

Election Campaign in E. Bengal

TIPPERA MUSLIM KISANS RALLY UNDER THE RED FLAG



A Muslim peasant elder.

...in the heart of Muslim Bengal, one was able to see some of the finest fighters of our freedom movement. Since the days of the Khilafat movement, this district (Tippera) has been one of the most advanced political centres of Eastern Bengal and the Muslim peasants here have participated in their thousands in the freedom struggles....

Our Correspondent's Story: Page 12



P. C. Joshi, leader of the Communist Party (left) and Mohammad Yakub, Communist Kisan candidate from Tippera (E. Bengal) on the platform at a Kisan rally near Comilla.



Muslim peasant boys

In Bihar

Murderous Assault On Pt. Karyanand Sharma, Communist Candidate

Lakhisarai Congress Leaders Organise Hooligan Attack On Kisan Rally

by Wire

Feb. 5.

they would continue to demonstrate peacefully!

PANDIT KARYANAND SHARMA, Monghyr Communist leader and candidate opposing Babu Shri Krishna Sinha (ex-Congress Premier, Bihar) for the provincial elections is lying unconscious in the Patna General Hospital, his whole body smashed up by a gang of bloodthirsty hooligans.

In the evening, when the meeting was about to begin and before Joshi arrived, a big gang of hooligans and Congress workers led by Rajeswar Prasad Singh himself came there, rained stones, assaulted the volunteers, rushed forward to the dais to smash up the loudspeaker and other fittings and broke up the meeting.

Ever since the announcement that P. C. Joshi, leader of the Communist Party of India, would address a Kisan rally at Lakhisarai on 4th February, the local Congress leaders, Babu Nandkumar Singh, General Secretary of the District Congress Committee, and Rajeswar Prasad Singh, President of the thana Congress Committee had planned to break up the meeting and terrorise the kisans.

Pandit Karyanand returning from the meeting was separated from the rest. In village Khagaul, Panditji and three others were attacked by the same gang of hooligans. Village elders and women who tried to intervene were also thrashed by the goondas. The gang belaboured Panditji almost to the point of death. The three others were seriously wounded.

The local Communists knew of these plans and so approached Rajendra Babu and informed him about it. Rajendra Babu issued a statement that Congressmen should not disturb meetings organised by other parties or indulge in any hooliganism. But the local Congress leaders contemptuously ignored it and gathered no less than 300 Congressmen from all over the district to disturb the meeting.

News of this murderous attack has enraged the kisans who love and respect Panditji. At Kiul, Barhiga and Barh, hundreds rushed to the station to have a darshan of Panditji while he was being removed to the Patna Hospital. Hundreds come to Patna to see him. They are all furious that local Congress leaders should have ignored Rajendra Babu's words and organised such shameful hooliganism.

When P. C. Joshi arrived at Lakhisarai by train, these Congress leaders organised a black-flag demonstration which went to the place where Joshi was staying and kept on shouting abuses. Babu Nandkumar Singh when approached said that

The local Congress leaders are running a campaign of lies against the Communists. The Nationalist Press in Bihar is blacking out the truth.



A view of one of the Kisan election rallies in Tippera district to hear P. C. Joshi on his tour of Bengal.

Photos by Sallen Banerjee.

Congress-League Tussle For Sind Ministry
Portent For All Muslim Majority Provinces
Grant Self-Determination; Fight Separatism

The formation of the Sind Assembly Coalition Party (consisting of the Congress, the Nationalist Muslims and the Syed Group) with the expectation that it would form a Ministry in Sind has been hailed by progressive Congress and Nationalist opinion in the country.

EVERYONE will welcome the prospect of the present corrupt Ministry in Sind being made to quit and replaced by a really stable, clean and popular Ministry that will take drastic measures to solve the people's urgent problems.

The Ghulam Hussain Cabinet was nothing but a tool in the hands of Governor Dow and the European Group in the Assembly.

But if such was the position of the present Ministry, what would a new Ministry—formed by the Coalition Party working in the teeth of an all-India Congress-League feud and the day to day opposition of the official Provincial League—be like?

Relying On Europeans For Support

In a house of 60, the Coalition commands at the most 30 votes; the official League 27 votes and the European group three votes. No Ministry formed exclusively by the Coalition or by the official League—in the present atmosphere of bitter Congress-League antagonism all over the country—can remain stable without the constant support of the European Group.

On every issue, the Governor and his European group can play Hindus against Muslims, the Congress against the League, and hold up every piece of progressive legislation; the ransom would be the Ministry's very existence!

Will a Ministry formed by the Coalition Party be able to tackle a single one of the burning problems of the people of the Province, with its precarious dependence on the vote of the European group? Will it be able to lift the ruthless repression on the Hurs? Governor Dow and his European group would oppose that on the ground that it would "jeopardise law and order."

Will it be able to give land and security of tenancy to the Haris who are landless semi-serfs and who form a majority of the Muslim masses of the Province? Governor Dow and the European group with Muslim landlords and Jagirdars backing them, would oppose that on the ground that it is "confiscation" and "discrimination".

Congress Press Gloats Over It!

The Congress papers themselves have realised this new balance of forces quite clearly. But instead of being shamed by it, they actually gloat over it!

AJ (February 1), one of the leading Hindi Congress papers of the U.P., thinks that, if the Europeans side with the Congress, Mr. Syed's followers and Nationalist Muslims, "they will be able to form a stable Coalition Ministry."

Rastravani, premier Hindi Congress paper of Bihar (February 2) writes, without the slightest sense of shame, that if the European group, "a constant critic of the League," happens to "join hands with the Congress, a knock-out blow will be dealt to the League in Sind."

The Bombay Viswamitra (Hindi pro-Congress daily) fervently hopes that the "European party, the constant supporters of the Government, will co-operate with the new Coalition Government."

Nootan Gujerat (premier pro-Congress Gujerati daily) also believes that the European group would support the Congress and counts on it for the stability of the Coalition Ministry.

Congress-League Coalition Only Way

Any sensible man can see that there can be no Ministry of patriotic stability and commanding the support of the mass of the people under present conditions in Sind, except one based on Congress-League Coalition.

Sind is a Muslim majority Province. Out of a total population of 45 lakhs, 32 lakhs are Muslims. It is common knowledge that the Congress never became a mass movement in Sind as it did in the U.P. or Bihar. The Sind Congress has remain-

ty for the present state of affairs in Sind and for driving Mr. Syed into his present path is of the League High Command itself!

It is the League High Command's policy of trying to win the elections, not by rousing the patriotism of the Muslim masses, but by relying on the power of their oppressors, Muslim landlords, toadies and moneyed men, the Noons and the Ghulam Hussains, that was responsible for driving progressives like Mr. Syed out of the Muslim League.

Their policy all over India is the same. They think that as long as they win the largest number of seats against the Congress and the Nationalist Muslims, the methods and the candidates do not matter.

That policy has resulted in the Sind fiasco.

Disruption From Both Sides

From the other side, the Congress leadership in its blind factional hatred of the League, ignores the fact that Sind is a Muslim majority Province and the Provincial elections themselves have demonstrated that the vast majority of the Muslim masses are behind the League. All that it is seeking to do is to use the Syed group to expose and fight the Muslim League in Sind and all over the country.

