for us, while Manulsky (Ukrainian Foreign Minister) helped considerably in arranging for the right presentation of India's case to others."

Soviet Well-Informed

Mrs. Pandit also revealed in a speech in London that:

"The Russian delegates surprised us. They knew more

about the question of Indians in South Africa than even some members of our own delegation."

Such were the differing stands of the two groups; and it is obvious which group any Indian would want India to join.

For at UNO, in the world, there is no independent, intermediate position today; just as no one can or should take an independent stand on every issue on its merits in the struggle between British imperialism and India's freedom movement.

Similarly, no one can or should take such a stand in the great international battle between world imperialism driving for war and domination, and world democracy, striving for peace and the freedom of all peoples.

U.S. Beckis Britain

And this can be seen on every issue, studied on its merits, including the issue of India's freedom.

When British imperialism goes through with its infamous plan to deny Indian freedom by making Indian fight Indian, its American partner warmly applauds.

On every occasion, on May 16 when the plan was announced, on August 27 when the Congress

truly joined them though as a whole they were 'unclear' and 'unable' to break away from Britain. (Speech at New Delhi.)

For, from the narrowest national angle, we cannot but antagonise the Anglo-American bloc; we are fighting for Indian freedom and that is enough to make them our enemy; our very fight for freedom is, in fact, a fight against one partner of the bloc and the other partner will always back its friend and ally, we can be sure.

And this is nothing new for India. Ten years ago when Pandit Jawaharlal proclaimed in his magnificent oration as President of the Faizpur Congress, India's implacable opposition to Fascism, he did not say that we should judge every issue on its merits. No, we knew the merits of every issue then, and we know them today.

Heirs Of Nazi Fascism

The Anglo-American imperialists with their cry of defending Christian Western civilisation (instead of Nordic civilisation which is what Hitler raved about) and the common Anglo-Saxon way of life (instead of the Germanic blood-stream) are the true undisputed heirs of Nazi Fascism.

And we in our international policy should see this for what it is, should see the new Fascists and oppose them as bitterly as we opposed the old.

The interests of our freedom struggle demand it—for these, the Soviet and the new democracies in Europe, the rising colonial liberation movements, the advancing working-class movements in the West, are our real sincere allies, the others our enslavers and enemies.

The interests of world democracy demand it—for the first are fighting for peace based on the equality and liberty of all nations, the second for war to achieve the domination of one nation over another.

Choose Democratic Side

The same question faces India today that faced it in 1936; and at that time, refusing to be side-tracked by the mischievous anti-Commintern crusade of Chamberlain-Hitler-Mussolini, India chose the democratic side, headed by the Soviet.

Today the same crusade is on, the same choice has to be made. The experience of the General Assembly at New York should teach us to choose aright for our freedom and the world's freedom.

ANGLO-AMERICAN BLOC REAL ENEMY OF ALL FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

rect duty by the laboriously placed Red herring?

First of all, it should be noted what every Indian delegate to UNO emphasised and emphasised times without number as soon as the rumour "India has joined the Slav Bloc" began to hum.

Each Issue On Its Merits

In the words of Mr. Justice Chagla, a very sober and moderate member of the delegation:

"Our instructions from the Government of India were that we should consider every question that came up before the United Nations on its merits and decide accordingly."

"As it happened Russia and her group did support us and support us strongly on the South African issue. And on certain other questions we found ourselves taking the same line as the Russians. But at no time did we blindly vote with the Russian group."

But the question immediately arises: how was it that the Indian delegation, having been full of suppression of minorities; and the Americans too vir-

about the question of Indians in South Africa than even some members of our own delegation."

Equally warm was her reference to Poland:

"The speech of the Polish delegate was amazingly frank, Field-Marshal Smuts had tried to glorify Western civilisation and the South African aim was to line up the Western nations on its side; but the Polish delegate gave him his reply, saying 'Western civilisation had been tried and found wanting. Why should anyone hold a brief for any civilisation—what a fever!' (Speech at New Delhi).

The British Game

In contrast, the British played a very deep game; at the outset they laid great emphasis on the fact that a new free nation had joined the UNO so as to later throw mud at India's capacity to build her freedom by referring to Hindu-Muslim riots, etc.—i.e., they presented a picture of India torn by strife and full of suppression of minorities; and the Americans too vir-

was persuaded into the Interim Government, on October 22 when the League was also manoeuvred in—on each occasion the U.S. Government has OFFICIALLY welcomed the new developments.

And so it is on every other issue:

When the U.S. strikes far across the world 7,000 miles away (and only 1,000 miles from the Soviet border) to establish major air-base at Dhahran in Saudi Arabia, it is not Britain which protests.

Again when the U.S. intervenes forcibly in China, piling up armed aid to the reactionary Kuomintang in its war against Chinese democracy and turns China into an American colony by its undemocratic unequal Sino-American commercial agreement, it is not Britain which protests. No, she registers full approval of this imperialist policy.

Who Is The Enemy?

In this background, at UNO or anywhere else, it is no question of taking up an "inde-

INDIA IN REVOLT

(Battle of the Jalalabad Hill, following the raid on Chittagong Armoury—April 1930)



VILLAGE CLIQUES UNITED, THEFTS AT AN END DRUNKARDS BECOME FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Deathless Heroism In Tebhaga Battle In Sunderbans

Spread over an extensive delta along the Bay of Bengal is the land of Sunderbans, native home of Royal Bengal tigers and deadly pythons. Land-hungry kisans from neighbouring regions have penetrated the dense jungles often losing their lives, continuously battling against beasts and insects and raising the golden paddy on this virgin soil. But more ferocious than the tigers and the pythons are the extortions and the oppression of the jotedars and the laddars and naibs (rent collectors) of the absentee landlords.

HUNGER and zamindari sookna brought thousands of kisans from Midnapore across the Ganges, but here in Sunderbans also, 90 per cent of them were turned into share-croppers. With the war came the denial policy which drove lakhs of them away, and then famine and epidemics piled up fresh agonies on their stooping shoulders.

Death-Defying Courage

But it is here, among these kisans who have braved so many storms, that I have seen the stirrings of a new life. I have seen these lean and hungry kisans, fighting the blood-sucking landlords with the same dauntless courage with which they fight tigers and pythons.

In village after village, over the green tree tops, over the golden harvest, with the blue horizon touching the azure surface of the Bay of Bengal, could be seen fluttering in the air strips of Red Flag which are the symbols of hope and courage of the struggle to be free for thousands of Hindu and Muslim kisans in this outpost of civilisation.

And with the first rumblings of the gathering storm, there are sitting today, in endless secret conclaves, whole tribes of laddars and jotedars together with police Darogas and District Magistrates, racking their brains to find ways and means by which they can put down this new awakening.

But already in hardly four weeks, 75,000 bighas of land spread over 200 square miles have been harvested and the paddy deposited in the Kisan Samiti's barns.

Lightning Response

The Kisan Samiti is a new thing for many of the kisans here, and yet the call for Tebhaga raised by it has found lightning response. Many come from distant villages to the Kisan Samiti—begging them to come and lead their battles. Leaflets of the Kisan Samiti are so much in demand that thou-

by
Ajit Roy

sands are eager to get a copy, even by paying for it.

It is like high tide, rushing from the sea up the river.

There is no end to the terror that has been threatened against them. Many have tried to scare them with rifles as did the jotedars of Bannagar, but as the kisans came out with their lathis, they stole back. At Budakhali, Kanuja Babu collected a band of lathials, but as the kisans faced them, the jotedar's lathials came over to their side.

At Dwarik Nagar the police appeared with rifles. Conch shells blew out the warning signal and thousands of kisans rushed forward from distant villages. The police threw their rifles to the ground and holding the Red Flag said:

"We too have struck for our demands with the Red Flag overhead and we have not come here to take your paddy away. We promise that we will get away early tomorrow."

Yet only a few months ago these very kisans used to submit meekly to various atrocities.

Oppression

At Budakhali, laddar Batakrishna Sahu imposed a collective fine of Rs. 10 per family in the entire village sometime ago. Kanuja Babu's naib banished from the village share-cropper Bihari for one year for having dared to speak up to him. Besides, of course, shoe-beatings, setting kisans' huts on fire, and involving the kisans in false charges of dacoity, these had become almost daily affairs.

Not only have the kisans of Sunderbans lost their lands, they have lost even the honour of their mothers and sisters. Cases are recalled by kisans in every village of insults and dishonour that their families have suffered. Today they feel that the hour of reckoning is at hand.

They know too that their present battle for the harvest is but the first shot. The final blow is still some way off.

But already the zamindars are heavy with worries. Many of them have already been ostracised. The barber, the washerman, the coolie, the greaser—all have stopped dealing with them. Even the all-powerful naib of yesterday draws his own water, hews his own wood and even has to milk his own cow and cook his own food.

Many lacheries are today locked up and the naibs have left the villages. Some have come to a settlement with the Kisan Samiti.

Heramba, naib of Gopalpur, prayed for justice by paying Re. 1-4 as 'Court Fee' to the Kisan Samiti.

Ehuban Chandra Maiti resigned from his job as naib and joined the Kisan Samiti.

Even the zamindar of Nayapur Tarahagar, Anil Kumar Basu, has not only agreed to Tebhaga, but has enrolled himself as a Kisan Samiti member and joined in a kisan demonstration with the slogan of "Abolish Zamindari Without Compensation!"

Society Transformed

The entire village society has been transformed with mobilisation for the harvest battle.

● A kisan youth had gone astray and become a habitual drunkard. But today, the call of the Kisan Samiti has cured him of his vices and has made him a whole-time kisan volunteer.

● In Budakhali, the kisans until yesterday were divided into seven cliques and the naib used to keep his regime intact by playing one against the other, and used to fill his pockets by fining one group on the complaint of the other. But this time, all the seven cliques are united against the naib.

● In the prevailing distress and hunger, thefts of neighbours' fowls or vegetables were a common practice. But all that has stopped today and any kisan in distress is helped by his comrades, and the more a kisan is gnawed by hunger, the more unflinchingly he throws himself into the battle.

New Masters

The other night, there was a baithak of about 30 representative kisan leaders from different areas of Kakdwip Thana. The local Kisan Samiti volunteers brought a big petrolmax lamp. The District Kisan Samiti Secretary rebuked them:

"This is a small meeting; an ordinary lamp would have

been enough. Why did you waste so much kerosene on a petrolmax?"

