

SILLY ANTI-COMMUNISM FOR PERSONAL ENDS

Begum Shah Nawaz's Intrigue To Get Assembly Ticket

Lahore, December 9.

ON December 5, the *Orient Press of India* flashed a long despatch from Lahore which said that the "Mussalmans of the Punjab" are bitterly complaining against the alleged "Communist infiltration in the Punjab League." In this connection criticism is made of the Punjab Provincial League High Command which is alleged to be oblivious to this danger.

I am in a position to tell the real story behind this rather sudden discovery about the "Communist infiltration" in the Punjab League.

The Punjab League Parliamentary Board has been selecting candidates for the Assembly during the last three weeks and has been besieged by rival candidates. Many candidates in order to defeat the claims of their rivals have taken recourse to defaming them in the press, and to bringing pressure on the League leadership by all kinds of dubious tricks.

Two persons, a lady and a gentleman of Lahore, have taken a lead in resorting to these tactics. They are Begum SHAH NAWAZ and her relative Mian BASHIR AHMED.

Strange as it may seem it is these two persons who are behind the present anti-Communist propaganda in certain sections of the League press in the Punjab—it is also they who have persuaded the poor *Orient Press* representative to flash the message to which I have referred above.

Real Reason For Intrigues

Both the Begum Sahiba and the Mian Sahib applied for League tickets for the two Lahore Civil Lines seats—one of which was from the Muslim Women's Constituency. Begum IFTIKHARUDDIN also applied for nomination for this women's seat. Mian Bashir Ahmed, on his part, feared that the seat for which he had applied might be given to IFTIKHARUDDIN because it was in the latter's home constituency. In actual fact, Iftikharuddin had not applied for any seat at all.

However, Begum Shah Nawaz and Mian Bashir Ahmed felt that Mr. and Mrs. Iftikharuddin were barring their passage to the Assembly and so, infuriated, they started moving heaven and earth to somehow or other bring down these "rivals" of theirs in public estimation. Calumnies, threats

intrigues, coaxing and cajoling—all these methods were resorted to to get themselves nominated.

Knowing that in the League Parliamentary Board there was a strong opinion in favour of Begum Iftikharuddin as against Begum Shah Nawaz, the latter and Mian Bashir Ahmed got some of their supporters to send wires to Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah, asking for his help to save the Punjab League from the "Communist cancer". The reference was presumably to the Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana, the President and Secretary League, respectively of the Punjab League.

Begum Shah Nawaz's Pro-British Past

They also collected a handful of their supporters to stage a black-flag demonstration in front of Iftikharuddin's house—but eventually got panicky and cancelled it themselves. They vigorously canvassed and made entreaties before each member of the Parliamentary Board. Eventually, the Board unable to withstand this barrage yielded in the case of Begum Shah Nawaz—she got the ticket and Begum Iftikharuddin's application was re-

jected.

Common Muslims in Lahore and the Punjab are shocked at this decision of the League Board.

*They remember that not long ago Begum Shah Nawaz revolted against the Qaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League and joined the War Council of the Viceroy.

*She was expelled by a resolution of the Working Committee from the League.

*She was sent to the U.S.A. by the Government and at Government expense to do anti-Indian propaganda.

*Then she took a war-job in the Government of India.

Only when the war ended and there were prospects of new elections, she resigned and came to Lahore from New Delhi and joined the League.

Begum Iftikharuddin's Work

As against all this, Begum Iftikharuddin had been doing quite unostentatious work in the women's organisation in the Punjab, while her husband was in jail during the long war years, she not only reared her two little children, but helped to organise the women of Lahore during the food and cloth crisis, helped to build their all-Party Committees, Muslim, Hindu and Sikh women of Lahore alike love and respect her.

However, intrigue and pressure won—merit and public service were discarded.

But while Begum Shah Nawaz's ambition was satisfied,

Mian Bashir Ahmed could not get the League ticket for the Lahore Civil Seat, Mian Bashir Ahmed, although related to the Begum, should not be thought of as belonging to the same category. He is an old Leaguer, is a cultured gentleman, and generally holds progressive views.

How is it that such a person allowed himself to be a party to petty intrigue and anti-Communist slander? Perhaps he has been made to believe that the Communists are coming in the way of his getting into the Assembly. But the fact is that the Communists have nothing whatsoever to do with the whole affair.

Mian Bashir Ahmad's Way

Actually what has happened is this: Mian Bashir Ahmed having been rejected for the Lahore Civil Seat (the ticket was given to Mian Abdul Aziz, the sitting member and an old Leaguer) was persuaded to apply for a ticket for another seat which the League Parliamentary Board wanted to give to Chaudhri ATULLAH JAHANIA.

This is a rural seat in Ferozepur district. Atullah Jahania is a kisan leader of the Western Punjab who has proved himself to be one of the best agitators and organisers of the League in the Punjab during the last two years or so. The only way to prove his superiority over Atullah Jahania was, according to Mian Bashir Ahmed, to start beating the anti-Communist drum wildly.

So he and his supporters promptly got *Eastern Times*—a rag which has hardly a circulation of a hundred copies daily—to write a note saying that Atullah got his orders not from "Malabar Hill" but from "Sandhurst Road" and that he was a paid agent of the Communist Party. Next they mobilised the Urdu daily "Nava-e-Waqt," to comment on this note of *Eastern Times*—which took the view that though the Communists, in the League should be allowed to work and hold offices, it was "dangerous" to let them be Members of the Assembly!

And then both the *Eastern Times* note and the *Nava-e-Waqt* comment on it were flashed by the *Orient Press* representative at the instigation of Mian Bashir Ahmed—making all this business of self-advancement look as if it was the opinion of the "Mussalmans of the Punjab."

How hollow this whole racket is will be apparent from the fact that two League dailies of Lahore the "Ehsan" and the "Zemindar" strongly condemned "Eastern Times" and criticised "Nava-e-Waqt" for raising the Communist bogey. They rightly pointed out that it was playing into the hands of the Unionists and anti-League Mahasabaites and creating disruption in the Muslim League.

Where Anti-Communism Leads

I talked to two important members of the League Parliamentary Board about it and they were equally disgusted. "It is all dirty selfishness and has nothing whatsoever to do with either the League or the Communists" one of them told me.

As to the "Communist infiltration" all Punjab knows that only three Communists have joined the Muslim League, within the last two years, Danial Latif, Abdullah Mullaik and Atullah Jahania. And these three did so after resigning from the Communist Party. Muslim Leaguers welcomed them.

But to call every progressive a Communist is a favourite trick of reactionaries all over the world. It does not harm the Communists. But if progressives like Mian Bashir Ahmed or Nava-e-Waqt fall a prey to it, it will certainly injure the Muslim League and strengthen the hands of reactionaries in and outside the League.

The League Parliamentary Board in the Punjab is not likely to assign this seat either to Atullah Jahania—against whom so much hue and cry has been raised—or to Mian Bashir Ahmed, but to Amjad Ali, the rich war-contractor who has left the Unionists and joined the League recently. That is where anti-Communism leads—into the arms of war-profiteers and away from the people they all profess to serve!

At "Azad Fauj" Week Rally In Calcutta

CONGRESSMAN DUBBED COMMUNIST, BEATEN AND SHAMED

His Statement Reveals Game Of Anti-Communist Plotters

On December 8, a rally of over two lakhs was held in Deshpriya Park, Calcutta, to inaugurate the Azad Fauj Week. Hours before the meeting the whole park was packed to capacity. The organisers obviously could not manage the crowd which had exceeded their calculations and there were few microphones and even they were not working.

Sarat Bose's son, AMIYA BOSE, got up before the speeches began and said: "Some Communists are trying to create trouble, their object being to sabotage to-day's function." Dragging a man on to the platform, he said: "This man was caught red-handed cutting two wires." He called him a member of the Communist Party, but his name and address was not announced. "These traitors" he continued, "once called Netaji himself a traitor." Then appealing to the crowd to remain non-violent, he said, "We are soldiers of the Congress and Mahatmajai."

All sorts of rumours about the Communists were spread through the crowd; Communists have assaulted women, Communists are trying to shoul down the speakers etc. People were wondering why two thousand volunteers could not manage the show. Others remarked that the organisers had made a mess of the arrangements and people paying Rs. 50 were getting the better seats in the Park.

Vallabhbhai Patel speaking first praised Subhas Bose and the INA, but said Congress was committed to the creed of non-violence and with-

out it there could be no independence. Violence, sporadic or organised, could not help us.

Jawaharlal Nehru speaking next rejoiced at the fervour and courage shown by the young men of Calcutta at the time of the recent firing. People are judged he said, at the time of crisis and the people of Calcutta rose to the occasion during the crisis. He, however, warned against sporadic violence and stressed the need for disciplined and organised efforts at the right time.

Communist-Baiting

The same night, the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party issued the following statement:

"Reports have reached us that some organisers of the Deshpriya Park meeting held on December 8th openly accused the Communists of creating disturbances by trying to cut wires of loud speakers. We had heard the rumours in the morning that the stage was being set for such trumped-up charges against the Communist Party. The accusation is a mischievous and pro-

fabricated lie without any foundation. Repeated attempts have been made in recent weeks to discredit the Communist Party by means of false charges. We appeal to our countrymen and to leaders of all parties to intervene... in the name of decent political life."

Though circulated in time to all daily newspapers, only the Bengali *Jugantar* published it the next morning. When some of the press reporters asked for details of the incident from the organisers of the meeting, they were told that the Communists were using scissors to cut microphone wires. This is an obviously made-up story for anyone trying to cut electric wires with scissors will be electrocuted at once.

Victim Of Plot Speaks

BALAILAL BOSE, of 6, Vidya-sagar Street, Calcutta issued the following statement dated December 10th:

"As a humble Congressman of many years' standing, who has suffered at the hands of the bureaucracy since the great days of 1930-32, I would like to draw the attention of the public to the unspeakable treatment meted out to me on amazing allegations of my being a Communist at Deshpriya Park on December 8. On that day, I was one of the vast multitude of the people who were converging over to Deshpriya Park to see and hear our leaders.

"I noticed a chaotic state of affairs at the crossing of Rashbehari Avenue and Garbhat Road and with the help of a few friends persuaded the crowd to organise itself in an orderly manner in a queue. There were many witnesses whose names I am prepared to produce who saw me helping to organise the queue.