The conditions which Maulana Azad lays down for the formation of an All-Party Government in his New Delhi A.P.I. interview (February 5) are such as will never lead to the formation of such a Government.

In the present Congress-League set-up in the country, to insist on a Ministry in Sind—which is a Muslim majority Province and where the Muslim League is the majority patriotic organisation—based on Congress-League parity is to ignore the verdict of the Sind electorate in the

by N. K. KRISHNAN

ed a preserve of the Hindu Amils and the Bhalband (the Amils are the traditional Hindu intelligentsia of Sind belonging to the old official class, the Bhalband are the Hindu mercantile community).

Without the Muslim masses behind it, the Congress in Sind is a minority movement of the upper classes.

The verdict of the Muslim people of Sind as shown in the Provincial elections, is overwhelmingly in favour of the Muslim League. Out of 35 Muslim seats, 27 have been won by the official League, i.e. 77%. Any Ministry in Sind, which does not include the Muslim League, can only be a minority Ministry; it cannot represent the will of the majority of the Sindhi people, and cannot command their support.

Mr. Syed's Own Declaration

These are the factors which made Mr. Syed himself declare in his first Press Statement of January 31:

".....the fact is mine is a small group in the Assembly. Our only anxiety is that some incorruptible Ministry should come into existence. The responsibility for forming such a Ministry naturally falls upon the shoulders of the two major parties, namely, the centrally recognised Muslim League Party and the Congress Party. Their combination can bring into existence not only a stable Ministry but a strong Ministry. My group will welcome such a combination."

As the leader till lately, of the progressive section within the Sind Muslim League, Mr. Syed could have admirably played the role of bridging the gulf between the Congress and the League and helped to bring about such a Ministry that alone could save the people of his Province.

What has happened to make him change his views within three days and work actively for a Ministry that will be based on the exclusion of the Muslim League?

League High Command's Responsibility

The League press to-day screams against Mr. Syed as a "renegade" (who) sells the Muslim nation in exchange for Prime Ministership" (Bombay Inquilab, February 4), and so on. But does it not occur to them that the major responsibi-

lity for the present state of affairs in Sind and for driving Mr. Syed into his present path is of the League High Command itself!

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Not Hindu-Muslim Unity, But Bitterness

Will a Ministry formed by the Coalition Party help the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity, as Mr. Syed and Congressmen hope for? Just the contrary. It will increase Congress-League and Hindu-Muslim bitterness inside the Province and on an all-India scale.

To-day, an anti-League Ministry in a Muslim-majority Province will only increase Hindu-Muslim bitterness. The Central and Provincial elections so far have demonstrated, even for the blindest to see, that the Muslim League, in spite of all the drawbacks of its present leadership, commands the support of the overwhelming majority of the Muslim masses. The results of the Sind Provincial elections too have demonstrated that.

Mr. Syed by leading an anti-League Ministry will only help to hand over the Muslim and League masses more firmly into the hands of the Ghulam Hussains and the Khuhros. Into the hands of the toadies, the anti-Hindu elements and the separatists. All the good work he has done inside the Sind Muslim League to strengthen it the last three years will now go into the hands of the Knights and the Khan Bahadurs.

By working for a Congress-League Coalition alone can he strengthen the sane and progressive elements within the Provincial League and advance the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity inside the Province and on a country-wide scale.

All-India Repercussions

This becomes clearer still when one examines the all-India repercussions of the Sind situation.

On the one hand, League leaders like Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and the League press are using it to tell the Muslim masses that the Hindus are out to dominate them, even in the areas where they are in the majority and thus to incite them into anti-Hindu hatred and separatism. On the other hand, the Congress press, Hindi, Marathi, Gujerati, universally hails the formation of an anti-League Ministry in Sind primarily as a blow to the All-India Muslim League and as a weapon in the hands of the Congress to fight it.

"Another nail struck in the coffin of League's Pakistan," says AJ, Congress (Continued on Page 12, Col. 4.)

FOR RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

THE condition of Sjt. Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee of the Kakori Conspiracy Case, who has been on hunger-strike in jail for the last 26 days, is serious, says a Lucknow message dated February 4. He has lost 25-lbs. in weight and he is being forcibly fed.

Political prisoners in other U.P. jails are reported to be going on hunger-strike to register their sympathy when Sjt. Chatterjee's protest against the intolerable conditions under which politicals still suffer in the U.P. jails.

More than a month ago we heard of the hunger-strike in Rajahmundry Central Jail (Andhra) of 53 political prisoners, headed by K. P. R. Gopalan, and his three lifer comrades, Kunhi Ramap, Raghavan and Narayannan, all convicted in the Morazha Conspiracy case of 1940. Their demands were transfer to their home districts, proper diet and medical aid, cessation of harassment and maltreatment by the jail authorities.

After their hunger-strike was withdrawn, all the other prisoners were promised transfer to jails in their home districts, but K. P. R. and his three comrades were to be isolated as 'ring-leaders' and vindictively kept by the Madras Jail authorities under the same conditions in Rajahmundry itself.

Thousands of I. N. A. soldiers are yet detained and brutally maltreated in various concentration camps specially erected for them, as at Multan, Jhankugacha in Bengal, Bahadurgarh in Delhi and Nelloor in Bhopal. Several others are in the Red Fort and in a number of other jails.

According to Government admission, 3,166 prisoners are still detained in jail without trial, and also under the War Ordinances. 2,506 of them are Hurs and the rest alleged participants in the August movement.

Arthur Henderson, the Under-Secretary of State for India in the Labour Government, has nonchalantly rejected the demand for their general amnesty under the excuse that they were involved in terrorist activities, though the Government has not dared to bring a single one of them for open trial.

The Government has vindictively rejected the demand for the release of the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc, such as Jaiprakash Narain, Ram Manohar Lohia, Krishna Menon, Sardulsinh Caveeshar and Satyaranjan Bakshi.

Besides the 1942 detenus, scores of pre-Reform revolutionary prisoners, each of whom has already served over ten years, continue to rot in jail. Among them are names that are a legend in our patriotic history—such as Ananta Singh, Ganesh Ghosh and Gurmukh Singh.

Similarly, there are those who were detained or convicted right in the beginning of the war, Dhanwantri, Tehl Singh and others in the Punjab and K. P. R. Gopalan and his comrades in the South.

Launch United Campaign

Nine years ago, the hunger-strike of political prisoners whipped the conscience of the entire Indian people and released a mighty wave of united campaign for the freeing of all political prisoners and detenus. The Imperialist bastion of the Andamans which had housed hundreds of Indian patriots and revolutionaries came down before this striking force.

To-day, the same protest action by political prisoners evokes no such united campaign. Our main political parties are more interested in fighting each other and the Communist Party than in joining hands in a united effort to obtain the release of patriots behind the jail walls—who belong to all parties—Congress, Communist, Congress Socialist, Forward Bloc and Muslim League.

That is why the country had to suffer the humiliation of Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad being curtly refused by Wavell when they demanded the release of all political prisoners and detenus.

That is why even on such a popular issue as the ill-treatment of the I. N. A. soldiers, among whom there are men owing allegiance both to the Congress and the League, there could not be a joint front in the Central Assembly.