The local volunteers protested and one of them explained:

"There is a story behind this petrolmax lamp. The naib actually bought it out of fines collected from us and for a long time he used it in his own room. But now, we went to him in a body and forced him to give it to us.

"The kerosene too has a story behind it. We had intercepted a boat-full of kerosene tins being taken to the blackmarket and we sold off the stock at controlled rates. Unless and until we use this petrolmax and this kerosene for the Kisan Samiti, the village boys won't let us have any peace."

This way new masters are coming up into their own in villages of Sunderbans, lighting

the lamps taken away from their exploiters. The battle has only begun but it has begun with a bang.

Recently as a sequel to the Tebhaga movement in the Sunderbans area, prosecution under Section 403 has been launched against Kisan Samiti leaders, Jatun Maiti, Gupadhar Maiti, Hossain Sheikh, Mohammed Khan, Dwarakanath Samanta, Bharat Bera and others.

In another case 34 Hindu and Muslim Kisan Samiti leaders, including Communist leaders Abdul Halim and Sumit Chatterji, recently released from the Andamans, have been asked to show cause why they should not be prosecuted under Section 107.

In several other cases, Sumit Chatterji and the rest of the 34 kisan leaders have been prosecuted under Section 104.

SAHIBS DEFY PREMIER Mymensingh Bureaucrats Refuse To Release Tebhaga Prisoners ★

By Bhupesh Gupta

"For the last seven years I have been in support of Tebhaga," this is what Mr. Suhrawardy, Bengal's Chief Minister said at Bhairab (Mymensingh) when he was up there along with me. Both he and the S.D.O. of Kishoreganj assured a deputation from the Mymensingh Kisan Sabha that all pending warrants in Kishoreganj in connection with the Tebhaga movement would be immediately withdrawn.

When I asked if I could go and see the absconding kisan leaders and tell them that they might come out now as free men, both the Chief Minister and the S.D.O. said, "Yes".

THE District Magistrate of Mymensingh, Mr. Bastin, suppress the Tebhaga movement is simply abominable.

was not there at that time. During the last two months or so about 500 warrants have been issued to arrest and detain not only the kisan and Communist leaders but also ordinary bargadars (share-croppers), just because they were suspected of claiming two-thirds of their crops.

Mr. Bastin's predecessor, Mr. Nurunnabi Choudhuri, went as far as to use the supposedly anti-riot Special Powers Ordinance to direct, by a circular letter, that the Presidents and members of the Union Boards "shall help the jotedars to the best of their power and ability to recover their share of crops from the bargadars."

What the district authorities in Mymensingh have done to

INDIA IN REVOLT

(For The Release Of The Indian National Army—November 1945—February 1946.)



RAILWAYMEN READY FOR ACTION

Why This Delay In Publication Of Pay Commission's Report?

(The inordinate delay in the publication of the recommendations of the Pay Commission and the Adjudicator's award regarding leave rules, hours of work, etc., has created considerable dissatisfaction among railwaymen everywhere. This is further aggravated by the Managements on a number of railways carrying out various offensives against the men.)

On the G.I.P. recently an officers' conference considered ways and means of retrenching their staff. Soon they faced 36 workers at Mahmud with the alternative either to agree to reversion with less pay or quit. On the B.B. & C.I. mass dismissals have already begun.

The Railway Board have addressed a secret circular to the various Managements about their intentions to replace the present system of mileage allowance to the running staff (guards, engine-drivers) by trip allowance, planning a substantial cut in their earnings.

The cut in rations everywhere is one of the most burning problems, as the men are finding it increasingly impossible to work on a semi-starvation diet. Then there is the problem of reversion of war-time promotions.

Thus, an Assistant Train Examiner during the war days (drawing Rs. 50-4-50) will be reverted as coolie drawing Rs. 15-1-21.

There is also a persistent rumour that the Pay Commission may recommend replacement of cheap grain concessions by cash compensation. And this, it is feared, will be inadequate.

Against these attacks the workers expected support from the Interim Government, more so, because Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad had promised them a fair deal when they prevailed upon them to withdraw their strike notices in June last.

Unfortunately, however, it has not so far been coming forth. Instead the bosses seem to have been encouraged in their offensives by Railway Member Mr. Asaf Ali roundly condemning "unreasonable unrest among certain groups of railwaymen." (Speech at Indian Railway Conference Association—November 25, 1946).

Railwaymen are fighting back these attacks and successfully too, as the reports on this page will show. But it is time that the Interim Government intervened to hold the bureaucrats' hand and redeem their pledges to the workers. And the situation does not warrant any delay.)

At Khanewal (N. W. R.)

WORKERS FORCE RECOGNITION OF UNION

On the North-Western Railway (N.W.R.), at Khanewal on December 27, the workers won a remarkable victory when they forced the bosses to recognise their Branch of the N.W.R. Workers' Trade Union, as the story below shows.

THE N.W.R. General Manager had gone to Khanewal to enjoy his Christmas. The local Union Branch applied for an interview which was refused on the ground that the Union was not recognised (on this line two bogus unions led by 'loyalists' enjoy recognition).

Next day the workers went in a procession to the General Manager's residence. But they could not get him as he had gone on "shikar". When they returned to work, a Loco Foreman refused to allow them in on the ground that they were five minutes late. At once a strike was on.

In addition, vast sections of the passengers actively backed the men. And that broke the officers' resistance. The Union branch was recognised as the only representative organisation at Khanewal. Action against the Foreman was promised, and not against the workers. All charge-sheets regarded as unnecessary by the Union were also promised to be withdrawn, etc.

Here is another story of the new militant spirit of the workers. On January 1, the Lyallpur police lathi-charged the workers, even their women and children, and arrested 31 Union leaders under the Punjab Public Safety Ordinance.

Foreman Humbled
With the workers of other departments joining in, the train service was soon paralysed. The crew of the Karachi Mail which had just come in also joined the strike. Out of the 1,000 on strike about 70 per cent were Muslims. Women and children squatted before the engine which now carried Red Flags.

This humbled the Foreman but now the men demanded a written apology. So the senior boss had to rush from Multan, 30 miles away. Meanwhile, the local D.S.P. reached there with armed police. Union leaders too mobilised 2,000 common people, including women, to help the day.

Every worker is called upon to contribute Rs. 5 to the Fund and upto now about Rs. 40,000 have been collected. And who can stop them?

General Manager's Train Besieged
Rhindarkar, General Manager of the Bengal and Assam Railway, recently faced agitated crowds of workers led by the B. & A. Railroad Workers' Union, when he went to the Assam zone. On January 9, 2,000 railwaymen besieged his special train at Badarpur, 4,000 at Lunding, 500 at Chaparmukh, 1,000 in Gauhati, 3,000 in Panabo, 1,000 in Ambigaon and the same number in Rangya.

Everywhere the workers demanded continuation of the zone bonus, end to reversions, retrenchments and indiscriminate transfers, as also immediate increments in dearness allowance and pay, better grain shops, water supply and lighting facilities. They also demanded prompt action against some of the corrupt officials.

S. I. R. LABOUR UNION SWEEPS STAFF COUNCIL ELECTIONS

Workers Answer To Dismissals, Suspensions

On the eve of the calling off of the S.I.R. strike, the Government had assured the men that "there would be no difficulty in returning to work."

DESPITE this, however, till now about 300 workers have been under suspension on the ground that cases are pending against them. Already they have lost five months' wages and there is no knowing when they would be taken up.

So far 40 strike leaders have been dismissed; among them the President and Secretary of the Golden Rock Branch of the

On B. B. & C. I. OUTSIDERS MUST NOT FILL VACANCIES

The administration has already discharged—in violation of their promise in June—237 men from the Mahabulnag Wagon Erection Shop. Then they served notices on further 331 men. The workers had gone on a strike in December but could not win reinstatement.

Then the attack began at Almer. They had overlooked the claims of men from the Millwright shop and got four fitters from outside to work on the motor truck. The workers represented their case but the bosses turned a deaf ear.

As a last resort, all the 669 workers struck. In two hours the so far unbending bosses yielded and the vacancies were filled up by men from inside the Department.

Union. This is on the ground that they were convicted in a Criminal Court. All that had really happened was that most of them had been fined Rs. 20 each for defying Section 144 during the strike.

In the Golden Rock workshop while leaders of blacklegs freely loiter about, Union militants are being charge-sheeted for the alleged "go slow" campaign. A number of them are being reverted to lower grades. Petty officials obstruct collection of Union subscriptions and have even charge-sheeted some militants for this "crime", though they have been enjoying this right for 10 years.

Four Union leaders, Nambar, Bhanu, Ismail Khan and Parmeshwaran Nair are still under externment orders and are not allowed to enter Trichy district. Section 144 has been kept on in force uninterruptedly and meetings by the Communist Party or by Unions under its influence are banned.

Bosses' Plans Go Awry
All this is planned so as to weaken and smash the Union; but unfortunately for the bosses and the bureaucrats it is having exactly the opposite effect. Just after the strike was over, the administration announced that elections would take place to the Staff Councils. Now had these Staff Councils had al-

ways been packed by "yesmen" and had been most undemocratic, having had no elections held during the last seven years. It is significant that this announcement came simultaneously with the General Manager's letter to the S.I.R. Labour Union questioning the representative character of the Union and asking it to show cause why its recognition should not be withdrawn.

Obviously the Staff Council elections were a gauntlet thrown by the bosses and the Union picked it up. The rival unions, helped by the administration canvassed vigorously all over the line.

Thumping Victory

Out of the 120 seats, the S.I.R. Labour Union contested 90, leaving the remaining 30 seats of the higher staff uncontested. And out of these 90 seats, it has won 86 seats with a vast majority of votes. It was revealing that the rivals in many cases withdrew their nominations.

In the Golden Rock workshop, out of the 21 seats, 10 of the Union candidates were returned unopposed and the rest 11 were won by a thumping majority. No wonder the administration delayed publication of the results.

The same tragedy befell the rivals of the Labour Union's candidates for the five seats of Directors of the Co-operative Stores Society. The Congress-sponsored S.I.R. Workers' Union paid for collecting one lakh rupees Relief Fund is growing in intensity as every day passes.

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The R.I.N. Mutiny—February 1946.)