"When I arrived at the gates of the park, I found it impossible for me to get in for every inch of space inside was already occupied. In the rush, somebody to my utter surprise called out to me and said I was a Communist. I did not take it seriously, but very soon afterwards, I was approached by a Sikh who appeared to be a volunteer. He very politely told me to get into the Park through the road re-

served for the donors to the INA Fund.

"I was rather surprised, but I thanked him and said I would be much obliged if I could get standing accommodation somewhere. He insisted however on literally dragging me to wherever he wanted me to go and took me to Mr. Bhimani and reported that I was a Communist. In spite of my vehement denials, Bhimani mercilessly belaboured me and then I was taken by Mr. Amiya Bose to the platform and condemned before the assembled people as a Communist traitor who tried to cut wires!

"I protested with all the strength I had though I was being beaten all the time. But Mr. Bose would not listen. I gave him my name and address, but for reasons I could not understand, Mr. Bose asked Mr. Bhimani to announce that I was refusing to divulge my name and that I was a Communist leader. I was rescued by several girls who obviously belonged to a Congress family, though they did not give their names. They took me to their house nearby and gave me first aid.

"I heard later that certain people tried to break into that house to punish the residents for their act of humanity. I was taken out to safety by an American soldier who escorted me with a loaded pistol to avoid trouble, took me round Kidderpore and Red Road towards the Esplanade.

"I feel utterly dazed about the entire proceedings. I have been a Congressman all my life, I am a Congressman to-day. I have been a political sufferer since 1939. During the 1942 movement I absconded for several days and was hauled up in court along with Dr. Charu San-yal, Kavi Raj, Satish Lahiri and others.

"I have never been a member of the Communist Party; even to-day I have many and serious differences with that Party's policy. My loyalty now, as always, is to the Congress. And yet in to-day's atmosphere of Communist-baiting, I am singled out before the people as a traitor to my country. I feel completely to understand why Messrs. Bose and Bhimani refused to hear what I had to say and humiliated me before my people whom I have sought all my life to serve. I hope at any rate that my statement will help to clarify what happened at Deshpriya Park on Saturday."

Volunteer's Testimony

Sardar KESAR SINGH made the following statement on December 9:

"I was a volunteer on the occasion of the Deshpriya Park meeting (Continued on Col. 1.)

(Continued from Col. 5.)

ing on the 8th of December 1945. I worked under the Company Commander Amar Singh. I was surprised to learn that Communists have been accused of cutting microphone wires which I know is baseless. I am giving here the account of one of the incidents in the afternoon.

"One person in the meeting created some suspicion. Our Company Commander argued with him and called him not to create trouble. A Khaksar volunteer kept an eye on him. This same person was brought down and there was a lot of talk about him and with him. I learnt that his name and address were taken and that he was photographed and that he was going to be put on the platform as a miscreant.

"But I was astonished to learn that he was not put on the platform, but another person was put up instead and was termed as a Communist. May I enquire of the organisers why the miscreant was not put on the platform and why his photo and name were not published in the papers? I hope these wild allegations against any Party or individual would not be made specially when all can make common cause over the INA issue."

Meanwhile, several attacks have been made on individual Communists since the meeting in the Calcutta area and the South Calcutta Party office was raided by a gang armed with soda-water bottles and daggers. (Full details next week).

VERDICT OF ELECTORATE FOR CENTRAL ASSEMBLY

Its Lessons For All

From the results of the Central Assembly Elections already announced, two facts emerge clearly.

*In the General Constituencies, the Congress has swept the polls against all opposition.

*In the Muslim Constituencies, the League has equally clearly swept the polls against all opposition.

THE smashing defeat of the Mahasabha and the Justices by the Congress in Madras, Bombay, Maharashtra, Central Provinces, U.P., Bihar, Bengal, etc., has been rightly acclaimed by the entire Nationalist Press, English and other languages alike. They have hailed it as "victory for the 'Quit India' slogan of the Congress", as a "proof of people's overwhelming faith in the Congress."

For anyone who has eyes to see, the defeat of Nationalist Muslims and Congress Muslim candidates by the Muslim League has been equally smashing.

How Muslims Voted

In BOMBAY, in both the constituencies contested by Hoosainbhai Laljee (Congress-backed Shia Muslim candidate), he lost his deposit against the League. In the city where he fought Mr. Jinnah he got 127 votes as against 3,802 for Mr. Jinnah. The entire Congress press of Bombay played upon Shia-Sunni conflict. (Mr. Laljee is President of the All-Parties Shia Conference), made out that the League is anti-Shia and made a special appeal to the Shias to vote against the League. There are about 2,000 Shia voters, yet the total polling for Mr. Laljee was only 127.

In BIHAR, two Muslim Constituencies returned Leaguers unopposed while in the third, a Congress Muslim candidate was defeated by the League by the overwhelming majority of 1,255 to 349.

In MALABAR (Calicut) the Muslim League candidate defeated his Nationalist Muslim rival by 6,800 votes to 632.

The best test case is U.P. which is the stronghold of the Nationalist Muslims and where the Nationalist Muslim leaders have the best and oldest record of national patriotic service. Here the League swept all the six seats, two Nationalist Muslim candidates lost their deposits.

Even in the Meerut Constituency, where the Nationalist Muslim candidate was a very respected Muslim leader, Mr. Kazmi—as man to man better than his League opponent, Liaquat Ali Khan—and where the Leaguers themselves were confident of their chances, the League won an overwhelming victory; Liaquat got 4,530 votes as against 2,722 for Mr. Kazmi.

Congress Campaign For Nationalist Muslims

The sweeping defeat of the Nationalist Muslims by the League comes out all the more markedly against the background of the raging campaign conducted by Congress leaders all over the country since their release against the Muslim League and against Pakistan.

There is not a single speech delivered by Congress Working Committee members since their release where they have not attacked the League and its aim, and they have been on their feet all the time.

They have been doing more campaigning against the League and against Pakistan than they have done for the Congress against the Mahasabha for the General Seats.

The entire Nationalist Press in the country—English and all the Indian languages—has been splashing these speeches to their readers; and the mass of the electorate for the Central Assembly belongs to the newspaper-reading category.

In Bombay, all the Congress dailies, English, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, ran columns upon columns every day appealing to the people to vote for Mr. Hoosainbhai Laljee. Editorials were written and special appeals made.

In U.P., Congress leaders themselves had decided to make it a test case against the League. Their main election campaign in U.P. was concentrated on the Muslim seats—everyone knew Congress had nothing to fear in the General Constituencies. Pandit

Nehru openly declared that Congress was going to challenge the League and defeat it in all Muslim seats. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai also had been touring extensively around the Province declaring the League would be swept away by the Nationalist Muslims.

For weeks, Congress leaders like Pandit Nehru, Pantji and Kidwai and leading Nationalist Ulama like Maulana Madani and Hifzul Behman, respected leaders of the Jamiat, toured various districts of U.P. addressing mass meetings and exhorting Muslims to vote for Nationalist Muslim candidates. You have only to look through the columns of Hindustan Times and Amrita Bazar Patrika (leading English Congress dailies of the Province) and of the Congress Hindi Press during October and November and you can see what campaigning was done for the Nationalist Muslim candidates.

Election Forecasts

What happened in U.P. is more or less true of all Provinces. Congress leaders had no fear of Congress reverses in the General Constituencies. Their main efforts were concentrated on the campaign against the League.

These are FACTS which every Congressman KNOWS in his heart of hearts.

by N. K. Krishnan

And what were Congress and Nationalist Muslim leaders' estimates immediately before and after polling day itself?

Here again, I shall take the U.P. as the best test case.

The Associated Press splashed the report on Polling Day that Nationalist Muslims "expect 65% majority for their candidate Mr. Kazmi (Meerut Constituency—N.K.K.). In Saharanpur, it is said, he polled more than 75% votes."

The Special Correspondent of the Jamiat paper Ansari also published the same report and quoted Maulana Hifzul Behman (one of the most respected Nationalist Muslim leaders of U.P.) as saying that, "Nationalist Muslims will win more seats than the League." (Ansari—Nov. 28).

The same comments and estimates appeared in the entire Congress Press of Delhi and U.P.

How They Analyse Results

One would have thought that the election results, after all this, would wake up Congressmen and Nationalist Muslims and make them ask themselves the obvious question: If the Muslim masses, despite all the weight thrown by the entire Congress and Nationalist Muslim campaigning machinery, still have shown their overwhelming faith in the Muslim League, then what has been wrong so far with our evaluation of the League and its aims?

But they are not doing this; what they do is to deny the obvious, and try to explain it away on the most fantastic and false grounds.

The most common explanation in the Congress and Nationalist Muslim Press is that the election results do not reflect the real will of the Muslim masses, due to the very limited franchise; it is the verdict only of the top upper-class. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai himself has put this forward as one of the reasons.

Does it not occur to Congressmen that as far as the limited franchise is concerned, there cannot be one law for the General Constituencies and another for the Muslim seats? when Congress sweeps the polls in General Constituencies, it is rightly acclaimed as people's victory—but when the League sweeps the polls in the Muslim seats, according to the same franchise, does it suddenly be-

come the exclusive voice of vested interests?

Exploited Religious Fanaticism

The Congress Hindi Press of U.P. loudly acclaim Congress victory in the General Constituencies, but the same papers keep mum over the League successes. The few who have commented (like the Sansar of Benares) declare that Leaguers "exploited the religious fanaticism of the Muslims."

Even Mr. Kazmi (the best of the Nationalist Muslim candidates who lost in U.P.) in a statement declared that Leaguers "exploited the religious sentiments of young men and women." (Bombay Chronicle, Dec. 11.)

Here again, what are the actual facts? Did the Nationalist Muslims themselves fight religious fanaticism with clean patriotic propaganda—or did they try to overdo Leaguers themselves in rabid obscurantism?

Their Own Line Of Campaign

I shall take the best and tallest of the Nationalist Muslim leaders, Maulana Madani, President of the Jamiat.

In a letter released to the Press, the Maulana repudiated the League's claim to be the sole representative organisation of Muslims by saying:

"Prophet Mohammad was the sole leader and representative of the Muslims. After him only the inheritors of his tradition (i.e. the Ulama or divines—Ed.) can be their representatives and leaders. Only the Jamiat has the right to claim this position. Certainly, this role cannot be fulfilled by League leaders who are not only ignorant of religion but have turned their faces away from it." (Oct. 14.)

And what did the Maulana mean

by it? Speaking at a meeting of the U.P. Nationalist Muslim Parliamentary Board, the Maulana declared:

"I will show to the world what the League has done to destroy Islam and Muslims. League leaders are treating Islam very badly. Indeed, Mr. Jinnah had his marriage celebrated in 1912 under the Civil Marriage Act." (Medina—Oct. 17.)