The Lucknow Jail hunger-strike must be the signal for a country-wide united action of all parties to demand and secure the release of all political prisoners. It is through such united action that the Government were forced to commute the execution order against K. P. R. Gopalan, against the Chitmur and Ashti prisoners, and the release of the three I. N. A. Officers was effected.

Thousands of political prisoners and detenus, Congressmen, Communists, Socialists as well as Forward Blocists, still rotting in jail, demand the unity of all parties outside for their release.

We fully support the appeal issued by Niranjan Sen, Secretary of the All-Parties' Prisoners' Release Committee, Calcutta, "urging the people all over the country to hold meetings and demonstrations in order to win back our patriots still in jail."

February 6, 1946.

STOP THIS FASCIST LEGISLATION

IF the dangerous legislation regarding the position of Indians in South Africa foreshadowed in Premier-Smuts' statement, becomes law, it will mean the permanent subjection and enslavement of our brothers in that country.

The proposed Bill involves total restrictions on the acquisition and occupation of property by Indians—which will amount to their segregation from the rest of the people, to the virtual introduction of Indian ghettos in South Africa.

It is also said that Indians are to be 'represented' in the Union Parliament; but this representation will be bogus in that Indians will not be allowed to participate in the elections as citizens of the Union but will be enrolled on a separate register and permitted to elect the arbitrarily-fixed number of three Assemblymen and one Senator. And even then, they will not be allowed to elect an Indian to represent them, but only a European!

This new threat to Indian liberties in South Africa is a total repudiation of every principle of democracy—such legislation can only be compared to Hitler's foul backward racial laws against the Jews which rightly aroused the conscience of the entire civilised world. Every citizen of our country, every democrat in the world, must condemn it outright and pledge their all to see that it does not become law.

Let the "liberal" hypocrite, Smuts, understand that even if India is yet slave today, the Indian people will one day be free; that in 1946 he cannot act as a chota-Hitler and that his attempt to act that way is doomed to utter failure.

Already the united stand of the Congress and the League inside the Central Assembly last week registered in unmistakable terms the opposition of our entire people to the latest taste of South African fascist rule.

But this is not enough. Throughout our land untied meetings must be held to proclaim our determination to resist this attack on our brothers in South Africa.

All must demand:

- (1) that the Government of India immediately apply economic sanctions against South Africa and recall the present High Commissioner;
(2) that the 'Indian' delegation to UNO be instructed to bring up this question before the United Nations and rally the entire progressive world behind India's struggle to smash this attempt of Smuts to carry through such barbaric and medieval legislation.

Under Glancy Raj In Punjab

by
Romesh Chandra

Rule Of Terror To Bolster Unionists

Lahore.

28th January 1946.

Dark Western Punjab (Muslim-majority area)—for years held in bondage and ignorance by feudal landlords and untouched by any political awakening—is beginning to stir. Strange new activities are visible.

BATCHES of League-minded students are pouring into the villages and accompanied by local kisan workers, are taking the message of freedom to the people. Two hundred and fifty Aligarh students spent a three weeks' holiday in December in the Punjab, campaigning for the League. Another two hundred and seventy Punjab students from Islamia College, Lahore, went to the countryside to campaign for the League in December—and already in January an equal number is out among the people.

Last time in 1937, the elections meant very little to the Muslim voter of the rural Punjab. It was not he who was asked to decide for whom to vote—but his landlord, the official (tehsildar, thanedar), the Pir (religious head) and the leader of his clan. The voter himself was an inanimate pawn in a game fought out between rivals, who had nothing to do with the people.

In this election, the one overall difference is this: voters in many places are being asked to vote against the wishes of officials, to ignore tribal and clan loyalties and even to forget unquestioning devotion to the Pir and the landlord.

I have before me a copy of a poster sent out by the Provincial Muslim League to every Muslim Constituency. This is what it says:

"Brothers of the countryside, remember that the Government official cannot compel you. Give your vote to whomever you wish."

OFFICIAL INTERFERENCE IN FAVOUR OF UNIONISTS

Faced with vicious and open official interference in favour of the Unionists, the League has perforce for its very success, to take to the voters the message of resistance to official pressure.

Official interference in favour of the Unionists seems to be universal and has been widely condemned both by the Congress and the League.

Raja Ghazanfarali, League leader, in a speech at Chakwal (in Jhelum), stated that wherever he had gone in the course of his election tour, he had found League candidates and supporters discussing how to combat the menace of official interference in the elections and how to safeguard against chances of ballot papers being wrongly marked and ballot-boxes tampered with.

The Provincial League, President, the Nawab of Mamdot's press statement regarding conditions in Sheikh-pura District, gives a picture of what is almost typical in a large number of Districts.

"The Deputy Commissioner and every member of the Revenue staff, especially the Tehsildars of Nankanasahib and Sheikhpura tehsils, are doing their utmost to terrorise the Zaildars and Lambardars to support the Unionist candidates. Police officers are out to conjure up false cases against League workers and supporters. Police Sub-Inspectors summon League workers and put them to public disgrace on various pretences and openly compel them to give up their allegiance to the League. Several cases of Police torture have been reported, particularly from Sangla, Warburton, Mahagantwala and Nankanasahib Police stations, where Sub-Inspectors detained several workers of the League and harassed them. A reign of terror prevails through the District."

Another somewhat subtle method of official interference is carried on in other districts. Here is what is happening in Hoshiarpur: Zaildars and Lambardars are compelled to arrange meetings under the auspices of the "barnyard harmony movement" (a Unionist propaganda stunt) and the National Home Front (the new label for the National War

Front). The Deputy Commissioner presides and eulogises the achievements of the Unionist Government. After the delivering of a speech, he leaves the meeting and officials then make use of the occasion to canvass for Unionist candidates.

THREATS AND FALSE ARRESTS

From Montgomery comes the report that transport companies have been instructed not to hire lorries to any anti-Unionist candidates.

In Ferozepore, it is reported that the Unionist candidate, Pir Akbarali, is openly campaigning with the help of the District Board teachers and contractors, threatening them in case of their refusal with dismissal and cancellation of contracts.

Threats of implication in false cases are being freely made against workers of other parties. Faced with the possibility of arrest on false charges at the crucial time in the elections, from many Districts, applications are being filed in courts for bail in anticipation of arrest—

which will mean that the Police won't be able to lock them up on charges for which bail had already been allowed. In this way, fifteen League workers of Sheikhpura and half a dozen from Montgomery have filed such applications.

In the High Court there is a complaint pending by four League workers of Lyallpur who were put under arrest by the Sub-Inspector without any charge being framed against them. The Police Officer, on appearing in the court, stated that he did not know the charge against them but that he had been ordered by the Superintendent of Police to arrest them. Now the Superintendent has been called to appear in court.

EXTRAORDINARY POWERS FOR OFFICIALS

The latest Unionist election trick has been to empower the District Magistrate and sub-Divisional Magistrates to prosecute persons accused of threatening "Divine displeasure" against voters if they don't vote in a particular manner. Coming from the Unionists, this order is really no sudden desire for fair elections but only a cunning way to increase the powers of District officials to arrest anti-Unionist workers. All that is required is a complaint by any voter that he is threatened with "Divine displeasure." Such extraordinary powers for officers are without parallel in any part of the country.