COUNTRY - WIDE CONDEMNATION OF RAIDS ON COMMUNIST OFFICES

BOMBAY ENGLISH PAPERS

Mysterious Raids
An editorial in the issue of January 13 entitled "Mysterious Raids" in the *Times of India* writes:

"Only the other day, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel spoke of the paralysis of the Centre. It could not intervene in the interests of Law and Order in India."

"How is it now that the Centre is able to come down like an all-India law in all Provinces in one swoop? This question interested the public... It is difficult to believe that raids conducted by the police in different parts of the country would be planned without prior consultation between central Ministries Departments."

"The public is entitled to know what the charges are against the Communists and what evidence is available and what authority is in the field."

"The Rule of Law demands that there must be some element of arbitrariness in executive action. The raids have disturbed public confidence in the maintenance of the Rule of Law."

Whose Guiding Hand?

"Of the explanation offered in the Government of India's Press Note denying responsibility for the raids, the Editorial went on to say:

"The explanation makes no sense. The raids were planned by the police and not by the Government. It is a rather naive to think that the Government would be kept in the dark by its own police. The fact that they were simultaneously effected in different parts of the country indicates a central guiding hand."

"The editorialist's opinion against the raids is clear. The Government is responsible for the raids. It is a rather naive to think that the Government would be kept in the dark by its own police. The fact that they were simultaneously effected in different parts of the country indicates a central guiding hand."

"The Editorial concludes: 'The Press Note explains nothing. It only aggravates the public sense of dissatisfaction. People had hoped that with the advent of the Interim Government the days of intimidation by police would be over.'"

"The Press Note explains nothing. It only aggravates the public sense of dissatisfaction. People had hoped that with the advent of the Interim Government the days of intimidation by police would be over."

PROTEST MEETINGS

Meetings of protest are being held all over the country. Even those in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta are being held in the presence of the police, who are being asked to withdraw from the meetings.

Gandhi (Andrew)

"Under the present situation of the country, the only way to bring about a change in the Government is to withdraw from the office of the Ministers. The only way to bring about a change in the Government is to withdraw from the office of the Ministers."

"The meeting was held in the presence of the police, who are being asked to withdraw from the meetings. The only way to bring about a change in the Government is to withdraw from the office of the Ministers."

"The meeting was held in the presence of the police, who are being asked to withdraw from the meetings. The only way to bring about a change in the Government is to withdraw from the office of the Ministers."

Govt. Must Speak Up
The "Chronicle" writes: "The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Recalls Muzart Case

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

URDU, HINDI PAPERS

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Imperialist Whites' Game

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Disgraceful Affair
The editorial in the issue of January 13 of the *Chronicle* writes: "The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

What-Tribune Thinks

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

BRITISH LABOUR MOVEMENT DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF PROSECUTIONS

The British Labour Movement demands the withdrawal of prosecutions against the Communist Party. The British Labour Movement demands the withdrawal of prosecutions against the Communist Party."

Imperialist Whites' Game

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

★ Withdraw "Operation Asylum" Case

★ Repudiate GHQ's Murder Plans

★ Bring Guilty Generals To Trial

as GOONDAS. We know the police as well and the public, which means it is to be expected, in beginning to feel uneasy and restless.

"It is a clarification, carrying conviction with it, is not forthcoming. We are afraid that the masses will not understand the situation in the light of the fact that the Government is not only a law-abiding citizen but also a law-abiding citizen."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

WORKERS' STRIKES IN PROTEST

Assam Railwaymen
An all-India strike of railwaymen in the Assam Province is being held in protest against the Government's policy of repression against the Communist Party and the arrest of its leaders.

Dhulia's Workers Down Tools
Workers in Dhulia have gone on strike in protest against the Government's policy of repression against the Communist Party and the arrest of its leaders.

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

MARATHI AND GUJERATI PRESS

In Marathi Papers
The news of the raids, strikes and arrests was prominently displayed by all the Marathi newspapers on January 13.

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Gujerati Papers

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Imperialist Press Throws Blame On Interim Govt.

The Imperialist Press throws the blame for the raids on the Interim Government. The Imperialist Press throws the blame for the raids on the Interim Government."

Attack On Freedom

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

A Political Scandal

The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Plans To Drive Popular Struggle To Blood

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Put The GHQ In The Dock

The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

Strong Resentment

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

"The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India. The Government must speak up in the name of Justice in India."

P.B. John

20,000 CALCUTTA WORKERS, HINDU—MUSLIM, ON STRIKE

Big Business Bosses Brought To Their Knees

By Tushar Chatterjee

A new wave of militant actions is today sweeping over Calcutta's working-class. Despite Section 144, despite persistent communal provocation ever since Noakhali and Bihar, nearly 20,000 workers are fighting prolonged strikes, some of which have been going on for months. Among them are nearly 10,000 textile workers, Government employees in Central Government's Directorate of Supplies, 5,000 workers of the National Tobacco Co. and over 7,000 of Surajmull Nagarmull's Jas Alexander Works.

EVEN bigger battles are already on the agenda. The 7,000 tramway workers have just finished their strike ballot; 40,000 workers of the Corporation and the Port Trust are waiting anxiously for their bosses to implement their eleventh hour promises; and 5,000 electric workers are scheduled to begin their strike from January 21. Besides these, strike notices have been served on smaller establishments.

New Solidarity

And in all these actions the workers round Calcutta are once again showing their grand traditions of Hindu-Muslim solidarity, as in the Corporation strike, which was averted at the last moment by the authorities promising to implement their long-standing promises within one month.

In the strike ballot taken by the Tramway Workers' Union from January 3 to 5, unique scenes were witnessed. Hindu and Muslim workers jointly campaigned for strike. Eighty-five per cent of the workers participated in voting, 5,945 voting for strike. Only 41 voted against it. Among those who voted for strike over 20 per cent are Muslims. In the strike of the employees of the Central Government Directorate of Supplies, Hindu and Muslim employees are fighting side by side despite open provocations to split them on communal issues.

Among the 20,000 Port workers at least 40 per cent are Muslims, who throughout November and December jointly moved with their Hindu brothers in making strike preparations.

In the jute belt, despite Section 144 secret baithaks are being regularly held in which both Hindus and Muslims participate. In Panihati, these secret meetings are held in Hindu quarters where a large number of Muslim workers are given full protection by their Hindu brothers.

Throughout the jute and textile-belts, besieging the Manager's office with specific demands has become the daily

practice with Hindu and Muslim workers.

Bosses Forced On Knees

In the face of this daily rising tempo of the workers, the bosses are finding it difficult to bank merely on communal differences. By keeping Section 144 in force the Government is no doubt openly helping them so that workers may not be able to consolidate their ranks.

When, however, these tricks do not work, the bosses throw some sop in desperate hope of averting open battles.

Thus the Port authorities, on the eve of a big strike, promised to meet the Union's demand against retrenchment.

Electric and Tramway Companies, two of the most arrogant British concerns, hurriedly announced token increment in wage, thereby vainly trying to avoid strike.

The White jute bosses, the real rulers of Bengal, readily came to agree to the leave and ration demands of the T.U.C. on the eve of the jute workers' big strike.

Even the Corporation authorities, notorious for their callousness, woke up after one year's inertia and begged for one month's time in which to meet the workers' demands, some of which they had promised to implement last year.

Plans To Smash Red Flag

While trying to escape granting the major demands by lavish promises and petty concessions, the seasoned bosses of Bengal's industries are planning a policy of smashing organised unions, particularly the Red Flag unions. In this game, while the European magnates have started full blast attacks on the unions, the Indian bosses have put on the nationalist garb of anti-Communism.

Thus the Indian Jute Mills' Association, the biggest concentration of British big money in India, has of late been trying to crush any growing union in the industry.

For example, in the Gondalpara Jute Mill strike, they flatly refused to recognise the award of the French authori-

ties. Although situated on French territory in Chandernagore, they ignore all mandates, even those of the Governor.

The Engineering Association, another European stronghold, it is understood, has issued instructions to their member-firms carefully to leave out Communists in case of new recruits. Some of the firms in Kidderpore are already practising this method.

Alongside their old policy of arbitrary dismissal of union workers, starting of Company Unions is also being tried as at the Guest Keen Williams firm in Howrah and on the MacLeods Light Railways.

Indian bosses also are moving fast. Karamchand Thappar, the millionaire Congress supporter, recently wrote in a confidential circular to his firms that parallel unions must be formed with the Companies' "trusted" men, "who won't let them down in time of crisis". "This is necessary in view of the growing strike-

wave." To counter "Communist influence over the workers" the circular directs that Congress leaders should be brought to deliver lectures to the workers so that they could be saved from going over to the Communists.

In Birla's Kesaram Cotton Mill at Matlabuz, in Laha's Bangeswari Cotton Mills at Serampore, in Mitra's Busanti Cotton Mills at Panihati, persistent attempts are being made to form Congress-controlled unions to fight the Red Flag unions.

But the significant thing is that when Congressite labour leaders resort to strike, Nationalist bosses do not hesitate to steam-roller even them. This week at Surajmull Nagarmull's Jas Alexander Factory, Congress labour leader, Dr. Maitreyi Bose, was arrested during picketing.

Misusing Congress Name

During the Amrita Bazar Patrika strike which ended after long weeks of grueling fighting for minimum demands and against all attempts to break the Union, the Nationalist boss, Tushar Kanti Ghosh, delivered a long homily against the Union President, Shrimati Bina Das, Congress MLA, warning her against "Communist tactics and ideology". He added,

"Having been elected to the Bengal Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket, she should have known what the Congress policy has been in regard to strikes of industrial establishments. We presume

she must have read the recent Bombay speech of Sardar Patel on this... How then can Miss Das, consistent with her position as a Congress MLA, identify herself with something that the Indian National Congress does not approve?"

But such shamefaced exploitation of the Congress prestige by adroit bosses does not deceive the militant workers today and Smt. Bina Das properly snubbed Tushar Kanti Ghosh, saying that she would "simply refuse to be instructed on Congress fundamentals."

For People's Rights

Calcutta's workers today are not only fighting their own bosses, they are about to smash some of the shackles that the bureaucrats have enforced on the entire city taking advantage of the riots. Section 144 is being deliberately prolonged, although the situation has almost become normal. And this time the Police Commissioner has been given full powers to extend the ban indefinitely.