The Maulana repeated these "charges" against Mr. Jinnah in the election pamphlet he brought out; these extracts from it were widely reproduced in the Congress and Nationalist Muslim Press.

In fact, the whole line of propaganda of leading Nationalist Ulama like Maulana Madani and Hifzul Behman in their election campaign in U.P. consisted of rabid religious obscurantism.

They denounced the League as un-Islamic and declared that Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan would be an un-Islamic state as both Mr. Jinnah and Dawn, the organ of the Muslim League, had declared it would be jointly ruled by all residents. Hindus and Muslims! They tried to impress that Pakistan would really be of benefit only to the Muslim majority areas, whereas the Muslims in the Hindu majority areas would still be left at the mercy of the Hindus with no protection!

Speaking at Ferozabad, Maulana Madani said that Hindus after death are burnt, but Muslims need graves; so it is all the more necessary for them to remain in Hindustan and not talk of Pakistan!

Mr. KAZMI again says in his statement: "Vested interests, zamindars, Officials and their parasites and supporters were all ranged against us."

But here again, look at the FACTS about Congress and Nationalist Muslim propaganda itself. The Hindi Congress Press in U.P. did not hesitate even to use the name of the Aga Khan to appeal to the Muslims to vote against the League, AJ, Adhikar and Sansar, the three leading Congress Hindi dailies of U.P. right on the eve of the elections splashed an alleged anti-League declaration of his, called it "timely warning", praised him and called on Muslim voters in his name to vote for Nationalist Muslims!

The Bombay Nationalist Press (Bombay Sentinel, Janmabhoomi and Nootan Gujarati) also did the same in Bombay for Mr. Hoosainbhai Laljee and against Mr. Jinnah!

WAVELL'S DIABOLICAL BLUE-PRINT

IT has been customary for the Viceroy of India speaking at the annual meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta to make important announcements of imperialist policy and hurl challenges and warnings to the Indian freedom movement.

Last year, the present Viceroy had used this very platform to arrogantly sermonise to the Indian people after the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. He had declared in effect, that Imperialist rule was a better cure for India's ills than either the 'Quit India' dose or the Pakistan operation.

The Viceroy's speech this year from the same place comes at a time, when on the one hand a mounting upsurge for freedom is sweeping the entire land and on the other, our whole people, the Hindus and the Muslims, are sharply divided into hostile camps behind the Congress or the League. Behind his sweet and alluring words in which he offers freedom and a reasonable settlement is hidden a new diabolical game of "divide and rule" fraught with the gravest danger to our freedom struggle.

The Viceroy assures the British capitalists, Indian Princes and other vested interests who have been the main props of Imperialist rule that the British Government is not going to abandon its responsibility of bringing about a just and lasting settlement!

The British vested interests are assured that there would be no revision of their "commercial safeguards" which guarantee them a dominant position to strangle the growth of Indian industries till a commercial treaty between Britain and India is signed and this treaty is visualised not on the basis of equality between India and Britain, but rather on the basis of a deal between the British and Indian vested interests, the latter playing a junior role.

The Indian States are to come into the Indian Union, but it is the Princes and NOT the people who are meant.

The "just and lasting settlement" is to be not between the Indian people expressing their will through adult franchise and the British Government, but between "the leaders of India that is all of us who have power and responsibility, political, administrative, commercial and proprietary!"

The "political freedom" and the economic and industrial development which the Viceroy promises India under his "reasonable" settlement mean neither complete independence nor real power to the Indians to shape their own destiny. They will mean another lease of life to British Imperialist domination which will continue to throttle India's political and economic development, perhaps under a new name.

He ridicules the 'Quit India' demand and warns that "any new step in the freedom struggle would be suppressed as violence and disorder. He deprecates the agitation over the LNA, and warns that the bulk of the Indian Army has remained loyal and will receive "all support in the proper fulfilment of their duty." In other words, the Viceroy is gently suggesting that he is not at all unprepared to stage here another Indonesia if India refuses to accept the bogus settlement which he is offering.

But the crux of the Viceroy's speech is his differentiated approach towards the Congress and the League, his not too clever attempt to create new illusions, to pit one against the other for preventing a united challenge to the British rule.

Wavell's mention of the Congress as the largest political party and his studied omission of the Muslim League, the second largest political party, is significant. This should be read in the context of the recent meetings in Calcutta between the Congress leaders on the one hand and Mr. Casey and Lord Wavell on the other.

Though the Government Communique denies that there were any political negotiations, it is reliably understood from knowledgeable circles that the leaders were sounded regarding their attitude towards British plans for settlement.

The last word in British wisdom on the question of Indian settlement is the Coupland Plan—by which India is to be divided up into three Regional States—the Hindu Majority Zone, the Muslim Majority Zone and the Princely States, all under an All-India Agency Centre. (The Coupland State will have the appearance of an independent, United India with autonomy for the Muslim majority provinces, but in reality it would be imperialist domination based upon an alliance of Princes and British and Indian vested interests.)

Imperialism, however, knows that such a plan can be put through only with the help and co-operation of the Congress and the vested interests who back it. That is why the Viceroy is wooing the Congress for its help and co-operation in achieving a compromise, while at the same time warning it against attempting a real solution through struggle.

In case the Congress agrees, Wavell promises "to secure the support of the principal parties" for an interim Central Government, "which will bear the full responsibility of administering the country during the interval before the change of the Constitution is made."

As a second string to the bow, the Viceroy has put out a bait to the Muslim League. He has stated that "the British Government sincerely wish that the Indian people have their political freedom and a Government or Governments of their choice." In other words, the Viceroy has at the same time promised the Muslim League a separate Pakistan State.

The British game as it emerges out of Wavell's speech is plain enough. If the Congress agrees to underwrite a compromise with the British Government based on a tie-up between British and Indian vested interests and the Princes, it will get the semblance of independence and a United India and British help to crush Muslim League resistance if any, to the same. If the Congress rejects the offer and goes in for struggle, the British will try to win the Muslim League by offering it a separate Pakistan State and use it against the freedom struggle.

Such is the game of "divide and rule" which the British Imperialists are proposing to play against our national movement after the elections are over. How long are the leaderships of our two patriotic organisations going to be taken in by the crude tricks of bankrupt imperialists? How long are we going to allow arrogant imperialists to read sermons of unity to our proud national movement? The illusions of unilateral compromise with the British Imperialists will only bring about the fight of brother against brother and postpone the day of our freedom.

The sooner we forge a united front of freedom, based on the right of self-determination to every national unit, the quicker shall we end this long chapter of national humiliation.

Writing about Polling Day scenes on the Central Assembly Election in Delhi (General Constituency where Mr. Asaf Ali won), the Hindustan Times (Nov. 26) proudly splashed the headline, "Officials and Muslim majority support Congress" (my emphasis) and its report said: "The voters from the rural area of the Province although mostly Lambardars and other village officials solidly voted for the Congress."

Is it patriotism when village officials vote for Congress—reaction when they vote for the League?

Nationalist Muslims had "no organisation of their own to fight the elections", they "entered the contest at a very late stage"—declares Rafi Ahmed Kidwai as another explanation for League success. To say this—when the entire weight of political campaigning by the top-most Congress leaders had been thrown against the League, as we saw above—is to fly in the face of facts and blind oneself with illusions.

What They Wrote On Delhi Result

To what lengths this blind self-deception has gone is seen from what Nationalist Muslim leaders and the Congress Press wrote on the results of the Delhi election.

According to impartial eye-witnesses, the number of Muslim voters who went to the polls in Delhi (a general constituency) was not over 2,000. Mr. Asaf Ali's Muslim opponent backed by the League polled 1,557 votes (obviously they were all Muslims); therefore only the rest could have gone to Mr. Asaf Ali as far as Muslim votes are concerned.

Yet the entire Nationalist Press

splashed the "news" that the overwhelming majority of Muslims had voted for Asaf Ali!

And then about Asaf Ali's victory: "The Muslim masses are steadily waking up and when challenged register their verdict in unmistakable terms...I have no doubt this awakening against the Muslim League will be brought into greater play at the time of the Provincial Elections." (Statement of Mr. Nurie, President of the Bombay Provincial Board of the Nationalist Muslims). The entire Congress press echoed this.

Yet only a week later, when the results of the Muslim constituencies began coming in and the League was winning an overwhelming victory, all over the country, they turn round and say it is all due to the pull of "vested interests", "limited franchise", "religious fanaticism of the Muslim masses," etc. etc.

It is tragic self-deception and deception of the people. When Congress, the foremost patriotic people's organisation in the country, refuses to learn from the verdict of the people—where the Muslims are concerned—it can only lead to Congressmen going still more blindly anti-Muslim; and Leaguers in their turn going still more blindly anti-Hindu and more towards the reactionaries in the League ranks.

This is how in fact Congressmen and Leaguers are preparing for the coming Provincial Elections. The former appeal to the Hindu Mahasabha chauvinists to liquidate themselves and merge in the Congress to fight the League and Pakistan; the latter go in for allying with any moneyed personage or knight who will help them fight the Congress.

MALABAR'S GREAT LOSS

IN the death of Mr. ABDUR RAHMAN, Malabar has lost one of her greatest Muslim anti-Imperialist fighters.

Ever since Abdur Rahman left Aligarh in 1921 to join the non-co-operation movement, he has been in the forefront of the national movement in Kerala. He participated in the 1930 movement and was in jail together with Krishna Pillay (Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Committee of the Communist Party) and other Communists.

After its failure, he worked as a close colleague of our Malabar comrades inside the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee (KPCC). During the years 1938-40, when the Communists had a majority in the KPCC, they worked together with Abdur Rahman to take the Malabar Congress to the peasants and the workers and make it a real mass organisation.

The anti-Communists of today were the most reactionary "Rightists" inside the KPCC then and were Abdur Rahman's bitterest opponents.

In 1940 Abdur Rahman was arrested and jailed. He was released only recently.

Abdur Rahman was against Pakistan and the Muslim League, but he was nevertheless held in widest esteem among the Leaguers and non-Leaguers alike in Malabar as the best anti-Imperialist fighter Malabar Muslims had thrown up.

The procession which accompanied Abdur Rahman's body to the burial ground was attended by the biggest all-Party crowd Calicut has ever seen. Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Nationalist Muslims, Communists—all were there to pay their homage to the veteran. The funeral bier was borne by Congress Muslims, League Muslims, non-League Muslims, Communist Muslims, all together.