The League has rightly protested against the granting of these wide powers to officials.

NATIONALIST MUSLIM PROPAGANDA

But the truth unfortunately is that on all sides in the Muslim constituencies, the worst form of religious obscurantist propaganda is being employed. Needless to say, the Unionists themselves lead the way. The Ahrars and Nationalist Muslims are not much better. In Ludhiana for instance, the Congress candidate, Zia-ul-Hassan, refuses to use the Tricolour or the name of the Congress. One Muslim Congressman who wished to campaign for Zia-ul-Hassan was told by the candidate point-blank, "If you are going to campaign as a Muslim, you are welcome—but if you want to talk regarding the Congress and politics, we do not want you."

LEAGUE PROPAGANDA

As for the League, among the most important of the Provincial League's

pamphlets and posters are those containing statements of important Pirs and religious heads calling upon their Murids (followers) to vote for the League. And indeed, it is a fact that in the election campaign those religious heads are playing an important part. For the most part, all that these divines do is to "announce edicts" in favour of a particular party, thus shifting the whole election campaign among the Muslim masses on to a purely religious plane and helping to drown the rising political consciousness among them.

Few of the League's campaigners bother to explain Pakistan as anything more than 'Islamic Hukumat'. In a vast majority of the constituencies anti-Hindu demagoguery and religious fervour and frenzy is sought to be roused.

Typical of these demagogic speeches were those of the new toady-recruit, Feroz Khan Noon, and the League candidate, Sheikh Mohamed Amin, at Multan, on the 17th January. The main burden of the speeches was, "If you do not vote for us, there will be a Hindu Raj and the Hindus will make us sweepers. Under the British rule we can at least walk about and say our prayers freely. But under the Hindu Raj we shall be slaves like the untouchables." And Noon ended off

with a tirade against Hindus and declared that it was to save Muslims from this that he had sacrificed everything to join the League!

Reports from most districts indicate that few, if any, League speakers even mention any concrete programme of people's well-being. No reference is made to kisans' or tenants' demands—no word about education, medical facilities, health or agriculture; in the cities, no League speaker refers to unemployment which threatens workers. The demobilised soldier looks in vain for reference to his needs and problems.

EXCEPTIONS: IN MIAN IFTIKHAR- UDDIN'S CONSTITUENCY

While this is the general rule, there are grand exceptions as in the case of Mian Iftikharuddin. In Kasur, huge posters and pamphlets tell the programme for which Mian Sahib stands.

"For freedom of India and in a free India for freedom of Muslims.

"For establishment of people's democratic rule in those areas where the Muslims are in a majority.

"For reduction of rents and taxes for the poor rural population by at least 50 per cent.

"Land for the poor peasant with less than ten acres of land.

"For new canals—village industries—against police repression against profiteering and for fair distribution of the necessities of life to the peasantry."

In every election speech, Mian Sahib stresses the wellbeing of the people and the common task of Hindus and Muslims to fight against the British to build a democratic India.

But Mian Sahib's campaign is one of the very few ones conducted on the basis of the League's manifesto. In most of the constituencies, the League manifesto has been buried and forgotten. It does not even figure among the pamphlets published by the League for the election campaign.

The truth is that the elections have shot into the foreground men with an oppressive past, with Feroz Khan Noon leading the way. I have heard of young League-minded kisan workers fired with new zeal for freedom, actually being stopped by League candidates from speaking against the bureaucracy and for popular demands.

What greater drawback could there be for the new Punjab League than

that Feroz Khan Noon should act as the chief spokesman for the League deputationists to the British Parliamentary delegation? He spoke servilely to them and said how 'amazed' he was that the bureaucracy should oppose the Muslims who had been its friends since 1857!

FENILING AMONG COMMON MUSLIMS

Despite all this, it remains a fact that every vote cast by the common Muslim for the League in the Punjab, will be one cast by a conscious voter newly awakened to the urge for freedom and in most cases cast in violation of the will of the local officials. For despite the fact that the leaders are giving him nothing but religious demagoguery, shunning over economic and social problems, the roused Muslim kisan of the Western Punjab is in effect being asked to make his choice between the traditional party supported by the British Sarkar (the Unionists) and the new party which comes to him with the message and slogan of Pakistan—in which he himself sees freedom for the Muslim people.

Yesterday I met a kisan League worker from a village near Lahore. The Unionist candidate and his agents have been approaching him for days asking him for support. They have threatened him and offered him cash. But he has refused to support them. "Why?" I asked him. "Because I want Pakistan," he replied. "But what is this Pakistan after all?" I persisted. "It is the land where all men are equal and where there is plenty for all." That was his answer and it was good enough for me. It must be the same picture which the Congress kisan has of the word Swaraj. Yes, here was the Punjab's new kisan willing to risk everything for his freedom ideal.

It was true, some of the leaders were pouring anti-Hindu hatred into him and this is dangerous for our land. But it is an undeniable fact that the enslaved Muslim peasant of the Punjab is up in arms, willing and ready to fight for a land of equality and plenty. Will he fight against his brothers or against the common enemy, the British? That question is to be decided by him and by the rest of us—his brothers.

SHALL WE FIGHT EACH OTHER OR ALL TOGETHER AGAINST THE BRITISH?

Where mutual strife between Congress and the League and the poison poured out by the leaders will lead the country is shown clearly by the stories of clashes between Muslims and Hindus which are becoming a common phenomenon in the province.

In Lahore, on both Subhas Bose Day and Independence Day an ugly situation developed in Chowmatti when processions of Congress boys shouting slogans against Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah were asked to desist by Muslims, but they refused to do so and a regular slogan shouting competition arose. Fortunately despite the efforts of mischief mongers, no fight took place.

In streets, little kids have been taught to shout anti-League and anti-Pakistan slogans whose meaning they do not know and, of course, the League lads are not slow to retaliate.

In Nawanshahr in Jullundur, Hindus sought to prevent a League meeting by shouting slogans and creating noise.

In Ludhiana, Leaguers tried to prevent Ahrar volunteers from doing anti-League propaganda and a clash occurred in which a Leaguer was killed and an Ahrar was injured severely.

In Lahore, the Dayal Singh college has been closed now for over two weeks. The Congress students have hoisted the Tricolour on the college building. League students refuse to attend the college till it is removed or their flag also allowed to fly beside it. The Congress students refuse to allow either the Tricolour to be removed or the League flag to be hoisted. Two hostile camps have been formed. The college has been closed. Only mutual agreement—unity of all the college students—can open it. That can only be when Hindu and Muslim, Congress and League, students learn to respect each other's ideas and opinions.

A Patriot's Notebook

FOR THEM ANTI-COMMUNISM FIRST DEMOCRACY NEXT

THE Bengal bureaucrats have demanded a security from our Bengal daily Swadhinatha. When the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta was approached towards the end of last month for a permanent declaration for the paper, he said that "reports had been received stating that inflammable articles are written in Swadhinatha." A permanent declaration was refused unless Rs. 500 was first deposited as security.

Such is the state of civil liberties in the country while His Excellency Lord Wavell is feeding us galore with sweet promises of freedom.