Against this a big movement is already on. Protests are being voiced from numerous trade unions.

The success that marked the Conference of various political, social and trade union organisations called by the Bengal T.U.C. shows that unless the Government bends before this united popular demand, lakhs of Calcutta's workers and citizens will come forward to face any repression in vindication of their democratic rights.

BLOW UP SECTION 144!

All Calcutta Fights For Civil Liberties

From Nikhil Chakravarty

Calcutta, Jan. 12

On January 11, Calcutta's Congressmen and Communists, representatives of the Congress Socialist Party, Revolutionary Socialist Party, All-India Kisan Sabha, Students' Federation, Students' Congress, Bolshevik Party, Revolutionary Communist Party, Mahila Atma Raksha Samity, Political Prisoners' Release Committee, Government Employees' Union, Girl Students' Association, all attended a Conference (League MLA, Dr. Abdul Malek, lending his support) called by the Bengal Provincial Trade Union Congress to take a united stand against the continuation of Section 144 in the city.

ALTHOUGH communal tension had died down during the last three months and although the curfew itself was lifted over a month ago, the Bengal Government announced on December 26 last, without even a shred of a justification, the indefinite continuation of Section 144. Its withdrawal was left to the sole discretion of the White Police Commissioner.

Unfortunately, neither the Congress nor the League raised a voice of protest or gave a call for action against this wanton gagging of political activity in the city. In fact, the League Ministry, by allowing the bureaucracy to impose this ban, had actually taken on itself the responsibility for this anti-democratic measure.

It was, however, in the fitness-of-things-that-such-a-call-should-have-come-from-the-Provincial-TUC. For, it was the

organised working-class of Bengal which, more than anybody else, had fought the flames of civil war in the Province.

All Sections Support

On January 11, the Conference met. S. J. Mrinal Kanti Bose presided. Although neither the Congress nor the League officially participated, overwhelming support came from all sections of Bengali public opinion including ranks of both the Congress and the League.

Among Congressmen who came and spoke were Bepin Bihari Ganguly, Dr. Maitreyi Bose, Pratul Ganguly (Revolutionary Socialist Party) and Gunada Majumdar (CSP). League leader Dr. Abdul Malek, MLA, sent a message supporting the move. Saroj Mukherji spoke for the Communist Party, Abdulla Rasul for the All-India Kisan Sa-

bha. Representatives of other organisations also spoke.

Game Behind Sec. 144

The resolution, which was unanimously passed, voiced the demand of Calcutta's millions. Denying any justification for the continued imposition of Section 144 it said:

"We are convinced that withdrawal of Section 144 would strengthen and not hinder the task of stabilising peaceful conditions and preventing any recurrence of communal conflict. It is a noteworthy fact that during the last riots major portions of greater Calcutta industrial area were kept free of disorder by the organised intervention of Hindu and Muslim workers jointly through their trade unions."

Warning the Government that "mere enforcement of Section 144 without rousing the mass of democratic public opinion against riots has never succeeded in its professed object and cannot punish real culprits," it said that Section 144 "only means that the voice of all good men is stifled and genuine pro-unity elements of all communities are gagged."

Judging by the widespread demand and spirit of the people it is clear that if Government does not mend its ways the people themselves will see to it that Section 144 is made a dead-letter in Calcutta.

INDIA IN REVOLT

(QUIT—KASHMIR—Battle of the Dal Lake, May 1946.)



LONGEST RESISTANCE TO MARTIAL LAW IN INDIA'S NATIONAL HISTORY

By G. Radhakrishnamurthy

In the history of our national movement no place has been subjected to the terror and brutal tortures of Martial Law for such a long time as Nallagonda in Hyderabad State.

MARTIAL Law in Nallagonda has already lasted two months. In these two months, they have lathi-charged men and women, and even children have not been spared. Men have been shot dead. Women have been raped. Huts and whole villages have been razed to the ground. Hundreds have been thrown into jail. All to break the morale of the people of Nallagonda—simple kisan men and women of Hyderabad! But the morale of the people of Nallagonda has not been broken. Imbued with the new revolutionary spirit, they have fought with an abandon and heroism which are deathless. What is more, the fight is continuing.

As the following few glimpses will show, it is not the people's determination that is flagging.

New Fraternity

Recently the military tried another trick—a trick to starve the rebellious villages into submission.

They attacked Pata Suryapet, killed the two guards of the village before the latter could warn the villagers and arrested 170 men.

The dirty game was to take away the menfolk so that the crop could not be reaped and might go rotten.

But hardly had the military left, when men collected from the neighbourhood. Within three days the harvest was gathered and stocked in the villagers' houses.

Devaruppala was the second victim. From here they spirited away 400 men. There it became a common occurrence and a new rallying slogan!

The peasants swore that nobody's crop would remain un-reaped till a single one of them was left free and alive.

Voices Rise Higher

In jail peasants arrested in these raids were beaten and harassed. They were given food only once in the day and separated from one another and locked up into solitary cells. They were asked to resign from the Sangham and to give away their leaders.

On the way (to the town jail) too they were badly beaten to stop them from shouting their slogans.

But their voices rose higher and higher after every stroke of the baton till it was caught up by the villages lining their road. Then the whole countryside echoed and re-echoed

with "Andhra Mahasabha Zindabad", "Communist Party Zindabad!"

Ultimately, when they were released, they returned still shouting the same slogans!

In the jail they had locked up older people also, many who could not even otherwise help in the field work.

People outside were anxious about these old men. So some visitors were sent to "feel them over."

On hearing of "enquiries" which the old men thought showed weakness, one of them, a grandpa of 70 or 80, snapped them sharply, saying—"Never bring shame on the Sangham in the name of compromise. Don't you lower the flag of the Sangham."

The visitors were really put to shame. But they returned home joyfully.

Cajolery And Deceit

Having failed in terrorising the villagers, the military and the deshmukhs (zamindars) tried cajolery and deceit.

They went to a village called Nemikallu. As soon as they neared the village, their hearts were stung to see a Red Flag waving in the morning wind.

On the villagers refusing to take it down, they advanced to do it themselves. The kisans barred their way. So they lifted up their guns threatening to shoot.

At once a Harijan youth stepped out and baring his chest said: "Shoot—let us see how much killing power you've got."

The swines caught him and beat him black and blue, but dared not touch the flag.

After withdrawing some distance they sent an agent of the deshmukh to the villagers. This man, one Venulapally Venkata Krishnayya, pleaded with them:

"Why don't you remove this flag and get done with unnecessary trouble? Tell the sahebs, you have severed connection with the Sangham, otherwise your lives are not safe."

The kisans spat in front of him and advised him to go and lick the boots of the sahebs.

Then the military, deshmukh and their cringing creatures—all left the village.

In other villages they made up "mahazars"—(apologies) on behalf of the kisans, forged some signatures and submitted to their bosses. They did not get a single kisan to sign them.

"We Want Swaraj"

Once the talukdar of Nalla-

gonda paid a visit to a village after a particularly severe raid.

Going to some kisans the old fox said—"why all these Sanghams? Why Communist Party and Andhra Mahasabha? You ask us what you want and we will give you."

"Surely, will you?" asked the peasants.

"Yes", they got the answer.

"Then, give us Swaraj. We want Swaraj".

What Is Swaraj ?

The talukdar was taken aback. Yet he persisted—"But what is Swaraj?"

"It means we shall have our own Raj. There will be no place for leeches like you in it—nor for your sahebs, who have just been here...."

He got on his car and drove off.

Such is the unflinching determination and fearlessness with which the villagers rise in the battle for food and freedom in Nallagonda.

11 YEARS' SENTENCE FOR TEHRI LEADER

Nagendra Dutt Saklani, one of the most prominent young leaders of the Tehri-Garhwal people's movement, has been sentenced to a term of seven years' R.I. and a fine of Rs. 1,300/-.

For non-payment of fine he will have to put in another four years and four months more—four months in lieu of every Rs. 100.

AN ex-member of the Working Committee of the Garhwal State Congress and a member of the Garhwal Committee of the Communist Party, young Saklani was one of the main spirits of the Tehri movement.

Last September at the bidings of the office of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference, he was removed from the Garhwal State Congress, because he stood in the way of compromise with the State Ruler. His removal was followed by an abject surrender and by Syt. Vyas' report.

Saklani continued his work from outside. The State authorities were after his blood all the time. Recently they succeeded in getting him and have announced this barbaric sentence of 11 years.

Not The Only One

But it is not the question of one Saklani.

Syt. Daulat Ram, the veteran kisan leader, was already in jail. He was sentenced to seven

years' R.I. and a fine of Rs. 2,600/-, that is, 13 years' R.I. in all, as he too refused to pay the fine.

Raja's Insolent Demands

Repression in the State is continuing unabated. So far the victims have been the Leftists—Daulat Ram, Paripurnanand and Saklani. But now the State is attacking others also. Workers have to work from outside. Prajamandal is virtually paralysed. The Raja is making all sorts of insolent demands on the Prajamandal before he would let it work legally in the State.

To end this shame and to save the lives of the imprisoned leaders let every Prajamandal demand:

- The ~~prison~~ comrades should be released.
- The compromising policy of the All-India States' Peoples' Conference should be changed.

Bharatpur People Stone Wavell's Plane

Viceroy Greeted With Black Flags and Shouts Of "Go Back"

By Our Correspondent

On January 5, Bharatpur people avenged the disrespect shown to Pandit Nehru during his Frontier

visit.

UN that day Wavell was coming to Bharatpur for duck-shooting. In attendance were to come the Rulers of Bikaner, Gwalior, Dewas (Junior), Dewas (Senior), Dhar and Bindi and some other States. At the last moment, however, the Gwalior Ruler did not turn up.

Shooting "Ducks"

Shooting ducks was only an excuse. Wavell had come for shooting all right but for shooting something else.

The States in almost all the other Agencies except Rajputana and Central India have fallen in line with the constitutional plan of imperialism and have determined their course of action under the guidance of the local residents and emissaries of the Political Department. The position of the States in Rajputana and Central India—especially the smaller ones amongst them—is still fluid.

Wavell had come to speed up their final arrangements. Only a few weeks earlier Auchinleck had also paid a secret visit to some of these States (Bundi,

from all over the State to welcome the Viceroy broke open a few shops in an orgy of drunkenness adding fuel to the fire.