The Lion And The Vultures

Yet, at the end of it all, on the funeral grounds, when Congress leaders got up and spoke, they only made it an occasion for contemptible anti-League electioneering. The only lesson they could give to the people from the life of this great anti-Imperialist fighter was: "Vote for the Majlis and not for the League."

And the next day, when Congress leaders held a public meeting to mourn the passing away of Abdur Rahman, Communist leaders (who had been Abdur Rahman's close friends and co-workers for years) were not even allowed to pay their tribute to the dead fighter from the platform—by the very men who had been Abdur Rahman's bitterest opponents for more than a decade!

There is an old saying that when the lion is dead, all that the vultures are bothered about is not to lose the carrion. The Malabar Congress lead-

ers of today are a tragic example of this.

Communist Initiative For Joint Work In Calcutta

ON November 23, when the tension in Calcutta City after the police firing was acute, the Communist Party sent out squads for maintaining peace and dissuading people from indulging in sporadic acts of violence. The situation was particularly serious in South Calcutta where a number of military trucks were burnt down.

Our Party Squads went to South Calcutta Congress Office with the proposal of bringing out joint Congress-Communist Squads so that more men could be mobilised and the appeal to the public made more effective.

A meeting of volunteers was soon held in the Congress Office; local Congress leaders like Dr. Nalinakshya Sanyal, M.L.A., Sita. Bha Das, Secretary South Calcutta D.C.C., and Professor P. R. Sen, the Gandhite leader, were present. All agreed to bring out joint squads and zones were divided up.

Our comrades readily came forward to take up duties in the worst-affected areas because they have worked in these localities and are numerically strong also.

When the squads were being formed and duties fixed up, in walked Niharendu Dutta Mazumdar (expelled from the Communist Party in 1939 and now a trusted lieutenant of Sarat Bose) and like all renegades, a rabid anti-Communist. Finding the Communists there, he was furious and walked out saying: "I would not have come up if I had known that the Communists were coming. Now I cannot stay."

"Fundamental" Differences Over Preservation Of Peace!

But the Congress leaders present there decided on joint work and proceeded with it. But they, however, could not stomach the idea of the Red Flag being carried along with the Congress Flag. Our comrades were anxious to get on with the work first and did not want a scramble over flags; so they agreed to go only under the Congress Flag.

The joint work went on vigorously and satisfactorily till late at night and they reported it back to the Congress office.

But the next morning, when they reported for duty, the Congress leader present said: "I am afraid we cannot have joint squads with you at all. We have differences with you on fundamentals and so there can be no joint squads."

Only the previous night, the leaders had met at Sarat Bose's place and as already reported in P.A. they had rejected the idea of even an appeal against police firing and for peace jointly signed by the Congress, League, Mahasabha and the Communist Party. The change in the attitude of the South Calcutta Congress leaders was the aftermath of this.

What everyone had, patently enough, seen as sound sense and good patriotic service to the people on November 23 (despite Dutta Mazumdar), became forbidden on November 24—because of Sarat Bose's bile against the Communists and a fatwa from the top!

Communists Help Congress Candidate In Nagpur

ITOLD you in this column some weeks ago how the Delhi Communists worked for Asaf Ali's success in the Central Assembly elections. The story of Nagpur is still more interesting.

Here Congress and Communist volunteers worked jointly for the victory of Sjt. Salve, the Congress candidate, against the Mahasabhaite Rao Bahadur Paranjpe—"differences on fundamentals" notwithstanding!

The Nagpur District Committee of our Party addressed a letter to the President of the Nagpur D.C.C. offering our volunteers for the polling day. The President welcomed our co-operation and directed our volunteers to take charge of the polling booths jointly with Congress volunteers.

In fact, even a week before the polling day, Congressmen had hardly started their election campaign seriously. A section of them out of factional reasons kept completely apathetic to the whole election fight between the Congress and the Mahasabha because their nominee had not been given the Congress ticket!

On Nov. 20, three days before the polling day, our Party took out a big procession through the streets of Nagpur campaigning for the Congress candidate. Our truck, with a loud-speaker mounted on it, was busy throughout, propagating for the Congress.

During those very days, the Nava Bharat of Nagpur (Congress paper) was running an anti-Communist campaign that the Communists were anti-Congress and would only work for the League!

Gandhite Leader's Appreciation

The citizens of Nagpur could see themselves on November 20 the worth of this propaganda. The Hindu Mahasabha candidate opposing the Congress happened to be the father-in-law of one of our comrades, Sharma—but at the head of the Communist procession could be seen both Sharma and his wife, Kusum, leading the slogan: "Vote for Congress"! It was quite an eye-opener for Nagpur citizens.

Dada Dharmadhikari (one of the oldest Gandhite leaders of the Provincial Congress) was so pleased with our work that he himself took Sharma and Kusum to the Congress Committee Office and introduced them to all the Communists who had done good work for the Congress.

And I would add: Despite Sarat Bose and his like!

M. Krishna



AMBIKA CHAKRAVARTY

Five Lakhs' Fund

GREETINGS FROM JAIL

Famous Chittagong Revolutionary . . .

ONE of the leaders of the Chittagong Armoury Raiders, **A M B I K A CHAKRAVARTY** was sentenced to death, but the sentence was later commuted to transportation for life. He was one of the eleven revolutionaries who fell on Jalalabad Hill, fighting well-armed fully reinforced British troops, in the battle which is looked upon by the revolutionary youth of Chittagong as a saga of epic courage. A Government Communique announced Ambika's death, but Ambika managed to cheat death and carry on sometime longer before he was finally arrested.

Ambika has already spent fifteen years in prison. Along with many others he came over to Communism while in jail. Prison life has shattered his health completely; those who have been released recently say that Ambika will not survive long. But he has heard of the Party's call for funds

from behind the bars, and he writes from the Alipore Jail:

"Comrades I am happy to learn that the Party is trying to bring out a daily and has given a call for funds. I hope that at long last our dream will come true. But I feel myself most unfortunate to be denied an opportunity to dedicate myself to the service of our people at this hour of peril for the Party. For a patriot what could be greater misfortune than this? Today words fail to convey my greetings on this new venture of yours despite a thousand obstacles and limited resources. So in straight and simple words I greet you and the Party.

"Comrades, we can hardly remain unmoved by any call from the Party or be indifferent to the patriotic duty we owe to our people irrespective of race, religion and class. So as a token of our affection, esteem and sympathy for the Party and people, we send Rs. 10. May this Fund expand like an ocean, adding up drop by drop. It is my belief that workers, peasants, middle-class, students, youth, brothers and sisters from all classes will donate to this Fund with open hands. This patriotic drive of the Party shall be victorious."

Bhagat Singh's Comrade-in-Arms

ONE of the comrades of Bhagat Singh and sentenced to transportation for life in the Lahore Conspiracy Case of 1929, **JAIDEV KAPOOR** came over to Communism while in the Andamans where he played a leading part in all the heroic struggles that were waged for the rights of the political prisoners. He has already served sixteen years in prison. From behind the bars, he has sent a contribution to the Party Fund, on behalf of himself and **JAI BAHADUR SINGH** (who has been in jail six years and has also come over to Communism). Along with it, he has written a letter to us where he says:

"I have read with considerable pain and bitterness the accounts of cowardly assaults with lathis and knives upon Communist boys and girls in Bombay and not a word of condemnation from Nehru. On the other hand, day in and day out he only harangues. . . . The Communists are "traitors." "They are in the other camp"—etc. Pattabhi Sitaramayya advises Congress volunteers to employ lathis against the

Communists under the camouflage of self-defence.

"Why this venom against the Communists—when our Party worked the hardest against the attempt of Imperialist rulers to grab the Congress as a Fascist organisation and break it? We fought single-handed against the hoarders and blackmarketeers who were fattening themselves by turning millions of our countrymen and women to hunger, starvation and death.

"Today our Party stands for the right of self-determination for all nationalities, and the unity of all for the freedom and happiness of all. Our Party needs a daily paper to carry its call of unity and freedom to every corner of our country.

"We feel and hope the day is not far off when we shall be out and join the active ranks with you all in the service of our people and our Party.

"Herewith I am sending Rs. 10 as a humble subscription from myself and Com. Jai Bahadur Singh."

"Jaidev Kapoor."

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FREE SIKH HOMELANDS

COMMUNIST SOLUTION

THE CENTRAL ISSUE IN THE COMING ELECTIONS is not how many seats each Party gets in the Assemblies and what programme of measures for reform the different Parties put forward before the people.

THE PLAIN AND CENTRAL ISSUE IS THE ISSUE OF winning freedom and independence from British Imperialism so that the Indian peoples can go forward to frame their own constitution democratically, so that they are able to use the energy of the liberated masses to build a happy and prosperous India, ensuring freedom to every nationality, food and jobs for all.

IN THE WORLD THAT HAS EMERGED AFTER THE WAR, freedom's drum is beating everywhere. The people in Europe have overthrown landlordism and the rule of old reactionary parties which brought war and Fascism and are building a New Democracy. In South-East Asia the enslaved peoples have risen in flaming revolt against Dutch, French and British Imperialism. In India, a new wave of political awakening is surging forth.

The British Government says that India can have her freedom for the asking but has not come forward with any plan to end its monopoly rule and to give the Indian peoples freedom to frame their constitution democratically.

The British Imperialists expect that after the elections, India's two main parties—the National Congress and the Muslim League—will be busy fighting each other on the issue of the constitution-making body.

The Congress wants one constitution-making body for the whole of India so that free India will emerge as a single union state with autonomous units; the Muslim League wants two constitution-making bodies, one for Muslim majority areas in the North-West and the East (Pakistan) and another for the rest of India, so that free India would consist of two independent states—a Pakistan Federation and a Hindustan Union.

The British Imperialists hope to take full advantage of this division and conflict between the main political organisations of our country to impose their own scheme upon India. Their scheme is likely to aim at dividing India into a Pakistan, a Hindustan and a Princistan and impose upon all a dominion state which would be under the thumb of the British Imperialists.

This would be neither free Pakistan nor free India and the yoke of the autocracy of Princedom would remain unaltered on the necks of the hundred million subjects of the Indian States.

I. United Plan For Freedom Struggle—Or Civil War ?

But the leadership of both the Congress and the League is blind to this grim prospect.