Leaders of all parties and sections of opinion are coming out condemning the recent gangster attack made on the Central Headquarters of our Party and our Press. You will find a cross-section of the country's opinion on Page 6 of this issue. Most of those who have spoken up have deep political differences with our Party, but that has not stood in the way of their standing up for elementary decency and democracy in our public life.

Sjt. Giri's Sophistry

But there are leaders for whom anti-Communism comes first and everything else, even love of democracy and decency in public life, only second. Two such are Andhra Congressmen Sjt. V. V. Giri (Labour leader), and Bapineedu (ex-Parliamentary Secretary). Both of them refused to give any statement even after our Madras Correspondent had half an hour's discussion with them.

Sjt. Giri first said that he had not read the news and hence could not express his opinion. He was reminded that Gandhiji (who was then at Madras) had already condemned it. But he maintained that "on this affair, it needed some thinking."

As for Sjt. Bapineedu, his answer was: "I have no time to think about it. My mind is not working." And immediately he switched on to the subject of the coming elections and eagerly wanted to know which constituencies the Communists are contesting!

Shameful Attitude Of Best Congress Papers

As with Sjt. Giri and Bapineedu, there are sections of the Congress Press too with whom anti-Communism seems to have become a permanent disease. Not only have they kept quiet editorially on such vile political goondagiri; but it makes the most shameful story to see the way they have treated even the statements condemning it of the topmost Congress leaders—Gandhiji, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru.

Most of the Hindi Congress Press in U.P. did not even print Gandhiji's statement in full—though that consisted of only three sentences. In U.P., one had to look up the Anglo-Indian Pioneer to get the statement in full. Congress Papers like Sakshik of Agra actually gloated over the anti-Communist hoodlumism!

Maulana Azad's statement found no place in the Bombay Chronicle. Many of the Hindi Congress papers of U.P. printed Pandit Nehru's second statement with the big caption: NEHRU CONDEMNS COMMUNIST GOONDAISM!

Samyaktha Karnatak, Congress daily of Karnataka, completely suppressed Gandhiji's statement. And the Editor calls himself a veteran Gandhite!

Birsa's Hindustan Times, of course, has to serve the Bosses' interest. It blacked out Jawaharlal's statement, the statement issued by 112 members of the Delhi Bar Association, including Congressmen and Leaguers, as well as that of the Bengal Provincial Committee of our Party on the South Calcutta attack.

The same was the attitude of Tej, Nationalist, Muslim, Urdu daily, of Delhi.

National Herald, Daily Worker, and most of the Congress papers blacked out the Editor

Adhikari's statement on the Bombay attack, in part or altogether.

But what has shocked me most is the National Herald. It is regarded as Pandit Nehru's own paper. Yet it blacked out part of Gandhiji's statement; it has so far made no editorial comment on the attack. As for the attack on our South Calcutta Party Office, which has been openly condemned in public statements by any number of independent Congress eye-witnesses as a deliberate piece of provocation, (as our Calcutta Correspondent reveals on page 7 of this issue), the National Herald splashed the news under the 2-column headline: "Communist Throws Bomb On Calcutta Procession!"

Most of the Hindi Congress Press of U.P. and Bihar took their cue from the National Herald and repeated such headlines in reporting the Calcutta attack.

Is the National Herald advancing the cause of truth or freedom in this country by such journalism? It will not kill the Communists this way, it will only blacken its own name.

Dr. Gilder's Prejudiced Logic

Where the Congress leaders come to when they let rabid prejudice blot out everything else is revealed in a story reported to me by one of our comrades, Deodhekar, who was seriously wounded in the attack on our Party Headquarters.

Deodhekar was lying in hospital when Dr. Gilder (ex-Congress Minister) was passing by his cot accompanied by other Doctors. Dr. Gilder stopped by Deodhekar's side, saw his bandaged head and asked: "What is it, lathi or bullet?" Deodhekar answered: "Neither, but a stone." "Where did it happen?" came the query. "At the Communist Party Headquarters" said Deodhekar. Dr. Gilder promptly asked: "Oh, a stone thrown by the Communists?" Deodhekar curtly answered: "No, a stone thrown at the Communists!" Dr. Gilder had nothing to say—and quickly walked off.

Dr. Gilder could only think of stones thrown by Communists, not of arson and lathis used against us.

Reaction Of Brave Warlis

From Umbergaon (Maharashtra) comes a story of a different type. It is the area of the Warlis (oppressed aboriginal tribes) who have been roused by the Red Flag to fight for elementary human rights. The Warlis have recently fought a great victorious struggle under the Red Flag against Sahukar oppression and Police zoom.

The Sahukars, who are naturally enough bitterly opposed to the Communists, were jubilant when they read the news in the Lokmanya of the attack on our Party Headquarters. They deliberately passed and repassed the Kisan Sabha Office, looking at it and laughing as they went by. One of them at last picked up sufficient courage to tell some of the Warlis that the Lal Bawta Office in Bombay was smashed up. The Warlis promptly answered: "You are a liar." The Sahukar then said the news was published in the papers. The Warlis' answer was: "Oh, yes. That is the 'news' YOUR paper gives you. We will wait for our own paper when it comes, to know the truth."

At Kalyan, workers of the Match Factories were furious when they learnt of the attack the same night. Next morning, a deputation came to our local leaders and asked: "Shall we go on strike to protect the Red Flag?"

Two hundred Ambernath workers wanted to come to Bombay to teach the enemies of the Red Flag a lesson; Our comrades Godavaribal Gokhale, had to stop them.

Those who think that they can break the Red Flag with goondas lathis will only succeed in breaking themselves.

AKASH

Punjab Polling Scenes

Where Akalis Are Going All-Out To Defeat The Red Flag

From Our Own Correspondent.

LAHORE, February 1.

"I walked six miles and did not take the offer of the lorry by Akali Majhail's men. It is shameful that I should come in a lorry when I am going to vote for the Kisan Sabha and the Red Flag," said a white-bearded Sikh at Atari polling booth to-day.

POLLING commenced today in all constituencies in the Punjab. I visited booths where Communist candidate, Suban Singh Josh, is being opposed by the Akali Party Secretary, Isher Singh Majhail. It is one of the four seats over which a deal has been made between the Akalis and the Congress to put up a joint anti-Communist front. The Akalis are putting all their resources on this seat to "beat Josh at any cost."

On my way to Lopoke Polling Station, I found lorries moving, all belonging to Majhail. I wondered how we were faring, but on reaching the polling station, I witnessed a novel feature. The Kisans were coming on foot from all directions carrying Red banners shouting, "Inqilab Zindabad." They were arguing among themselves, and dividing their work. "Ten voters have not come from our village," an old Kisan said. A young lad immediately jumped on to a cycle. "I am going to bring them along," and off he rushed. Our camps were being managed by Sardar Gurbux Singh of Preetnagar, and manned by common village folk.

I found many honest Congressmen of the locality there. They came to vote for Josh and often helped him in getting voters. "How are you voting for Josh in the face of anti-Communist slanders?" I asked one of them. "I am supporting Josh because I know his record of work, and I strongly feel Congressmen and Communists unitedly should fight the Akalis and other reactionary elements."

Finding Congress-minded Sikhs were helping Josh, Majhail tried to put on a Congress mask. He hoisted the Tri-colour in his Camp and put a Congress flag on his car!