On the 5th, there was complete strike in the capital.

The people's anger was sizzling underneath. It burst forth when the droning voice of the Viceroy's plane was heard. People rushed out with black flags and thunderous cries of "Go back Wavell", "Wavell-ko Phansi Deni Hai—Bhulo Mat, Bhulo Mat."

Shardul Lashed At Charge

The brutal lathi charge by the police which did not spare even school children infuriated the people still more. They attacked the Kumbhar Gate which had been closed to keep them out, broke it open and chased the goondas and the police who had assaulted them for a mile.

The droning of the plane was heard again. The Viceroy was already leaving Bharatpur. Now the people aimed their stones at his plane!

Later they stoned the Highnesses and the British officers who were fleeing away in a panic and broke the glass panes of their cars. The police were hiding in the fields along with their chief, the Kotwali

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The All-India Postal Strike—July-August 1946.)



IN MIDST OF BATTLE—INDIA'S FIGHTING YOUTH MEET

DECISIONS OF THE A.I.S.F. CONFERENCE STUDENTS' MOST REPRESENTATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC RALLY

The Conference met in an atmosphere surcharged, as it were, with gun-powder. Long months of confusion, a wait and see attitude, of trusting the leaders who were giving the British a trial, of communal war posing the question whether India can unite to fight the British at all—were coming to an end.

STUDENTS were again marching to battle—against riots, against the police and British troops and officials in the U.P., Bengal, etc., on occasions like the Azad Hind Day at Cawnpore; in Hyderabad and Travancore against the Princes' armed might; against 'God Save the King' being played in Lucknow and Lahore—cinema-halls; against the hoisting of the Union Jack in colleges in Madras, Cuttack, Lahore; against Commander-in-Chief Anchinleck, brain behind the 'Operation Asylum', delivering the Convocation Address in the U.K. University, etc.

The December 6 Declaration from London had made a big difference. The idea of an all-out struggle against the British was again gripping the student masses.

Main Resolution

The main political resolution on the Constitution-making Body correctly summed up students' opinion. It attacked its undemocratic nature—with compulsory grouping of Provinces, with nomination by the Princes and restricted franchise shutting out the vast masses. It nailed down its non-sovereign character. Satyapal Dang moved it and put the point sharply when he said:

"The time for writing constitutions comes when power has been seized and the enemy has been dispersed. It is written in blood and not in ink. But while this present Constitution-making Body tries to write the constitution, it is the enemy who is disarming the people and strengthening his military and political grip over India.

"Meanwhile, the London Declaration makes it clear beyond doubt that the present Body is nothing but a drafting committee for the British Parliament."

In the debate on the resolution, some wanted a categorical demand on popular parties to "quit Constitution-making Body." Others, larger in numbers, demanded a call on the C. A. to draft the constitution and fight if the British reject it.

To this Satyapal's reply was: "There is no 'if' about British rejection. If you want to 'make sure' only the British will utilize the time to crush the forces of Revolution."

An amendment moved by Husna Begum of Meerut, satisfied most of the delegates. It called upon the members of the present Constitution-making Body to assert the people's will against Britain, irrespective of internal differences by:

- 1) Declaring India independent;
- 2) Demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops;
- 3) Breaking off all relations with the Princes and calling upon the people to overthrow them; and—
- 4) Calling upon the Interim Government to take full powers and

lead the revolutionary struggle for the seizure of power, leading to the establishment of a revolutionary democratic Constituent Assembly to settle India's constitutional future.

Some delegates were doubtful whether it was necessary to have a resolution on the Interim Government at all. Its paralysis, they said, had become patent to the student masses. What is the use of asking them to do something when events have shown that the British are the masters—witness Pandit Nehru's experience in the Frontier, failure even to release the RIN and INA prisoners, or get British troops withdrawn from India and Indian troops from Burma, etc.?

Marimohan Misra from Orissa, in a brilliant speech, attacked this idea. He said:

"This is not a resolution against the leaders in the Interim Government. Students gave the leaders time to 'settle down'. But have they or the British settled down? I say the leaders have not even tested their strength against imperialism. At first they said they had power, now they say they can do nothing. Let a member of the Interim Government try his strength—and the whole country will rally behind him against imperialism."

The resolution passed greeted the Interim Government's foreign policy, but warned that the British were using the Interim Government as a screen for their imperialist policies.

Withdraw British Troops

It demanded immediate fixing of the date for the withdrawal of British troops, purge and punishment of anti-national I.C.S. and I.P. men; abolition of the Political Department, abrogation of the Princes' Protection Act, confiscation of British vested interests, release of RIN and INA prisoners, ban on police and military interference in workers', peasants', States' peoples' and students' struggles, etc.

The resolution against communal war was a flaming call to youth:

"It is a crime against the nation for students to be swayed by communal passions. Students are the future hope of the nation. If the older generation turns India into an inferno of communal war, it is the youth who will suffer eternal slavery and degradation. Students must, therefore, throw themselves into the battle against riots with courage and daring even at the risk of their lives."

Some delegates, overcome by the relentless course of the conflict and the magnitude of the mass killing, argued that riots could be stopped only when the Congress and the Muslim League broke with the British constitutional manoeuvring, which pitted them against each other.

Others thought riots could only

be fought indirectly—i.e., by uniting the masses in common struggles against the British and vested interests.

Annada Shankar Bhattacharya, who had led a joint squad of the S.F. and Muslim Students' League to Noakhali, answered these doubts by nailing down the role of the British police and military in instigating riots and declared that riots could be stopped if leaders CONSISTENTLY denounced riot-mongers as enemies of the nation.

Fighting Riots

The speakers from Bengal and Bihar—Hindu and Muslim alike—proved vividly how riots could be checked if students boldly stand against them.

The resolution raised the slogan: "Not sword for sword against each other, but unitedly take up the sword against the British."

At the insistence of Muslim delegates from Bihar, a clause was added declaring that the slogan of mass transfer of population was no solution, but a device to perpetuate conflict and leave the poor in the lurch.

Special resolutions were also passed condemning the ugly demonstration against Pandit Nehru at Patna, dealing with educational rehabilitation of stu-

by Arun Bose

dents in riot-affected areas and calling upon girl students not to take poison when attacked but to fight to the death and never accept dishonour.

At the Delhi conference, student-labour and student-kisan solidarity in action was more than the normal healthy aspiration of our healthy youth.

Delegates present were veterans of many such actions—all over India during the glorious postal strike in Bengal, during the Imperial Bank clerks' and the All-India Radio strikes, etc., in Cawnpore during the great textile strikes, in the South during the historic S.I.R. strike, in Bengal during the recent share-croppers' struggle still going on, in which the Hindu and Muslim students of Mymensingh and other places jointly fought with their kisan brothers.

So they passed a resolution greeting these actions, condemning the shooting-down of workers—including women—at Amalner, Golden Rock, Coimbatore and the Kolar Goldfields, etc.

They pooled their experience and went away with a greater determination to draw in still larger numbers of students into still bigger struggles.

The resolution on the States amplified the demand made in the main political resolutions demanding the overthrow of dynastic rule and calling for all-people's struggles for democracy. A letter of greetings

THE All-India Students' Federation Conference, which met at Delhi from January 3 to 6, was the biggest, most democratic and representative rally of Indian students ever held in India.

Fifteen hundred delegates and visitors came from almost every corner of India—from the hills of Assam to Peshawar; from Travancore—scene of armed struggle between the people and the Prince; from Hyderabad, where Hindu and Muslim students, 2,000-strong, had recently marched against the Nizam; from Manipur; from Pondicherry in French India; from other big and small States.

There were strong contingents of Muslim students from Bengal, Bihar, others from the Aligarh and Dacca Universities, where the Students' Federation has been born recently fighting against authorities' repression and the riot-mania.

There were heroes of Hindu-Muslim joint strikes against riots in Mysore and other places in Bengal.

There were young heroes who faced bullets during the historic RIN and INA demonstrations all over India.

There were fraternal spectators from Indonesia and Viet-Nam—who spoke also for Asiatic students marching in China demanding withdrawal of American troops, Iranian students storming the Shah's palace, Egyptian students repeatedly fighting pitched battles in their University, demanding withdrawal of British troops.

The list is long and limitless. Girl students stood out—from the U.P., Bihar, Bombay, the South—above all from Calcutta, where they beat up police sergeants and could not be dispersed even by speeding police trucks during the All-India Radio strike.

A solid paid-up membership of nearly 74,500 was announced—with at least a one-lakh strong outer ring of students who could not be enrolled due to riots, police repression, curfew, etc.

Bengal alone had raised its membership from 15 to 30 thousand AFTER Calcutta, after Noakhali.

In The Midst Of Battle

But the most remarkable feature of the Conference was that it was like a parade and a staff-meeting in the midst of battle.

Bajraj Mehta, Punjab student leader, came after six months in jail under a Congress-Coalition Ministry for preaching revolt against the British. His Students' Congress comrades were let off, but he was not. Bardham, Working Committee member from the C.P., elected Secretary of the Nagpur University Union defeating Premier Shukla's son, was detained just on the eve of the Conference for leading students' battle for reduction of fees, etc.

Thampy, Travancore S.F. leader, had been arrested for his part in the struggle against Sir C. P.

Cawnpore students—who led the battle against the police on Azad Hind Day—were bailed out just in time to attend the Conference.

Lucknow delegates were among the 300 students arrested for storming the Secretariat during the huge demonstrations against 'God Save the King' being played in cinema-halls.

Bihar students—Hindus and Muslims—came fresh from their Provincial Conference, which was attacked by some local students who did not like their flaming appeal against riots, but could not be broken-up even though the police tried their best.

Even as the Conference met, members were carrying on the struggle.

A telegram came from Jessore, Bengal, that 30 members were absconding because warrants were issued against them for their demonstrations in support of the mighty share-croppers' struggle in Bengal.

Narsiah, of Andhra, left before the Conference began to wage a new battle against the detention system by which hundreds of high-school students were unfairly stopped from taking their public examinations.

Cochin students wanted by the courts for their demonstrations in support of the Travancore struggle, got a wire and went to fight out their case.

The climax came on the last day when Cawnpore students marched out to take first train home—where five workers, including two women, had been killed in police firing on one lakh strikers.