The Congress has the bulk of the country behind it. It has behind it a sixty-year old tradition of being the only organisation which has roused our people to freedom consciousness and led them in struggles. The bulk of the Muslims are however not behind it. But the Congress leaders argue:

"What if the Muslims are not with us? The Congress has gained strength through struggle and sacrifice and the British must settle with us unless they want to face another fight. And once the British Government has settled with the Congress, the Muslim League will come to its senses or else the Muslims themselves will desert it."

This is how the Congress leaders think. In contrast the League leaders argue:

"We shall prove in the elections that the overwhelming majority of the Muslims are with the League, in every Province throughout India. If the British dare to settle with the Congress over our heads, we shall face them with a storm which they do not imagine. We will not allow any Central Government to come into existence. We offer to the British Government that they negotiate with the Muslim majority zones in the North-West and the East (Pakistan) and they

to the millions of the common people, who form the base, the flesh and blood, of the two greatest organisations of our people and make them and not the alien ruler the arbiter of our country's destiny."

By Agreement Of Constituent Assemblies

Our Party firmly believes that the edifice of an independent India, free from foreign control, must be based on three great pillars: complete democracy, self-determination to all nationalities and the well-being of our entire people.

The Constitution-making body for a free India must be elected by the entire adult population; there must be complete adult suffrage, every man and woman who has attained the age of eighteen must have the right to vote. In a free India, the present limited franchise which gives power to the vested interests and imperialist stooges must be replaced by a franchise that gives power to our people.

The people of the various nationalities in India with their respective languages, cultures and historical traditions, whose homelands are today divided by the artificial boundaries created by the Imperialists must be free to form their sovereign Constituent Assemblies.

against Imperialism can be created.

Every Party can gain its respective objectives by proving its claim on the touchstone of the people's will through a vote, ascertained in a just and a democratic manner.

The National Congress can attain its objective of having one single federal state in India in which all national units are autonomous, but only if all the constituent assemblies vote for it and agree to create it.

The Muslim League can have its North-Western Pakistan Federation as an independent state—but only if the Constituent Assemblies of Sind, Baluchistan, Pathanland, and Western Punjab vote for it and agree to create it.

Central Punjab (minus Ambala division) in which the Sikhs have their main homelands (see map on centre pages) would be free to join either Pakistan or the Hindustan Union, as its Constituent Assembly decides.

United Bengal—formed by an agreement between the Hindus and the Muslims, would be free to join Pakistan, remain an independent state or join the Hindustan Union as its Constituent Assembly decides.

Our plan offers a just and a democratic solution of the differences between the Congress and

of Ferozepur and Ludhiana districts together with Faridkot State and a part of Patiala State; this area, however, includes only about eight lakhs of Sikhs.

The bulk of the Sikh population, i.e. about 35 lakhs out of 51 lakhs is dispersed in the Central Punjab, a contiguous territory made up of the districts of Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Hoshiarpur with parts of Ferozepur, Lahore and Gurdaspur, Kangra, Hissar and Ambala and with the States of Patiala, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Malerkotla, Nabha, and Jind.

This consolidated land block of the Central Punjab is bordered in the east by the Ambala division, 76% of whose population is Hindu and Hindi-speaking, and on the west by the Western districts of the Punjab, 74% of whose population is Muslim and Punjabi-speaking.

In the Central Punjab itself demarcated thus, the population is distributed as follows:—

Area in sq. miles	Total population in lakhs	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs
22,535	105.2	33.27	34.33	34.94
		31.6 p.c.	34.5 p.c.	33.7 p.c.

According to our plan, this area of the Central Punjab will have a separate Constituent Assembly. If the Constituent Assemblies of Sind, Baluchistan, Pathanland, and Western Punjab decide to form themselves into a separate Pakistan federation, the Central Punjab would be free to decide whether it becomes an autonomous unit of the Pakistan federation or of the Hindustan Union.

The claim of the Muslim League is that all Punjabi-speaking Punjab should remain united and be included in the Pakistan federation and that no part thereof be granted self-determination. This denial of a basic right would be manifestly unjust.

The historical development in the Central Punjab has stamped the bulk of the people with an entirely different cultural impress and the unity of the Punjab will be possible only on the basis of recognising it and granting it full scope for self-development.

Historical, Cultural Unity Of Central Punjab

The main homelands of the Sikhs, the Doaba, the Majha, and the Malwa lie scattered in the contiguous districts and the Native States of the Central Punjab. Whole villages after villages in these tracts are Sikh. Here lies the cradle of the Sikh people and their great historical traditions.

The rise of Sikhism was something much more than a section of the Hindus changing their form of worship. It was a great popular and cultural upheaval which roused and united the bulk of the peasant Hindu tribes of the Central Punjab—namely the Jats, Khatri, Rajputs, Aroras, Rangarhias and the Mazh-lis.

These sturdy peasant tribes were settled in the fertile region of the Doaba and the Majha from time immemorial. There they built their village communities and developed agriculture. This region, however, lay in the path of every invader who came into India from the North. Again and again their peaceful peasant communities were destroyed and scattered. They suffered under the reign of each invader and conqueror but they reformed themselves.

It was under the rule of the Mughal Empire-builders and of their mansabdars that the political and economic pressure on these peasant communities became intense and sustained. It was then that these peasant tribes began to unite as a Sikh people—to defend their way of life—their village communities and their peasant farms—under the inspiring leadership of the Gurus.

(Continued on Centre pages)

SELF-DETERMINATION AND JUSTICE FOR PUNJABI HINDUS-SIKHS-MUSLIMS

deal with the British to beat down the claims of the other.

The Congress leaders say that we will win freedom by our own strength, establish a single federated state in India and face civil war if we must.

The League leaders say that we shall not submit to a single federated state but shall fight it.

When the two parts of our freedom movement talk of civil war, what more can foreign Imperialism, which does not want to yield power willingly, desire? It will remain as the arbiter of our destiny and freedom will recede into the background.

Civil war and continued slavery—such is the perspective which the present policies of the Congress and the League place before the country.

The COMMUNIST PARTY is entering the elections to warn the country against these policies—policies that after the elections will lead us not to a joint front for freedom and democracy but to a clash of brother against brother, from which only the Imperialists will derive strength to impose a slave constitution and a permanent division on our heads.

The Communist Party is entering the elections with a plan which will enable the Congress and the League to solve their differences in a just and democratic way without giving up their respective general aims. Our plan will enable them to join hands and thus forge the unity of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and all others to say to the British: "Quit India—we shall frame our own constitution."

The Congress leaders abuse Mr. Jinnah for being "impossible" while simultaneously they hope to achieve a unilateral settlement with the British.

The League leaders abuse the Congress for wanting to oppress the Muslims while simultaneously looking to a unilateral settlement with the British.

Both are making the hated British Imperialists the arbiters of our great people's destiny.

Our Party appeals to both: "If you cannot agree among yourselves, agree to put your differences

The people of every national territorial unit such as, Pathanland, Baluchistan, Sind, Western Punjab (Muslim), Central Punjab (with Sikh homelands), Hindustan, Bihar, Rajasthan, Assam, Orissa, Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Karnatak, Maharashtra, Gujarat, and Bengal (with previous agreement for plebiscite of the Hindu and Muslim areas) should be able to form their own sovereign states in a free India, with full freedom for self-development in brotherly unity with each other.

Objectives Of Each-In One Common Front

The question whether these different units should join together to form a single federated state or form two or more separate federations must be decided not by a majority vote in a single Constituent Assembly for the whole of India, but by the agreement of the separate Constituent Assemblies.

The British imperialists imposed a single centralised state on our heads by the force of arms. They split up our homogeneous national units into Provinces and princely states for the purpose of conquest. They suppressed our various languages, strangled the growth of the respective cultures.

In a free India we shall redraw the natural boundaries of our national units and allow each people freedom to shape their own sovereign state, to build their language, culture and economic life. For the common tasks of reconstructing a new and happy India out of the ruins which imperialist rule has left, they shall form one or two centralised states; but whatever the decision, it will be based on the will of the peoples of the various units and their Constituent Assemblies.

Our plan is based on justice. It ensures freedom to all. On its basis, unity of all can be achieved and a powerful fighting front

The League. The Congress will be prevented from imposing a single centralised state on unwilling units. The League will be prevented from carving out a Pakistan in which the Hindu-Sikh majority areas of the Punjab and the Hindu majority areas of Bengal are included, without the freely expressed will of the population of these respective areas.

It shall be plain to every honest and freedom-loving Indian that the Congress and the League should agree to such a plan. Such an agreement will create a basis for a mighty joint front which can ask the British Imperialists to quit India and to leave us free to frame our constitution according to our plan.

Secondly, the agreement to the plan will dispel the present atmosphere of suspicion in which the majority suspects the minority of wilful obstruction while the minority charges the majority with domination.

Equality and justice which our plan guarantees to every national unit will establish such an atmosphere of mutual trust that the sovereign Constituent Assemblies, while zealously guarding the freedom of each national unit, while forming regional federations, will agree to form an Indian union for the common interests of defence and economic reconstruction.

II. Our Plan And Sikh National Demand

The Communist plan for a free India based on the principle of self-determination accepts what is just and right in the claims of both the Congress and the League. Not merely this. It does justice to every single people in India, and in particular it does justice to the national demands of the Sikh people, without doing any injustice to the Muslims and Hindus.

The Sikhs, who number 51 lakhs in the whole of the Punjab, are nowhere in an absolute majority, except in a small contiguous patch

by G. Adhikari

SIKH NATIONAL MOVEMENT

-Its Fighting Anti-Imperialist Traditions

Akalis' Pro-Toady Policy Repudiates Glorious Heritage

(Continued from Page 3.)

The aim of the militant Sikh movement under the late Gurus, especially under Guru Gobind Singh—the last of the Sikh Gurus, who was considered as a champion of religious persecution or religious wars. In reality it was the Sikh of a people—people in the Sikh sense—steering their lives through the political, social and economic life of the Punjab and the whole of India.

It was a regular national, led by the Sikh Gurus, which culminated in the emergence of the Sikh people in the popular upheaval of the Mahabata peasant class, raised by the Sikh Gurus and led by Guru Gobind Singh in the Punjab and the whole of India.

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disrupt the political movement of the Central Punjab.

Thus they have sought to achieve through the United Party, the party of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh landlords bolstered up by British imperialists in the Punjab on the one of the last elections (1937) and since they used by them as their instrument of repression.

The Muslim League is rapidly winning the support of the bulk of the Muslims in the Punjab for its slogan of free India. But its leadership in the League thinks that its goal can be achieved by fighting the Congress and by allying with communalism to win communal seats in the elections.