Kisan Masses On One Side: Cash, Lorries On The Other

Exactly at 12, Josh came to Lopoke and he was greeted by a big crowd outside the Polling Booth. I was watching the reactions of the Kisans. An old Sikh peasant said: "Look at Sohan Singh Josh. The entire Government machinery has been pitted against him. But the people are behind him; they love Josh and Josh loves them. He is something like God."

At 2, I reached another Polling station, Atari. Here the Unionist and Akali camps were pitched side by side—both well furnished with tables and chairs. A lorry load of voters came for Majhail. His supporters were jubilant, "Look how people are coming to vote for us," one of them said confidently, and at that very moment there came loud shouts of "Inqilab Zindabad". A procession of 200 kisans was coming from Mahaba. With Red flags in their hands, they shouted, "For Unity and Freedom—Vote for Josh." Similar processions came from other villages—from Tanwilkala came a procession of 150; from Kaunki, 100.

But Majhail had more than 28 lorries to ply throughout the day. He had enough resources in cash and the backing of officials. People alleged that many voters had been bribed only last night. In one village, some of the voters said that 30 votes had been bought for Rs. 3,000.

Communist Assaulted

This morning at Atari, a Communist worker, Gurmukh Singh of Kanika, was beaten by Akali volun-

teers. He was arguing with some voters and discussing the Communist Party's Election Manifesto. This was too much for Majhail's men. They fell on him and Gurmukh Singh had to be removed to a doctor's residence for first aid.

But lorries, cash and physical assaults cannot stop the Kisans from supporting Josh. That might have been seen from the jathas of Kisans that came to vote for him from distant villages. A lame man covered a distance of seven miles on foot to vote for Josh. When approached by Majhail's agents with the offer of a lift, he refused, saying, "Thanks. The profiteers of our village are waiting for your lorries."

ATTACK ON CALCUTTA COMMUNISTS

(Continued from page 7)

Halder Street, Sjt. Samar Ghose, a student of St. Xavier's College, Calcutta and Sjt. Bishwupada Banerji, M.B., of 3/b Dharamdas Road.

In addition Sjt. Baridbaran Sen, President of No. 5, Ward Congress Committee, also after stating that Congressmen and Congress volunteers did their best to disperse the crowd, indicts "a few mischief-makers" who were taking full advantage of the situation for their own selfish purposes. "These men," he goes on, "were melting the crowd to put tram cars and lorries on fire in the name of the Congress."

"The Congress," he concludes "has nothing to do with such gonda methods and acts."

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SIX LAKHS' FUND DRIVE

U.P. to the Fore

Other Outstanding Individual Aid

This week too I have good news for all our readers, the hooligan attack on our headquarters and our Press has roused the best among our Party comrades, our sympathisers and honest Congressmen; but money is still coming in too slowly.

LET all comrades and all our friends realise that the damage caused has meant a real big loss—coming as it did at a time when we are engaged to the utmost of our meagre resources in a full-scale election battle and, when to do our job, we need our Press and our Headquarters in full working order.

Congressmen

The response this week, too, continues—mostly, as before, from individuals who have been moved to immediate action, to show that their sympathy and anger at the attack is not mere lip-sympathy but something real and concrete. At present we have received since January 24, Rs. 4,000—but you can all see that much more is needed if we are to get to our target of six-lakhs.

The best contributions have come this week from Congress-minded sympathisers of ours; one young Gujarati Congressman has given Rs. 500; another, a father of one of our comrades and a leading Congressman of his province (who gave Rs. 500 when we launched our drive) promised another Rs. 250 as soon as he heard of the attack; our comrade's mother also has herself promised Rs. 100.

Another young Congress worker, who writes that he differs with us over "Pakistan, People's War, etc." has sent Rs. 5 because of his appreciation of our "zeal and devotion to our principles" and "because we are all working towards a better world though our paths may be different.

Film Artists

Two well-known film stars have also given or promised us money for our fund. Sjt. N. SINGH gave Rs. 50 (he had already contributed before), commenting that "the Congress and the Communist Party should find out the culprits of this crime and see that they are duly punished." So also Sjt. JAGDISH SETHI while promising us a contribution, told one of our comrades that he was glad that the national leaders had condemned this outrage, and hoped that "by everybody's joint effort, such things will be prevented from happening in the future."

One of Bombay's leading doctors, DR. ERULKAR, has also sent Rs. 50 to our fund, and a nurse in his hospital has contributed Rs. 5.

From all over India, also, our sympathisers have rallied and sent in money; in Bombay itself the cousin of one of our comrades came to the Party Headquarters the day after the attack and almost weeping at the damage, immediately offered his services to defend our Headquarters and Press.

He was told that we had made adequate arrangements; on the 30th he came again and gave Rs. 5, apologising because he could not afford more, and the Rs. 5 more that he had with him, he wanted to use for a subscription to our Bengali daily, *Swadhinata*.

However, after going to the post office to send the money order, he changed his mind and came back to our office, gave that Rs. 5 also to our fund, saying that he would manage to read *Swadhinata* in our library.

Gujarati Poet

Some of our Malayali friends locally were also deeply moved by the story of our loss—and have offered to donate furniture to replace our losses.

The well-known Gujarati poet, SWAPNASTHA, has also immediately come forward to help us; his wage is meagre but on hearing of our loss he and his wife (who till not long ago was in disagreement with our policy) came to us and donated a golden ring and two marriage bangles (Bangles). And Swapnastha told us proudly that this

REVOLUTIONARY HINDI WRITER'S DONATION AND MESSAGE

We give below the inspiring message received from the well-known revolutionary and a top-rank Hindi writer of today, Sjt. Yashpal, after he had heard of the attack on the Communist Party Headquarters.

Yashpal was accused in the 1st and 2nd Lahore and Delhi Conspiracy Cases, the Cawnpore and Allahabad Police Shooting Cases, Chief accused for explosion under the Viceroy's special, Commander-in-Chief of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA) after Chandra Sekhar Azad. He was convicted to 14 years R.I. in 1932. Editor of the *Viplava* and *Baghi* magazines (Hindi) which had to suspend publication due to a demand of Rs. 12,000 security, he was arrested in 1941 under D.I.R.

"Deeply distressed at the dastardly attack and incendiarism on your Party Headquarters, I congratulate your Party for their brave stand in the cause of national freedom. The Communist Party is today playing the role of Christ in Free India's cause. Though not a member of your Party, as repentance for this national crime, I put all I can do at your service. Accept Rs. 100 as humble token of sympathy.

25-1-46.
Lucknow.

S/d. Yashpal.

time it was his wife who had offered her churis and asked Swapnastha to give his ring!

The mother of one of our leading Gujarati comrades also used to be hostile to us—but she, too, on hearing of our loss, immediately gave Rs. 200, while a sympathiser who occasionally helps to bring out the Gujarati edition of *People's Age*, gave his ring, worth Rs. 150 to Rs. 200. Other individual contributions have been received from Amritsar, Aundh, Erode (Tamilnad), and other places.