This whole pageant of fighting youth electrified Delhi as they started pouring into Delhi. Various detachments marched into the heart of Delhi, within sight of the Red Fort, with cries of:

"Hindu Muslim nehi larenge—Angrezon par war karenge...Azadi kar kar leai hai...sur khoon baha kar leai hai...Wavell tum Delhi choro, jaldi choro...Mazdurki larai hamari larai...Kisan ki larai hamari larai...Chalo Delhi ek sat...Lal kille par kabza karo"

People flocked round, some raising the glorious Khilafat battle-cry: "Hindu-Muslim bhai bhai—Angrezon ki ai tabahi." The police took up positions and threatened to shoot. But the upshot was a mammoth procession later, which is best described in the words of the "National Call":

"The AISF matched the honour of taking out the first procession in Delhi without any interference by the police since the ban on processions was imposed in the heyday of the August struggle. A mile-long procession of students, including over 1,500 delegates...marched through the main thoroughfares of the city. Messrs. Ganesh Ghosh and Ananta Singh of the Chittagong Armoury Raid were at the head of the procession."

from Kashmiri students in SRI—about six State students spoke from nagar jail was read out, and amidst thunderous slogans.

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The S.I.R. Strike—August-September, 1946).



Scrap This Imperialist Education!

Students are tired of stale advice to them to do "constructive work" for education instead of "destructive politics" against the British.

DELEGATES to the AISF Conference showed that our imperialist-designed educational system was in such acute crisis that nothing short of radical changes can avoid a total break-down. They also showed how students of today— together with teachers—are fighting a battle for national education as grim and serious as any other.

Crisis In Education

The resolution on the subject pointed out that the crisis can be seen in primary teachers' strikes in several Provinces; in the brewing strikes of secondary teachers; in students' strikes against higher fees, in students' struggles against vindictive practices like the detention system in Andhra, in the "squating movement" in Jadavpur (Bengal) and Gauhati (Assam), by stranded students kept out of hostels; in the great struggles of technical and science students in the Delhi Polytechnic, the Benares Hindu University; etc.

Finally, it drew attention to the struggle against all imperialist influence over education, as in the anti-Auchinleck demonstration in the Utkal University, against Governor Burrows' convocation address in the Dacca University, for cancelling the notorious Hallet's degree from the Agra University, etc.

The resolution welcomed certain positive measures taken by the Popular Ministries and other educational authorities in the

last nine months, such as declaration of the aim of providing universal primary education, getting some colleges and hostels opened, the adoption of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction at the university stage as in Lucknow University, etc.

But it declared that these touched only the 'fringe' of the problem and sharply attacked the 'cynical attempt' to pit teachers against students by raising already exorbitant students' fees in the name of raising teachers' pay and, meanwhile, increasing grants to the police and jail departments and Governors' and officials' establishments, thus forcing teachers to work on starvation wages, on which basis the aim of universal primary education could never be realised.

Lack Of Accommodation

It pointed out that though some new colleges and hostels are being opened, buildings de-requisitioned by the military are still not being turned over first to educational institutions so as to guarantee the right to admission into colleges and accommodation in hostels for every student who wants them.

It drew special attention to the absence of any policy for expansion of secondary education, the 'forgotten link' in our educational system.

It pointed out that despite much talk, there was no great national drive to expand fac-

ilities for technical and scientific teaching.

It welcomed the introduction of the mother tongue as medium of instruction but charged that failure to speed up preparation of standardised text-book on technical subjects in the Indian languages was holding up rapid progress in this direction.

It drew pointed attention too, to the failure to delete anti-Indian racialism and glorification of Empire-builders from history text-books.

Finally, it condemned the move in Assam, Andhra and the

Punjab to declare students' and teachers' strikes illegal, and as in the Punjab to give the police special authority to break into any educational institution.

It was a resolution which no serious teacher or Education Minister can dismiss easily. They would, in fact, find in it the guiding lines along which students and teachers would fight whether anybody likes it or not. It is more in tune with reality and more thought-provoking than any Departmental report or speech made by Ministers.

TAKE VIET-NAM ISSUE TO U.N.O.

P. C. Joshi's Appeal To Pt. Nehru

Bombay, 19th January, 1947.

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

ALL India's sympathy and support is with Viet-Nam in her gallant struggle for freedom from French imperial domination. But it is urgently necessary that this sympathy should be immediately translated into action.

India which at the last session of the General Assembly of U.N.O. earned so great a name for herself as the true fighter for the freedom of colonial peoples, must now take the issue of French aggression on Viet-Nam to the Security Council of U.N.O. as an issue that threatens the peace of

Asia and the freedom of all Asiatic peoples.

I appeal to Pandit Nehru to see that India takes this initiative in rallying world opinion to stem the French attack on Viet-Namese freedom, and I am confident that patriots of all parties, of the Congress and the Muslim League, and patriotic organisations, trade unions, Kisan Sabhas and student unions, will send telegrams to him, showing him that all India will be united behind the Interim Government if it takes the issue to U.N.O.

It is also very necessary that India should respond to the appeal of the representative of the Viet-Namese Republic for medical relief and for volunteers, and I hope all patriotic parties will join together in helping the cause of Viet-Nam over which our entire people are united.

BOYCOTT FRENCH SHIPS BOUND FOR INDO-CHINA

Bombay, 19th January, 1947

S. A. Dange, Vice-President of the All-India Trade Union Congress and member of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions, S. S. Mirajkar, Vice-President of the A.I.T.U.C., and B. T. Ranadive, member of the General Council of the A.I.T.U.C., have issued the following statement:

WE warmly endorse the appeal of Svt. Strinal Kanti Bose, President of the A.I.T.U.C., for a boycott of all French ships, carrying troops and arms, to and from Indo-China.

It is reported that the French luxury liner, ISLE DE FRANCE, carrying 2,000 soldiers left Koulon for Indo-China on January 12, and that ATHOS TWO, carrying 1,700 troops and 3,000 tons of munitions left Marseilles for Indo-China on January 14.

It is urgently necessary that all dock workers' unions in Bombay,

Cochin, Madras and Pondicherry should be ready to boycott these ships if they put in at any of these ports on their way to Indo-China.

We endorse also Svt. Strinal Kanti Bose's appeal to the trade unions of Singapore and Ceylon to join this boycott campaign, and also his appeal to the French General Confederation of Labour.

In particular, we appeal to all trade unions in India to pass resolutions supporting Viet-Nam's cause and appealing to French workers to see that their Government desists from this war of aggression on Viet-Nam.

Such resolutions should be sent by air mail to Benoit Franchon, General Secretary, C.G.T., Paris, France. Resolutions calling on the World Federation of Trade Unions, to support the campaign of boycotting of French ships on way to Indo-China should also be passed and sent to Louis Sulliant, Secretary-General, W.F.T.U., Paris, France.

CONGRESS AND THE STATES

(Continued from page 4.)

The full working of this line can be seen in the case of Tehri. Last September, at the height of the tempo and preparation for a full-scale offensive against the Raja, Sjt. Jai Narain Vyas went to Tehri and stopped the people's struggle.

He nominated a new committee of picked men. Not one of the old leadership was kept in it. After doing all this, he disowned the militant workers of the Praja Mandal.

The Raja made full use of this in convicting the veteran kisan leader, Daulat Ram, to a barbarous sentence of 13 years on a completely framed-up charge.

This policy is reaching its final culmination in squeezing out all the Leftists from the Praja Mandals.

The most glaring instance of this are the recent resignations of five leading members of the Working Committee of the Hyderabad State Congress.

These five Leftist leaders led by Sjt. Govind Das Shroff have been virtually hounded out by the Rightists. And on the question of supporting Pandit Nehru's resolution in the Constituent Assembly and demanding that a Constitution-making Body elected on adult franchise should be set up in Hyderabad!

If we do not unite all honest fighters in the Praja Mandals, and all Leftists inside the Praja Mandals and outside in the militant workers', peasants' and students' movements, and jointly force the leadership of the Congress and the AISPC (which is the same) to abandon this path of compromise and sabotage, a worse disruption, a worse disaster awaits the mighty States' Peoples' Movement.

The offspring of the British are, of course, making full use of this situation for striking off bargains with the Rightist leadership, for decimating the revolutionary forces in isolation and for putting off their evil day as long as they can.

The Bookshelf

SAW YUGOSLAVIA. By Gautam Chattopadhyaya. As. 8.

The author, a delegate to the World Students' Congress, spent three weeks in that land of partitions on his way back home. He travelled widely and met many people, from workers and peasants to Marshal Tito. This is his inspiring account of his journey through that resurgent country.

CONSTITUTION OF YUGOSLAVIA. With a foreword by Mohan Kumaramangalam. As. 8.

The full text of the Constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia, of immense interest to us as it shows how they solved problems very similar to the ones which face us today.

Foreign Publications

MOLOTOV'S SPEECHES AT THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE. Rs. 1-8.

Full texts of all his speeches, most of which were suppressed or distorted in the capitalist Press. A great historical document and the best guide to an understanding of present-day international affairs.

PEACE AND THE ATOM. By Prof. Hyman Levy. Rs. 1-2.

Atomic energy, social progress and the war-politics of the Capitalist Powers.

THE TRADE UNIONS. By L. Sharkey. As. 6.

Communist theory and practice of Trade Unionism, explained by the President of the Australian Communist Party.

POLITICAL ECONOMY. As. 4.

A beginner's course for students of Marxism.

VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT. By Karl Marx. As. 9.

One of the most popular of Marx's shorter works — and scarcely obtainable here until now — this gives a lucid exposition of the theories of value and surplus value, the basis of Marxist economic theory.

Periodicals

LABOUR MONTHLY. December Issue. As. 6.

Articles on Brighton T.U.C.; Labour, Socialism and Mr. Morrison; Elections in France; Churchill's Record; etc. etc. and "Notes of the Month" by Palme Dutt.

NEW TIMES. No. 23. As. 8.

Articles on The Growth of the Forces of Democracy in Europe; Problem of the Danube; British Foreign Policy; Coming Elections in Poland; Brighton Trade Union Congress; Impressions of U.S.A. etc.

SOVIET LITERATURE Nos. 9 and 10. As. 12 each.

MODERN QUARTERLY. No. 1 (of Vol. 2) Rs. 1-14.

Postage Extra

PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The Travancore People's struggle—October-December, 1946.)