The Congress leadership, in its turn, refuses to see the freedom urge of the newly-emancipated Muslim masses of the Western Punjab. Right the League and Congress are in the length of taking up with the United Party in the Punjab.

The Akali leadership which claims to stand exclusively for Sikh demands, says it is playing an "independent" role, not taking up with either the Congress or the League. In reality it is playing an opportunistic role and is in fact taking up with the United Party and British agents.

The policy of these parties is to play a game of hide-and-seek with the Akalis. The Akali leadership which claims to stand exclusively for Sikh demands, says it is playing an "independent" role, not taking up with either the Congress or the League. In reality it is playing an opportunistic role and is in fact taking up with the United Party and British agents.

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The Hindu, specially the part of the population of this area is Muslim and Punjabi-speaking. Eighty-two per cent of the total Muslim population of the Punjab (including the Khalistan States) lives in this part.

This area would be nationally homogeneous in language with the Punjab, written in Persian characters. With the development of new irrigation and hydro-electric projects, Western Punjab would be able to develop agriculture, oil, industries, even more than Central Punjab.

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The Akali leadership which claims to stand exclusively for Sikh demands, says it is playing an "independent" role, not taking up with either the Congress or the League. In reality it is playing an opportunistic role and is in fact taking up with the United Party and British agents.

We want the Sikhs as Congressmen to prevent the Congress leadership from fighting the League and deriding it as the partisans of the Pakistan demand for otherwise the right would be not freedom but the Congress and the Sikhs would be not free but a British-made Pakistan.

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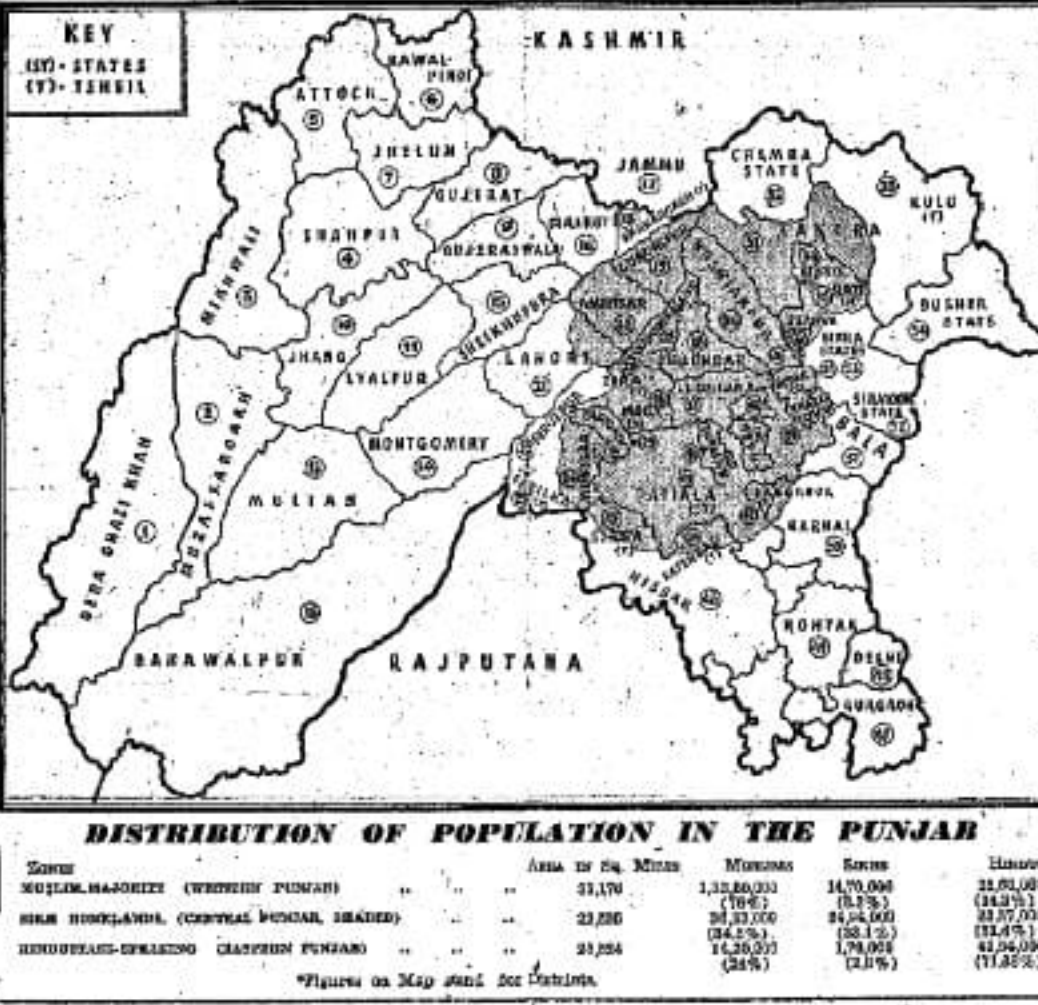
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against the Akalis and the Congress in those circumstances which we are not considering ourselves. We shall fully support the Akali demand and policy of the Congress. We shall oppose the proposals to be the defenders of Sikh demands and interests.

We shall call upon the followers of the Akali Dal to turn their backs on this corrupt and hypocritical leadership which is no longer fighting the imperialist-led Akali Party in the Punjab and the whole of India.

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FOR A REUNITED FREEDOM-FRONT

(Continued from centre pages.)
on by Sikh Congressmen is equally foul.

It is time that every honest and patriotic Sikh asked himself: why is it that those who in words claim to be the truest heirs of the great tradition of the Sikh national movement are today disgracing it?

In the days of the Akali movement every pulpit gave the message of Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity. The Hindu and Muslim Congressmen and Khilafatists fraternised with the brave Akalis who were offering satyagraha and facing lathi charges and bullets to seize the Gurdwaras from the corrupt and reactionary Mahants.

This made the Sikhs realise that the fight for the freedom of the Gurdwaras was but a part of the great fight for the liberation of the Greater Gurdwara (India) in which the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs all must join.

After the Akali movement subsided there started a series of Hindu-Muslim riots all over India. A Shahidi Jatha of Sikhs which had just arrived from Canada to participate in the Akali movement, noting the situation at once plunged into a campaign for Hindu-Muslim unity with a crusading ardour.

But today we find the descendants of the same movement preaching rank anti-Muslim chauvinism and inciting Hindu-Sikh-Muslim clashes instead of building Hindu-Sikh-Muslim unity. That some Muslim Leaguers are indulging in an anti-Hindu hatred propaganda of a similar type is no justification. It is only a symptom of a similar degeneration of the Muslim national movement.

The fact is that the present Akalis have completely repudiated the great principles which formed the solid and abiding base of the great Sikh awakening of 1919-22.

Landlords, Blackmarketeers As Allies

FIRSTLY, the great Akali movement broke away from the timid path of petitioning and compromise with Imperialism, which their predecessors—the liberal educationists of the Singh Sabha—had followed in striving for the liberation of the Gurdwaras. The early Ghadr Babas and the Akalis blazed the path of fearless struggle and sacrifice. They roused in the Sikh peasant masses the urge for freedom and the will to fight for it. They rekindled in the breast of thousands of Sikh patriots the same spirit of deathless heroism and endurance which had characterised the Gurus and the early Sikh martyrs.

SECONDLY, the Akali movement loyally bound up with the Congress, made the Sikhs for the first time Congress-minded by teaching them that the sectional demands of the Sikhs could only be won as a part of the great freedom battle shoulder to shoulder with the Congress and the Khilafat movement.

THIRDLY, it created the great tradition for unity and taught the Sikhs that freedom could be won only through Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity, only when the three recognise and respect each other's aspirations and build a common front of struggle on the basis of equality and justice.

The present day Akalis have repudiated everyone of these great principles. They have long abjured the path of struggle. They are today hand in glove with the degenerate descendants of the early liberal compromisers—the toadies of the Chief Khalsa Dewan and the Unionists. Their Panthic Ticket candidates for this election are landlords—Sardar Bahadurs and black-marketeers.

They are today fighting the Congress, with slander, lathi and fire. They are trying to incite the Sikh masses to go anti-Congress. However, exactly the opposite is happening already in the course of the opening election campaign. Disgusted with Akali opportunism, the Sikh masses are turning anti-Akali.

As against this it is the Communist Sikhs whom the Akalis slander as apostates, Nastics, and traitors, who are today carrying

forward the best traditions of the great movement whose name the Akalis have made mud by their own actions.

The latest Annual Report of the Akali Party mentions as an achievement the fact that during the year they published so many anti-Communist pamphlets. If one examines these pamphlets one finds that they are packed with foul slander and lies not only against the Indian Communists but also against the founders of Communism and their principles. Such stuff against Communism has till now been published only by Imperialist toadies in our country!

Whom Are They Abusing?

And whom are they abusing as traitors, apostates and immoral persons? All the great and noble souls who participated in the Sikh national movement since the outbreak of the First World War. We call upon every honest Sikh patriot to consider for himself the fact—the striking fact—that all the living representatives of the great revolutionary movements which arose among the Sikhs are today with the Communist Party. Let him reflect on the following facts and ask himself: Why it is so.

With the Communist Party and even among its candidates for the

movement. They were simple peasant patriots who were stung to the quick by the brutal lathi charges against the Akali Jathas, and by the ruthless police repression launched against the Akali movement—and who organised a terrorist resistance movement against police terrorism. They were a peasant revolutionary group who found shelter and protection from the peasants of the Doaba during their anti-police fight. They have gone through untold sufferings and torture in jail and outside. They have remained true to their patriotic ideals, worked in the Congress and the Kisan Sabha and later joined the Communist Party.

With the Communists are hundreds of the Sikh peasants who left as young lads for America in search of food and labour and who joined the Ghadr Party there and were sent by it to Moscow to be trained as political workers and revolutionaries. When in the thirties they trickled back into India the Imperialist police hunted them down, jailed and tortured them. They form today the middle cadre of the Communist Party and are the organisers of the Kisan Sabha and of the labour unions in the Punjab.

With the Communist Party are hundreds of Sikh Kisan workers who were roused to patriotism by the Congress and Akali movements, and who as Com-

After the heat and dust of the election campaign have died down, we shall discover that our goal of freedom remains as far as ever.

Patriotic parties and the people of India will have to strive to agree among themselves on a common plan of Constituent Assembly; guaranteeing self-determination to every nationality on the basis of justice and equality, so that they can face the Imperialists with a common demand for independence and a common front ready for a new round of the freedom struggle.