Navy Comrades

From our comrades in the Navy too the response has been swift; a young Tamilian sailor has given Rs. 35 while another, a Lieutenant, gave Rs. 100. A Bengali comrade has given Rs. 5; a Malayali Rs. 10. Another, a Punjabi, on hearing the news of the attack, immediately pledged:

"We must get demobilised immediately so as to defend our Party Office if it is necessary."

Our sailor comrades in Bombay have promised me Rs. 40 more in two days and still more within the next two weeks:

From Karachi has come Rs. 97; Rs. 64 subscribed by members of the Karachi Tailors' Union; and our comrades there also write that they will send more within the next fortnight.

The best achievement of all, however, has been that of comrades in the U.P. From Jhansi, Allahabad and Lucknow has come stirring news of the way in which comrades have been roused to answer the hooligans in the way they deserve—by collecting and sending cash to build a bigger and better press that no one can destroy.

Poet Jash Collects

Jhansi comrades have sent us Rs. 100 "as a token of their determination to fight goondakam and carry on the fight for freedom irrespective of difficulties coming in the way." From Lucknow comes the news that in their Party rally,



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the biggest for three years, they collected Rs. 500 in cash and promises were made to the tune of another Rs. 2,000.

And most inspiring of all is the news that Urdu's greatest living poet, Josh Malihabadi, has condemned the hooligan violence against our Press and Headquarters, and is himself going round collecting money for our fund.

In Allahabad, too, the news aroused great anger and indignation. At the rally of our comrades, Rs. 135 was collected—and many ornaments, too, the full value of which is not yet known. Many press workers, who have built and fought inside the Communist-led Free Workers' Union for many years, were deeply moved by the news; one of them after hearing of the attack at a gate meeting spontane-

ately came forward and gave Rs. 1 for our fund.

But from other places no reports of any special collections, no promises; only silence. From the south, nothing has come except two telegrams: one from Madras Communist Students promising Rs. 200, etc from Guntur pledging solidarity.

The South and Bengal are two of our strongholds. Let them show that they cannot be beaten by the United Provinces—but that together all will fight their hardest, collect their masts so that the goondas are answered so they should be and our Party is fitted to do the work it must do. If our great Indian freedom movement is to go forward to victory.

—S. V. GHATE.

EAST CATCHES UP WITH WEST

Twenty Years Of Friendship And Brotherly Help

—By S. V. KRAFTANOV.

(Chairman of the RSFSR Commission for the Elections to the Soviet of Nationalities)

The vast territory of the Soviet Union (one-sixth of the world's land-surface) is inhabited by more than a hundred and seventy nationalities and ethnographic groups.

The system of administration of the multinational Soviet state, defined by the Stalin Constitution, protects the interests of all peoples of the USSR.

THE Soviet Union is a voluntary association of sixteen independent equal Union Republics, each with its own constitution, drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the USSR.

With the fraternal aid of the great Russian people the Soviet National Republics have achieved major successes in every field of political, economic and cultural endeavour.

The decisive factors which helped the National Republics to overcome their economic backwardness were their industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture. Stalin's Five Year Plans laid special stress on accelerating the economic and cultural development of these republics.

Backward Agrarian To Modern Industrial

A graphic illustration of this is afforded by the following figures, covering the period between 1913 and 1940: whereas the gross output of large scale industry over the whole of the Soviet Union increased on an average 10.9 times, that of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic increased 22.2 times; of Armenia 22.3 times, of Georgia 26.4 times, of Kirghizia 160 times; and of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic 242 times.

Their intensive economic development has led to the transformation of these republics from backward agrarian regions into countries with modern industries and large scale agriculture.

For an illustration I shall cite data on pre-war Belo-Russia. As compared with 1913, the gross industrial output of the Belo-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic increased 23 times, production of electric power 109 times, of peat 226 times etc. About 10,000 tractors and harvester combines and many thousands of other agricultural machines were employed in the fields of the republic, whose cultivated area increased to 214,800,000 acres by 1941 as against 6,400,000 in 1913.

All-Round Advance

One of the National Republics—the Kazakh SSR—has recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. During this one quarter of a century, Kazakhstan's production of copper increased 23.6 times of oil 26 times, and of lead several hundred times. The Karaganda coal fields, now third in importance in the USSR after the Donbas and Kuznetsk basins, yield millions of tons of coal annually. The share of industrial production in Kazakhstan's national economy increased from 6 per cent in 1913 to about 67 per cent at present.

Large scale construction is now under way in all National Republics. A new steel plant is under construction in Transcaucasia; a tube-rolling mill is being built at Baku (Azerbaijan) and new rolling mills at the Uzbek and Kazakh steel plants.

Along with the restoration of the Kharkov tractor plant the Ukraine is building a new auto plant at Dniepropetrovsk. An auto plant is likewise being built in Kutaisi in the Georgian SSR.

Agricultural machinery plants are under construction at Akmolinsk (Kazakhstan); Kirghizia has recently acquired a new sugar refinery in Belovodsk and the construction of similar refineries is nearing completion in Turkmenia and Kazakhstan. New power-stations, new enterprises for the production of rare metals, machinery, etc. are under construction in a number of places.

Agriculture has likewise undergone a radical transformation in the National Republics. Collectivised and steadily improved, it has lifted the peasants from one of the lowest levels of the old backward revolution. The construction of new irrigation pro-

jects in Uzbekistan has led to the addition of more than 21,25,000 acres of land to the irrigated area.

Altogether, the republic's cultivated area increased by 3.7 million acres as compared with the pre-revolutionary period.

An idea of the vast resources of Uzbekistan's collective farms may be gained from the fact that the republic supplies about 60 per cent of the total cotton, silk, rice and Karekul produced in the USSR.

As recently as two decades ago, three-fourths of the Kazakh population led a nomad existence. Present day Kazakhstan has 6,00,000 collective farm households united in more than 6,000 collective farms which received 213,7 million acres of land for free use in perpetuity, 250 state farms and 363 machine tractor stations. Thousands of tractors and 12,000 harvester combines are employed in collective farm fields. The republic's collective farms have 23,000 livestock ranges with about 12,000,000 heads of cattle.

Very few people could read or write in the national districts of pre-

revolutionary Russia. The so-called "non-Russians" were practically barred from schools.

The enforcement of universal obligatory education with free tuition and enormous sums spent by the Soviet Government on education have led to the almost complete disappearance of illiteracy in the USSR.

Cultural Growth

The National Republics have acquired a vast number of schools, colleges, scientific institutes, libraries, theatres, cinemas, clubs and other educational and cultural institutions.

A few figures will illustrate the cultural progress in the National Republics. Kirghizia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were among the most backward colonies of Tsarism. Illiteracy in these regions was 97 to 98 per cent. Present day Kirghizia has more than 1,500 schools with several hundreds of thousands of pupils.

In Kazakhstan the number of school pupils increased sevenfold as compared with 1915 and 4,500 schools, functioning in the Uzbek republic, are attended by 1,100,000 children. Every child has an opportunity to study in its native language.

The progress of college education may be illustrated by the following data. In 1914-1915 there was only one college on the territory outside the present Russian Federation and the Ukraine. By 1940-41 the number of colleges on this territory increased to 146 (45 in the Transcaucasian republics, 67 in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan etc.). Geor-

gia, for example, had one college in 1914 with a student body of 300. Functioning in the Georgian SSR before the Patriotic War were 21 colleges, attended by 22,700 students.