LESSONS AND PERSPECTIVES FOR 1947

the rebellious peasants of Telengana, belonging to all communities, who had thrown off the yoke of forced labour, were putting up a glorious united resistance in defence of their hard-won victory, against the Martial Law terror of the Hyderabad military, and shaking for the first time that main bastion of the feudal order in India to its very foundations. (November 16).

In DARJEELING, a timely strike and hartal against provocateurs prevented the efforts of provocateurs.

Everywhere in the strongholds of working-class organisations, the Communist Party and the trade unions came out with mass distribution of handbills nailing down imperialism as the arch riot-monger and exposing the policies of the League and Congress leaderships and appealing for joint action for peace against goondas and riot-provocateurs.

New Round Of Struggles

The most effective counter-offensive against the riots came in the riot-racked Provinces themselves; a new round of workers' and peasants' struggles for wages and crops began.

In the Eastern and Northern districts of Bengal, the Kisan Sabhas and the Communists sensed the sizzling discontent among the exploited share-cropper kisans and poor tenants, who for long had been demanding that their share of crop should be two-thirds, while the landlord should get no more than one-third and not half as hitherto.

While the riot fume was yet smouldering in Noakhali and Tippera, the Kisan Sabha launched the TEBHAGA movement.

In a short time, the surging

order with bare hands, a few black-marketeers and tyrants can do nothing. Today the crop; tomorrow the land! The opening battles of the Hindu, Muslim and Scheduled-Caste kisans of Bengal against landlordism has begun.

The shame of Noakhali and Tippera is being wiped out in the fighting unity of the Hindu and Muslim kisans in the battle for Tebhaga.

In Bihar Too

A similar movement, though not yet so wide-spread, is growing round the riot-affected rural areas of Bihar. Here the poverty-stricken and exploited tenant is demanding that he should pay his rent in cash and not in kind—one-half the crop as hitherto.

The movement is to cut the crop and keep it and pay the rent in cash later. Hindu and Muslim Bihar kisans are joining hands against the landlords for enforcing their demands. In many places, the kisans are saying: Why could we not have started this earlier and stopped the fight among brothers?

In Calcutta and in the surrounding industrial belt, a new strike-wave is fast developing. Hindu-Muslim unity is being reformed and strengthened in a number of strikes.

Symptomatic of the workers'

against autocracy—that mass upsurge is rising to new heights.

The interlude of a round of ghastly communal riots interrupted it for the time being in certain places, but it has by no means disrupted and disorganised it.

For, besides the arch riot-monger imperialism and the Congress and League leaderships, whose compromising and disruptive policies are playing into its hands, there are other factors operating in the country.

Main Driving Force

The main driving force behind the revolutionary upsurge is the deepening crisis of imperialist-feudal rule in India. Economic conditions continue to worsen though war ended 17 months ago and Popular Ministries have been in office for nine months.

Working-class cost of living index had increased during the first seven months of the year already by 15 per cent and is continuing to rise. Cloth prices too have risen.

The total food deficit for the year 1946-48 was 60 lakh tons out of which only 20 lakh tons was made good by imports upto December 5, with the result that ration-cuts continue.

Illusions Bursting

The long chain of intrigues and trickeries employed by the imperialists in relation to the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the communal riots that followed and the real face of the Plan as it emerged after the London Award, have gone a long way in bursting many illusions on the Congress and the League sides.

While the complete grip of the compromising bourgeois leaderships of the Congress and the League remains firm on vast ranks of their respective followings, while the danger of new clashes remains through new developments in the Constituent Assembly, the ranks of both, especially of the Congress, are becoming critical of the compromising policies of the leadership.

The policy of bureaucratic repression against the struggle of the masses for wage increase, food and democratic rights adopted by the Popular Ministries is being resented more and more by the ranks of the Congress, especially in view of the worsening economic conditions.

Among the ranks of the Left there is greater urge for united action of all the forces opposed to compromise, despite the opposition of their leaders.

Tasks Of Communists

These perspectives for the year 1947 call for ever greater determination on the part of the Communists to carry forward the task of heading, organising and spreading the struggles of workers and peasants and of the States' peoples to ever newer regions:

They must exercise ever greater vigilance against riot provocateurs, the fighting ranks of the toilers must be preserved and strengthened.

They will have to face greater repression, with even greater opportunities of successfully fighting it back. They must do this by concentrating the main fire on the imperialist bureaucracy, police and military and by exposing the Popular Ministers as acting as appeasers of vested interests instead of as defenders of people's interests.

They must seek greater contacts with the ranks of the Left parties, and draw them into joint actions, in defence of workers and peasants and States' peoples' struggles against repression and against the policy of compromise.

Above all, in the name of the long line of martyrs who have laid down their lives in the cause of the revolutionary battles of 1946, they must make ever greater efforts to strengthen the Communist Party, the party of the working-class and toiling masses, so that it can play its role in building the revolutionary unity of the Indian people for the final fight for Independence and Democracy.

Fighting Back Riots

The shame of fratricidal murder existed side by side with the glory of the common struggle of Hindu and Muslim workers and peasants against imperialist feudal exploitation.

Not only this. Very soon, the class-conscious worker and the fighting peasant who instinctively saw in the flames of communal conflict a menace to common struggles and common organisations, a blow to the common anti-imperialist struggle of all Indians, rose to fight back the riots.

We have the most glorious and stirring example of HASANABAD, situated right in the centre of the riot-area, on the borders of Noakhali and Tippera. Hasanabad was made by its Communist-led peasant militants—of both the communities—a stronghold of the fighting unity of Hindus and Muslims.

Disciplined ranks of militants armed with lathis stood guard over bazars, bastis and homesteads, day and night, watching roads and waterways lest riot-mongers of the neighbouring areas creep in for mischief.

INDEPENDENCE DAY MANIFESTO

(Continued from Page 16)

field differences created by big upper class exploiters end.

On this Independence Day, the Communist Party warmly appeals to all militant workers and peasants and progressive intellectuals to join and strengthen the Communist Party, in whose ranks were nursed the majority of the martyrs of 1946, whose units have played the foremost part in organising all major popular struggles in 1943 and in building a joint front in action, which is drawing the main fire of imperialist terror and which the imperialist rulers of our country seek to illegalise, if Indian opinion will let them.

The stronger the Communist Party becomes, the nearer will come the final struggle.

Nineteen Fortysix saw the greatest popular struggles, the worst communal riots and the introduction of the Imperialist Plan in action—all together at the same time.

Nineteen Fortysix will be the year of Indian liberation, if Indian patriots can liquidate the weakness of 1946 and carry forward the death-defying spirit of 1946.

STRENGTHEN FIGHTING RANKS OF TOILERS

flood of Muslim-Hindu sharecroppers rallied in thousands round the battle-cry of "Crop Today—Land Tomorrow." The movement spread to 19 districts, encircling as it were the riot-infected Noakhali and Tippera from all sides.

Tebhaga did not start a day too soon. The disruptive communal propaganda starting from Noakhali and Tippera could have disrupted and disorganised the discontent of the peasant even before it was organised into a united movement.

Kisan Unity

As it was, the united movement for seizing the crops while they were yet standing came in time and had already gathered momentum when communal disruptors started with their cry that "Tebhaga is an anti-Hindu movement."

No repression or disruption can now throw back the tidal wave of Hindu-Muslim kisan unity for Tebhaga that has started on its triumphant career. It is sweeping past all obstacles.

The awakened and united kisan is just taking his two-thirds share and leaving one-third to the jotedar. None can say 'No' to him. Repression is being fought in guerilla fashion.

Where lakhs of awakened kisans begin changing the so-

counter-offensive against the legacy of riots was the one-day strike of 20,000 employees of 34 Central Government offices in Calcutta, who struck in sympathy with the strikers of the Directorate of Supplies fighting against retrenchment (January 10).

Bury August 16...

Significantly enough the Hindu and Muslim clerks put up the banner: "Bury 16th August—Prepare the Road to July 29!"

And indeed, the recent total strike of Cawnpore textile workers for wage-increases and the big rally of workers and citizens in support of the fight against repression show that the road to July 29 is opening up not only in Calcutta, but all over India, thanks to the initiative of the militant working-class.

What are the perspectives for the new year that opens up with the Independence Day 1947?

The great revolutionary mass upsurge which began with the I.N.A. release campaign and the R.I.N. mutiny, which is seen in the mighty strike-wave that is sweeping through all industries, which has spread to the peasants and tenant-serfs of Bengal, Bihar, U.P., Tamilnad and the Punjab, who are fighting the opening battles against landlordism, which has penetrated into the feudal States, where the people of Travancore, Kashmir and Hyderabad have open-

Owing to the closing of war-establishments and no programme of building new industries, retrenchment, unemployment and wage-cuts are facing workers and employees.

The perspective which arises out of this situation is a greater extension of strike struggles, which will be fought even more bitterly.

It means extension of struggles of the peasants like the Tebhaga struggle and the tenant-struggles in U.P., Bihar, the Punjab and the South.

Perspective In States

The perspective in the States is similar. There a new round of struggles of the States' peoples for freedom is opened as has been clearly shown by the struggle of the Kashmiri people in the first half of the year and the glorious struggles of the Telengana peasants (Hyderabad) and Travancore workers in the second half.

The pre-conditions have matured for an anti-feudal revolution in the States. Masses of the States' peoples having shed their fear of the ruling authorities are advancing to change the old decrepit social order with their bare hands.

INDIA IN REVOLT

(The Tebhaga movement of Bengal's sharecroppers which began in—November 1946).



INDEPENDENCE DAY MANIFESTO

Last year, by the time of our holy day of Independence the British rulers had come to realise that the day of final reckoning had come. Our age-old freedom movement was bursting all old bonds, the mighty I.N.A. demonstrations were the first glimmer, the historic R.I.N. revolt was an unprecedented event, the growing strikes had become a daily feature. Indian Revolution had ceased being a danger and had become the grim reality facing the British masters of our ancient country.

THE British rulers, the oldest, most experienced imperialist caste in the world, staged through the Cabinet Mission the most cunning manoeuvre to deceive our people and disrupt our freedom movement and thus escape an imminent Indian revolt.

The British imperialists began accepting in words, only to deny in practice, Indian demand for 'transfer of power', for 'Indians themselves drafting Indian Constitution', and expressed willingness to 'quit India'.