The Communist Party as a patriotic mass force among the Sikhs recognises its responsibility to make a contribution to the task of reuniting the forces of the Sikh National movement; on the basis of a democratic anti-imperialist platform.

Congress, Sikhs, Kisan and Communist, Sikhs as well as progressive Akali Sikhs, all have to unite to revive the patriotic Sikh movement so that it is able once again to play a worthy role in forging Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity—to win free Sikh homelands in a free India.

Decision Through Constituent Assemblies

Ours is the only Party which is putting forward boldly a concrete solution of the Sikh question

PUNJAB COMMUNISTS' ELECTION CALL TO ALL SIKHS

Provincial Assembly are the white-bearded comrades of those steel-hearted stalwarts who planned a revolt in the Army and among the peasantry as early as 1913-14. They were simple sons of the Sikh peasants who went to the Eastern Coast of America in search of labour and wages. Inspired by the revolutionary and democratic ideals of the American Labour movement, they founded the Ghadr Party in America.

Since the days of their early revolutionary attempts—they have stood loyally and unswervingly behind every patriotic movement since 1914—despite long and hard jail lives, in torture, suffering and poverty. They took part in the Akali movement. They worked for the Congress and the Kisan movements and have been with the Communist Party in spirit almost since its foundation.

They Carry Forward Patriotic Heritage

Every one who knows the living Ghadr Babas, viz., Babas SOHAN SINGH BHAKNA, RUP SINGH, KESAR SINGH and KARAM SINGH CHEEMA, at close quarters, has learned to admire their indomitable will and steadfast loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the people and cannot but admit that they are the proud heritage NOT only of the Sikh national movement but of the Indian patriotic movement as a whole and must be the pride of any Party.

With the Communist Party and amongst its candidates and leaders are some of the bravest and most talented sons which the Akali movement produced.

Prominent among them is TEJA SINGH SWATANTRA—who rose as a young stormy petrel of the Akali movement; organising the Swatantra Jatha as early as 1922—and has had one of the most colourful careers of revolutionary and underground life.

Among them is SOHAN SINGH JOSHI who was an accused in the first Akali Conspiracy Case and has later developed himself as a revolutionary journalist, a Kisan and Communist leader and a first-rate parliamentary fighter.

Among them is HIRA SINGH DARD—one of the early founders of the Akali paper—who later made his mark as a respected Congressman and noted Punjabi literary figure.

With the Communists and amongst their candidates are the stalwarts of the Babar Akali

movement spread the message of the Congress and the Kisan Sabha far and wide among the Sikh peasantry. Sikh Communists have done more than any other Congressmen to propagate the Congress message and extend its organisation to the villages of the Doaba, Majha and Malwa.

In the late thirties Sardar Gurbaksh Singh's magazine made its mark among the Punjabi (Gurmukhi) reading world by its vigorous modern style and by the progressive democratic ideas it put forward. It soon became the most widely circulated and read magazine among the progressive Nationalist Sikh youth despite the ban which the Akali Dal put upon it.

Supporting the Communist Party is the literary group of Sardar Gurbaksh Singh of the Magazine *Preetlari*—a progressive Sikh writer who has been propagating modern ideas through his paper and publications and who came to admire Communism through his own experience. We are proud that he today popularises the message of the Communist Party with his powerful pen among the numerous *Preetlari* readers—despite the slander and abuse which the Akalis shower upon his venerable head—as well.

Let every Sikh patriot ask himself:

How does it happen that all the noble revolutionary trends that grew up in the Sikh national movement lined up with the Communist Party and that the best products of the Sikh patriotic movement are inside the Communist Party?

How does it happen that the Communists have grown in influence and organisation among the Sikh Kisans despite Government repression and slanders of the Akalis and Congressmen against them?

The answer to the question is that it is because the Communists have remained faithful to the principles and traditions of the Sikh patriotic movement and are trying to carry them forward in the conditions of today.

But we do not claim for ourselves the monopoly of patriotism. The degeneration of the older patriotic parties like the Akali Party pains us.

A patriotic democratic movement among the Sikhs has to be rebuilt. Its goal of free Sikh homelands is yet to be achieved. A united Sikh National movement has yet to play a great part in India's freedom struggle.

in the Punjab which forms one of the toughest knots of the Hindu-Muslim question in the whole of India, our solution forms part of the general solution of separate sovereign Constituent Assemblies which we sketched at the beginning of this article.

Our plan for granting two separate Constituent Assemblies for the Punjabi-speaking Punjab—one for the Sikh-Hindu majority Central Punjab, the other for the Muslim majority Western Punjab—does justice to the Sikhs without doing injustice to the Punjabi Muslims.

The demand for Constituent Assemblies for the States enables the Sikh people of the States contiguous to the Central Punjab bloc to be reunited with their brothers in the Central Punjab. This enables the Sikhs to have their main homelands all in a single administrative region or state in which they would have an effective share of power and would be able to enjoy full freedom of development for their culture, language and for their Gurdwaras.

V. Platform of Sikh Unity

The redemarcation of the Punjab would solve the question of the Pakistan demand by popular vote of the sovereign Constituent Assemblies without injustice to any national group. It will also enable the eventual unity or co-ordination of the two parts of the Punjab on the basis of equality and mutual assistance for economic development and for the protection of the respective minorities. The Sikh minorities of Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sheikhpura would be as safe and happy in the Muslim Punjab as the Muslim minorities would be in the Hindu-Sikh Central Punjab.

That is why we put before all Sikh patriots the following unity platform:

1 To strive for the agreement of the Congress, League and other patriotic parties to a plan of Constituent Assemblies based on self-determination and justice to all National groups, thereby forging a common front of freedom to secure the immediate independence of India.

2 To demand two separate Constituent Assemblies for the Punjab, the zones to be demarcated in such a way as to ensure self-determination to their respective majority areas.

3 To demand Constituent Assemblies for all the Punjab States—so that democratic Governments are established there and the people of the States can reunite with their brother people in the contiguous districts. To demand the administrative reunion of the Punjabi-speaking Sikh and Hindu States in the Central Punjab region.

4 Punjabi to be the State language in the Central Punjab written in both the Gurmukhi and Urdu scripts, Punjabi to be the State language in Western Punjab written in the Urdu script.

5 Provision for schools and other educational institutions, giving instructions in Punjabi. In the Western Punjab, special provision for teaching the Gurmukhi script in Sikh localities.

6 Complete freedom of religious worship to everybody.

7 Complete freedom to Sikhs to administer their Gurdwaras as religious, cultural institutions, the Managing Committees to be elected by adult franchise of the Sikhs, the Gurdwara funds to be democratically controlled by the Committees for the administration of the same and for the education and welfare of all the Sikhs.

Such is the basis on which Congress, Sikhs, Communist and Kisan Sikhs and progressive Akalis could join together to reforge the unity of the Sikh national movement and to make it a powerful force to forge Congress-League-Sikh unity to achieve India's freedom.

United Peoples' Front of Freedom

In conclusion, let us remind the Sikh patriots that their dream of a free Sikh Homeland in free India can be realised only when the Sikh National movement begins to draw its strength from the vast mass of peasants and workers organised in their common class unions and fighting against landlordism and profiteering and for democratic freedom, only when a united front of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses begins to storm landlordism and the bulwark of reaction in the Western Punjab, and the autocratic Princes of the Indian States. The solution we propose here, the platform of Sikh unity we have put forward, can by itself lead nowhere.

What is offered here must be made the basis of a Sikh unity of a united front of Hindu, Muslim and Sikh masses of the Punjab, determined to end the rule of the Imperialists, reactionary landlords and Princes. Such a reunited and rejuvenated Sikh National movement could play a great role in forging a Congress-League-Sikh united front for a new round of freedom struggle—for winning independence for the whole of India, freedom for everyone of its national groups and real democracy and a happy life for its people.

We are sure that what would emerge out of this freedom struggle is neither a divided India nor a divided Punjab but a free family of Nationalities—a union of sovereign states, each free and autonomous and yet voluntarily joined together by bonds of co-operation for common defence against any imperialist aggression, and for the common task of rebuilding India.

Once the awakened masses and the common people solve the present antagonisms fostered by Imperialism and vested interests in the Punjab on the basis of equality and self-determination, the road would be open to reunite the Punjabi speaking Punjab on the basis of autonomy to Sikh Homelands, and of fraternal relations between the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, so that the Punjabi culture may flower afresh into a new spring—and the Punjab's common people may build a democratic and happy Punjab rid of landlordism and profiteering capitalists.

Remember all Sikh brothers and sisters!

A vote for a Communist candidate is a vote for Congress-League Unity, for winning a

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 1.)

● ISSUES BEFORE MOSCOW CONFERENCE

● ANGLO-AMERICAN REACTION'S FAILURES

● ITALIAN CABINET CRISIS AND AFTER

TWO and a half months ago, in London, the Foreign Ministers' Conference broke down; on December 15, the Foreign Ministers of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain will meet again in Moscow.

How is it, everyone asks, that this meeting is taking place?

The London Conference broke down chiefly because Britain and the U.S. were not prepared to carry forward the decisions of the Crimea and Potsdam Conferences regarding liberated Europe and Germany.

They wished to go back on these declarations; they hoped that with Germany defeated and therefore with the disappearance of the immediate military necessity for unity, they would browbeat the new Europe and the Soviet into doing what they wanted.

They expected that the devastation and economic difficulties of the post-war period would force these to come running for help to them—and particularly to the U.S., the biggest imperialist power in the world.

In the meantime, the awkward situations in China and South-East Asia could be liquidated, while the West rallied for a solidly anti-Soviet Western Bloc.

But the events of the last two months have proved them wrong on every point.

Balkan Governments Stronger

The new democratic governments instead of collapsing have become stronger and more solid. Their election victories in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have proved their strength among their peoples; at the same time both Governments have made considerable headway in implementing their programmes of economic reconstruction.

In Bulgaria, for instance as the London Daily Worker correspondent reported on November 4, the menace of inflation had been met—and "only a Government which enjoyed the widest confidence of the workers and peasants could have beaten that danger."

Later when a severe drought hit the country (80% of whose population are peasants) again "it was only met by the rapid development of the co-operative movement in all its forms."

In contrast, the British who

had installed their own puppet Government in Greece and expected to work up at least some support for it by pouring in supplies of food etc., have been forced to give way to a Government of the Centre, supported by the EAM. They found that with a puppet Government, the big trader-hoarders and profiteers reign supreme—and whatever food was pumped in, went into the black-market, economic chaos prevailed. The only way out was to allow a Government that commanded the support of the people.