Path Of Compromise

Indian leadership followed the soft and slippery path of compromise and went into the British trap, with open eyes accepting the British rulers at their words, calling upon the people to hold back. Results stand self-condemned.

The British imperialists have gained time to manoeuvre, to spread disruption all round.

● They have intensified Congress-League differences into an irreconcilable knot by giving both the right of mutual veto. Hindus and Muslims are being driven into warring blocs. The Constituent Assembly cannot function without British mediation.

● The imperialist bureaucracy has exploited communal riots to liquidate all civil liberties, and is pushing forward the advantage by directing its decisive blows at the Left, and above all against our Party, and is relying upon the anti-Communist prejudices of the Right-wing-dominated Ministries to get necessary popular cover.

● In the States, the Indian Princes are being helped to introduce bogus reforms through British guns so that they bring handpicked representatives into the Constituent Assembly for their British masters.

The fatal path of compromise has only helped the British to turn Indian against Indian, Muslims against Hindus, the Right against the Left. Ban on Independence Day celebrations is its dishonourable end.

Foremost Task Of Today

The foremost task on this Independence Day is to raise loud the voice for a decisive break with the policy of compro-

by landlords and hoarders, no more is the food-producer, the peasant, prepared to put up under the famine-maker landlord.

No more is the Indian peasant prepared to accept the British-created landlord as the master of his village. The first round of the battle for land to the tiller and food for the people has begun.

We greet in these great working-class and peasant actions new and lasting Hindu-Muslim, Touchable-Untouchable unity, despite all efforts of the imperialist incendiary, despite the disruptive policies of upper-class leaders to split them apart.

Unknown Heroes

We greet unknown sons and daughters of the toiling people, scores of whom fell as martyrs, thousands of whom have been jailed and countless lathi-charged during these struggles. They suffered, complete lack

tary and economic bases to guard and control the future India of British design.

To help the States' peoples and end Princely autocracy is to break the imperialist chain at its weakest link. To isolate and divide them is to strengthen the bonds of our own slavery.

Suicidal Policy

When this is realised, the suicidal nature of the policy of the Congress leadership, of blanketing and disrupting popular struggles even in the States, stands out. The British realise their weakness and take no risks, they start with Martial Law straightaway.

The Kashmir, Travancore and Telengana struggles have not ended in smoke but only strengthened the peoples' will to prepare for the next round of greater and united struggles which will be decisive.

of the riot-mongers, smash the game of the compromisers and clear the way for the final struggle against British imperialism.

On this Independence Day, the Communist Party appeals to all Left elements and parties for joint action behind every popular struggle, against every imperialist offensive and for a country-wide crusade against the policy of compromise with imperialism.

Not to unite behind the revolutionary task of the moment in the name of revolution in the future, is not to work for but weaken the Revolution.

The Communist Party is pledged to remove all obstacles in the way of genuine understanding.

We Pledge Anew

On this Independence Day, the Communist Party pledges itself anew to make all sacrifices to drown the demon of Civil War in the flood of common struggles, to supply bold leadership to popular struggles, to ceaselessly expose among Congressmen and Leaguers the disruptive and slave nature of the British Constitutional Plan.

It pledges itself to preach the message of a joint front for the final struggle to call a sovereign Constituent Assembly, based on adult franchise, proportional representation, guaranteeing national self-determination, abolition of landlordism, nationalisation of key industries and popular welfare.

Thus it is that common Hindu and Muslims will emerge equally free and become equally prosperous, and the days of ground from under the feet

(Continued on page 15)

★ BREAK WITH THE BRITISH! ★ SUPPORT PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES! ★ CLEAR ROAD FOR FINAL ASSAULT!

Provisional Government complained of its standing paralysed. The same leaders who had promised to function the Constituent Assembly as sovereign are calling upon the people to keep the powder dry.

The longer the time the British imperialists get the worse is the havoc they are able to create amidst our people. This is the essence of the situation in our country.

Workers Lead The Battle

A large and growing number of our great people have known no rest; life itself has forced them to keep the flag of struggle flying. They are the nightmare of British imperialist conspirators and the hope of our future. On this Independence Day we greet the Indian working-class that is organising their biggest and most heroic strike wave, embracing industry after industry, and covering even the Government employees.

By revolting against their sub-human standards of living and, struggling for decent human conditions, the working-class is emerging anew as the fighting leader of Indian towns, champion of democratic rights for all working people.

It is the enemy of capitalist-profiteering and grave-digger of anti-national Tata-Birla and Co., who are mortgaging our country's economy to British Big Business through Indo-British deals.

Their battle for wage-advance today is the precursor for nationalisation of industries tomorrow.

Kisan Rising To His Feet

On this Independence Day, we greet the Indian kisan movement that is leading the biggest independent kisan upsurge that Indian countryside has ever known. The pride of place is occupied by lakhs of Bengali peasants drawn from about 19 districts in the Tebhaga movement (1/3rd instead of half produce to landlords).

The Indian peasant from various corners of India is rising to his feet and fighting in Bihar, Eastern U.P., Western Punjab, Andhra, Tamilnad, Malabar, etc. The tribal Warlis near Bombay are in a defiant revolt against their self-conditions.

Whether it be against forcible ejectment from his farm or for a greater share of his own produce or against blackmarketing

of civil liberties, the same bans and terror which the Congress had to face during its major national struggles at the hands of the same bureaucracy, police and military. Their fighting courage came from justice of their own cause.

The Popular Ministries have come out full blast against these struggles, on the side of the vested interests, justifying police repression against the fighting toilers.

The heroism and solidarity of the fighting army of workers and peasants has been gradually winning greater and greater popular support and sympathy as symbolised by the citizens' hartal and Province-wide support behind the mighty Cawnpore general strike, protest by the Punjab Provincial Congress Working Committee against police firing against Dilliwala tenants. The use of the military against the Warlis has met with wide-spread protest.

Blood of the toilers is stirring the democratic conscience of our people that Popular Ministries shall not be allowed to bury democratic liberties and instal police raj, that the imperialist game of using the compromising Right to suppress the fighting Left will be foiled.

Fighting Youth

We greet the fighting student youth of our country who have waged remarkably successful struggles against imperialist and for patriotic education, who—Hindus and Muslims together in the mofussil districts of Bengal—boldly came out against communal riots and who have conducted campaigns of solidarity with working-class and peasant actions.

When the middle-class youth of our country does not suffer the illusions of its own parents, but lines up behind the working-class and peasantry, it is a sure guarantee that the tide will turn against the compromisers faster than most imagine today.

On this Independence Day we greet our fighting brothers in the Indian States who are rising in State after State in open revolt against Princely Autocracy and fighting the battle of us all with a courage and heroism unknown before in the annals of our freedom movement.

The Indian Princes are Britain's Fifth Column inside the Constituent Assembly; their territories Britain's new safe mill-

A new India is being born out of these growing mass struggles of the common people, unprecedented in scale, unconquerable in spirit.

To organise, spread and intensify these joint popular struggles is to remove the ground from under the feet

Editorial

R.I.N. REPORT—HOW WILL IT BE IMPLEMENTED?

So at last the report of the R.I.N. Enquiry Commission is out—six months after it held its last sitting, nearly a year since the great uprising.

Still it is good that it has been published, even though late, and its publication is certainly a victory for the ratings and the people who have been asking for it for so long.

What does the report say? It correctly places the main cause of the strike as the brutal and vicious behaviour of the White Officers of the R.I.N. and not any outside political instigation.

It underlines that the ratings did have just grievances and these should be redressed.

It makes the usual plea for "gradual nationalisation of the Officers' Cadre" but suggests no way by which this can be speedily carried out.

This 600-page report of which so far only extracts have been published has been warmly welcomed by the Interim Government, and both its conclusions and recommendations have been under-written by it.

But there is no indication of immediate action of any sort.

Everyone knows that since the uprising of last year, things have changed very little from the conditions before the uprising.

Patel, Jinnah Break Pledges

On the promise of Sardar Patel and Mr. Jinnah that there would be no victimisation and that their grievances would be redressed, the ratings called off their great strike of last February.

But there WAS victimisation on an unimagined scale; over a thousand were arrested, many tried summarily by warrant and all thrown out of the Navy. Thus the best of the ratings, the finest fighters for Indian freedom, were victimised.

Sardar Patel and Mr. Jinnah did nothing at that time; nor did they move to get the grievances redressed. They broke their pledges solemnly made to the lads who trusted them.

And now when the report is published they under-write it without a word about the victimised ratings; they promise the "redressal of grievances" but do not tell us how they are going to do it; they quietly echo the old British cry about "gradual nationalisation" which all India is tired of hearing.

In fact, it is time some straight blunt questions were asked of these leaders, so free with pledges but so quick to forget them.

● When are the grievances going to be redressed? Do they not see from the strike on H.M.S. "Kukri" (Cochin) that the same old vicious treatment is continuing? Have not the ratings waited long enough, suffered long enough?

● Are you going to do anything about the victimised? Do you not owe it to them, to yourselves and to your people, to see that your pledges are implemented and these brave freedom-fighters are taken back into the Navy, so as to strengthen the Indian element in the Navy?

● How are you going to go ahead with the "gradual nationalisation of the officers' cadre"? Do you agree with White boss Aurchinleck's view that it will take ten or twenty years? Are you ready to wait so long? Why don't you produce a scheme (which a free Indian Government should produce) by which India would have a WHOLLY Indian-commanded Navy in six months, for-signers will only be kept as instructors without executive or administrative authority?

These are straightforward simple questions. They need straightforward simple replies.

India—and the ratings—are waiting for them.

PEOPLES AGE

ORGAN OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Consulting Editor: G. ADHIKARI
Managing Editor: M. B. Rao

Subscription Rate (Indian):
Yearly Rs. 4/-; Half-Yearly Rs. 4/6;
Quarterly Rs. 2/3.

Subscription Rate (Foreign):
Yearly Rs. 12/-; Half-Yearly Rs. 6/-

Telegrams: Peoplesage.

All cheques, Money-Orders, Postal Orders, Demand Drafts etc. to be made out in the name of KANTILAL J. SHAH.
Printed by M. B. Rao at the New Age Printing Press, 190B, Khettwadi Main Road, Bombay 4, and published by him at Peoples Age Office, 190B, R. K. Building, Khettwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.