The plans for a Western Bloc also have not progressed—France was the key to its formation but the emergence in the elections of the Communists (who are bitterly opposed to it) as the strongest single party has meant a setback to these plans.

Failures In China, Indonesia

Just as the reactionaries miscalculated in Europe, so also they miscalculated in China and South-East Asia.

In China, they expected that U.S. assistance with arms to Chiang Kai-shek would mean the elimination of the Communist-led democratic armies and areas. But in fact, fighting still continues—and U.S. Ambassador Hurley's resignation showed that the U.S.A. faced with the need to intervene with its full armed strength if the Communists were to be defeated, was wavering.

Similar was the British plight in Indonesia—for instead of the expected collapse of the nationalists, a bitter war continues and the entire progressive world has condemned British action in Indonesia.

Differences About Germany

At the same time, the divergence between the policy of the Soviet on the one hand and the Anglo-Americans on the other has become more clear and sharp in Europe itself.

In Germany, it is well-known that in the Russian zone, the splitting up of the huge landed estates of the Junkers and the nationalisation of the biggest industrial plants has led to some economic recovery and simultaneously to a strengthening of the influence of the democratic parties.

In the British, U.S. and French zones, on the other hand, conditions still remain bad, active bands of Nazis are carrying on sabotage; last week U.S. General Patton was shot at and seriously injured; France's Minister of Production, Marcel Paul, has announced that coal deliveries from Germany to France have fallen because of sabotage on the German railways.

In fact, in the western zones, while action has been taken against the top-most industrialists, and the big combines have been formally dissolved, the individual concerns remain under the control of their owners who were Hitler's most fervent supporters. (e.g. the Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate has been broken up—but the individual coal mining firms that together made up the syndicate remain intact.)

Thus the decisions of the Berlin Conference—that Germany's heavy war industries should be eliminated and she be allowed only industries producing peace-time goods—are being sabotaged in the west.

Who Sabotages Potsdam Decisions?

In October itself Francis Daniels, New York Times correspondent wrote:

"There is a deep-rooted fear in the hearts of the men charged with accomplishing the policies of Potsdam that to remove all vestiges of Nazism from German politics and economy would open the door wide for the communization of Germany and of all Western Europe."

So also Phillips Price, Labour M.P. who has lately been in Moscow, wrote that the Soviet is disturbed at the reported American plan to "raise German steel production three or four times the figure the Russians think reasonable for peace-time purposes."

"At bottom" continues Price, "the Russians are suspicious that private American steel interests want to get into the Ruhr and co-operate with former German industrialists to re-establish a large industry there as a profitable investment for American capital." (The Statesman, Dec. 4)—and clearly also as an industrial base in Europe for future anti-Soviet action.

Britain too has been slow to implement the full decisions of the Potsdam Conference; last week the Soviet presented the Control Council with a memorandum detailing how large German armed units continue to exist in the British zone of occupation.

Anglo-American Line-Up

And most of all naturally has been the controversy over the atomic bomb and the use of atomic energy. The British and American attempt to keep the secret to themselves has led to a wave of criticism from all sides—particularly in the progressive press in England.

It was this increasing failure of their anti-democratic policy in Europe and Asia on the one side and the growing tension between the Soviet and the Western Allies over Germany and the atomic bomb on the other that has led to the new Big Three Conference.

But the mere fact that such a conference is due to take place does not mean that all the outstanding points of difference will be easily solved, and agreement arrived at.

There is no doubt that the success of the Anglo-American loan talks will result in the two countries working closely together in the coming Moscow talks; Britain

has got most of its demands—a loan of 4,500 million dollars, with easy rates of interest and without any break-up of the sterling bloc, i.e., without giving up its specially privileged position within the Empire.

The Americans in agreeing to this have obviously done so on the understanding that the two countries will act as one (and under U.S. leadership) in foreign policy.

Thus the three Foreign Ministers at the coming talks in Moscow will not come to agreed decisions very easily. But the fact that these talks are taking place is itself a measure of the failure of the Anglo-Americans to browbeat the Soviet and the democratic movement, of their failure to put through their policy of anti-Sovietism in Europe and suppression of the colonial peoples in Asia.

Fascist Plottings

LAST week's ministerial crisis in Italy arose from the new intrigues of reactionary forces in Italy.

The Tory Observer on November 25 reported that large-scale arrest of fascist terrorist organisers has taken place in the last month. The fascists were ranged round two 'new' movements—which were in reality organisations of the old fascists—called the Fronte Dell' Uomo Qualunque (Front of the Common Man) and the Gruppi d' Azione Monarchica.

Leading the Common Man's Front is one Giannini, who was a leading journalist in Mussolini's Italy and his anti-democratic philosophy was expressed in an article of August 22.

"Only the bourgeoisie" he wrote, "creates work, organises and directs it and provides a livelihood for the Italians. The bourgeoisie consists of big and small manufacturers, financiers, traders etc. It is they who must govern the country, not the Communists."

How the bourgeoisie was to govern was explained in the programme of the organisation he

sponsored—that would strive for the establishment of a "new state"; "an administrative organisation created by civil and military officials, whose duty it will be to administer the state in the interests of all citizens, irrespective of political affiliation"—the usual veiled phrases with which fascist elements in both Italy and Germany put forward their policy even before the war.

The arrests of these fascists with arms and secret dumps—carried out in November—led to a crisis in the Government itself, provoked by the Liberal and Democratic Labour Parties, the right-wing parties in the six-party coalition that was governing Italy. The Liberal Party's representatives provoked the crisis by resigning—and put forward the demand that the new Premier should be one of the right-wing nominees. They hoped to eliminate the left—the Socialists and the Communists—and to establish their dominance.

But the Socialists and Communists were both too strong and too united for this to succeed. The Communists with 12 lakh members are to-day the strongest single party in Italy; the trade union movement with 52 lakh members is a powerful force in Italy's life.

The result was that the leader of the Centrist party, the Christian Democratic Party (whose rise in Italy can be compared to the rise of the Popular Republicans in France) has become the new Prime Minister, the Communists and Socialists are inside the Ministry with important posts, while the Democratic-Labour Party has refused to participate because it was not given the important seats it had expected.

Thus the result of the crisis has been a slight shift to the right inside the Ministry; but the offensive of the reactionaries has been stemmed, though the issue will be finally decided only at the elections for the Constituent Assembly which are due to be held in the coming months.

December 11.

Bulgarian Elections FATHERLAND FRONT SWEEPS POLLS

Manoeuvres Of Imperialist Agents Fail

THE Bulgarian Elections, postponed from August 26, were held on November 18, and resulted in a victory for the Bulgarian Government.

Out of the total electorate of 4,504,735, 3,862,492 (86.2%) came to the polls; out of the voters, 3,407,355 voted for the Fatherland Front (i.e. 78% of the total electorate).

The Government of the Fatherland Front is formed from the Bulgarian parties who joined together in resistance to the Nazis. It comprises the Zveno Union, main party of the liberal bourgeoisie, the Agrarian Union, representing the interests of the peasantry, the Social Democrats, and the Communist Party, representing the industrial and town workers, and the intelligentsia. The Fatherland Front has also recently been joined by the Radical Democratic Party.

Their first job was to purge the country of the collaborationists and quislings, and this they did in a most thorough fashion. No less than 1,500 major criminals were sentenced to death. After the purge, Bulgaria signed an armistice with the Soviet Union, followed by a Commercial Agreement.

Soviet's Economic Aid

Under this agreement Bulgaria has received petrol, iron, rubber, etc., and so great has been the industrial revival that on October 19, the Bulgarian Minister of Trade, Dimitar Keykoff, declared that "Thanks to imports from Russia, smoke comes regularly out of the chimneys of our industry. In our country not only is there no unemployment, but there is even a shortage of workers."

The Fatherland Front has also been able to reduce prices on an open forum.

consumer goods, such as shoes, cloth, and sugar.

These economic advances have been accompanied by steady progress towards a sound political, as well as economic, democracy. All non-fascist political parties have been re-established, free Trade Unions exist and have hundreds and thousands of members—nearly half a million were represented at the World Federation of Trade Unions—new Co-operative Societies have been formed.

A democratic election law has been passed giving everyone over 19 the right to vote and giving opposition parties full freedom to participate in elections and maintain their own press and propaganda. An amnesty has also been announced.

The Opposition

The opposition in Bulgaria is of two parts. The first is, ironically enough, called the Democratic Party. It consists of extreme right-wing elements, recruited from the upper bourgeoisie, who see a threat to their interests in the democratic policies of the Fatherland Front. They are assisted by recent partners of the Nazis.

The second part consists of breakaways from the Fatherland Front, in both the Agrarian Union and the Social Democratic Party. These are men who hope to gain and retain political power by serving the interests of British and American capital. It was this group which called for American and British intervention in the elections, as a measure against "Communist domination."

Their present manoeuvre of non-participation in the elections was obviously a sign of their weakness and fear of defeat in an open forum.

CONGRESS-AKALI PACT IN PUNJAB?

(Continued from Page 8.)

In Jullundur—out of a total of 375 votes polled, the Communists were responsible for over a hundred. From village Jandiala, a jatha of 17 led by the Communists Baba Sher Singh and Jagjit Singh came specially to vote for the Congress.

Similarly in Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura and other districts, the Communists were instrumental in securing a large number of votes for the Congress and fighting against sabotage by Congressmen.

The Akali Daily Ajit commented a number of times that it was Communist support which really brought voters for the Congress, otherwise both its candidates would have been badly defeated.

They Begin To Think

The part played by the Communists in the campaign has caused many a Congress rank and file worker to think, and some are doing serious heart-searching. No longer do they swallow easily anti-Communist talk.

Congressmen in Ferozepore were so impressed by the work of the Communists that several Congress workers (as for instance the Congressmen of Samadhbhai) have told their district leaders that if they put up candidates against the Communist leaders in the Provincial elections, they will be forced to support the Communists.

Rank and file Congressmen as a whole and even Dr. Sham Lal (Congress candidate for the General Rural Seat) are said to have written to the Parliamentary Board not to oppose, but to support, the Communist candidates in Ferozepore.

It is good that some Congressmen at least have already begun to think. Let them search the answer to the strange sight of sabotage by their own leaders of the success of the Congress candidates, and if they reach the correct answer, it is certain that they will not rest till they have cleaned out those elements who are undermining the Punjab Congress today.