The October Revolution has opened up all the doors of higher education, has created favourable conditions for the development of native talent. Let us take historic art, for example. The theatre, which was in an embryonic stage in many National Regions before the Revolution, now occupies a place of honour in national culture.

Armenia, Turkmenia, Tajikistan and Kirghizia had no professional theatres in the past. Today Armenia has 27, Tajikistan 23, Kirghizia 21 and Turkmenia 11 theatres. The number of theatres in the Ukraine increased from 35 to 123; pre-war figures in Georgia—from 3 to 49 and in Uzbekistan from 1 to 49.

What The War Showed

The war against the Hitlerite invaders brought out the friendship and unbreakable unity of the Soviet peoples into bold relief.

The Red Army was a monolithic fighting body, despite the numerous nationalities represented in its ranks, notwithstanding the difference in language, cultural background and traditions. With the Russian people in the lead, sons of all the peoples of the Soviet Union fought self-sacrificingly for the honour, freedom, and independence of the USSR.

The roster of awards issued during the war represents a glowing tribute to the qualities of the Soviet soldiers and officers and an illustration of the fighting friendship among the Soviet peoples.

According to the data as of February 1, 1945, government orders and medals were awarded to 2,456,000 Russians, 495,000 Ukrainians, 118,000 Belo-Russians, 67,000 Tatars, 65,000 Jews, 39,000 Kazakhs, 28,000 Uzbeks, 27,000 Armenians, 21,000 Georgians, 5,000 Kirghiz, 5,000 Turkmenians, 4,000 Tajiks, Karelians, Letts and Estonians, 3,000 each; Moldavians and Lithuanians, 2,000 each, etc.

Hundreds of the gallant sons and daughters of all the Soviet peoples were honoured with high title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Following their complete victory over the aggressors, the peoples of the USSR joined efforts to speed reconversion and ensure further progress of the National Republics. In the light of all these facts, the enthusiasm with which the Soviet peoples look forward to the election day (February 23) and their moral and political unity are understandable.

★ Around the World ★

BRITISH REPRESSION OF CYPRIOTS

ONLY this week I heard of the latest piece of barbarity and injustice that British 'democracy' is perpetrating—this time in CYPRUS—Britain's colony of great strategic importance in the eastern Mediterranean.

Since 1931 Cyprus has been ruled autocratically by a British Governor appointed by the Colonial Office. Acting through Orders-in-Council he has passed a number of oppressive laws including one—familiar to us—prohibiting any meeting of more than five persons without special Police permission.

The people of Cyprus have times without number expressed themselves in favour of union with their brothers in Greece—for the Cypriots are of Greek origin, they speak the Greek language. But the British Imperialists have consistently refused their demand and brutally suppressed their freedom movement. Firings on demonstrations are as common in Cyprus as they are in India—only on March 25 of last year, a peaceful demonstration was fired on, three were killed.

Usual Frame-up

But worst of all, rivalling our famous Meerut Conspiracy Case is the trial that was due to start on November 18, 1945, of the eighteen members of the Pan-Cyprian Trade Union Committee elected at a biennial Delegates' Conference of the Trade Unions of Cyprus.

Fifteen charges are preferred against these eighteen trade union leaders: taken together the charges amount to the accusation that they are guilty of rebellion and of organising a conspiracy to overthrow the status quo by violent means.

As for the evidence, it is as usual all from the articles and letters of the accused, including lessons on political education, given in the Trade Union Bulletin. One of the 'evidences' extracts runs as follows: "The labourer, the worker, cannot change his position of the employment of his position within the limits of the existing system. At a particular stage of the struggle of

the working-class, it comes to be realised that the real welfare of the whole world can be brought about only by a change of the existing regime.

"It is then that the labour movement starts to embrace Socialism and to direct its efforts for the application of its system. The main weapon in this struggle is the Party of the working-class without which an organised effort with hopes of success cannot be conceived."

It is on the basis of such political propaganda as this that the eighteen are being charged with attempts to overthrow the status quo by violent means—and this propaganda could easily have appeared in any British Labour Party paper—paper of the present Government of Great Britain!

The fact is that inside the British Empire, whose leading statesmen talk so glibly about 'democracy' and are quick to protest about 'totalitarianism', the worst forms of anti-democratic oppression continue.

And it is interesting to note that Reuter, always so quick to send us reports of 'atrocities' by the Indonesian nationalists or 'totalitarianism' in the Balkans, has not given to Indian newspapers even a word about these trials. Our Indian editors could learn a good lesson from this—that all that Reuter sends is not the truth while in contrast it is the truth—the very uncomfortable truth—that Reuter often does not send to them!

Communist Movement Grows

LITTLE news comes through in India from the Americas of the activities of the Communist Parties there. But just a week ago good news reached us from the USA and Brazil.

In the NEW YORK CITY COUNCIL elections of last November, 1944 Communist Councilmen, elected first in 1943, were re-elected, with an increase of 40 per cent over their 1943 vote. Together, Irvn Davis (a

leading Negro Communist) and Peter Cacchione, polled 1,23,000 first votes, the highest number of votes that the Communist Party has ever received in its history.

IN THE BRAZILIAN NATIONAL ELECTIONS, Communist candidates for the Brazilian Senate from its capital city, Rio de Janeiro, Luis Carlos Prestes and Abel Charmont, were both elected; in the city of San Paulo, Communist deputies won the first place with 80,000 votes.

It is expected that the Brazilian Communists will have a total of 20 Deputies and Senators—and this in spite of the fact that the Communist Party here was till recently illegal and that the suffrage in Brazil, as in India, is based on literacy qualifications which prevent a majority of adults from voting.

In fact, the Communist Parties in the Americas are following in the footsteps of their brother-parties in Europe which have already emerged as major parties in their country's life.

In Europe

IN ITALY, the Communist Party has a membership of 18 lakhs, one in every twenty-three of the population; in France a membership of 10 lakhs, one in every forty; in Czechoslovakia a membership of 10 lakhs, one in every ten; in Yugoslavia, a membership of 600,000 one in every twenty and in Bulgaria a membership of 400,000, one in every fifteen.

When we consider that the membership of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union is about 51 lakhs, a little more than one in every forty, we can realise the real extent of the influence of these Communist Parties in Europe.

And all this progress has been achieved in the teeth of the fiercest Fascist repression—a good lesson to all those anti-Communists who dream of using 'good methods' to destroy the Communist movement in India.

—Mohan Kumaramangalam.

CRISIS BREWING IN MIDDLE EAST

SYRIAN-LEBANESE DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL OF ANGLO-FRENCH OCCUPATION FORCES

A crisis of serious dimensions is brewing in the Middle East following Anglo-French decisions affecting Syria and Lebanon, decisions taken without consultations with the Syrian or Lebanese Governments.

Particular interest attaches to the Soviet point of view about these decisions—which has this week been set forth at length in an article in the NEW TIMES, well-known Soviet paper, the main points from which we reproduce here.

THE independence and sovereignty of the Republics of Syria and the Lebanon was recognised while the Second World War was still in progress.

Delegations from the Damascus and Beyrouth Governments took part in the work of the United Nations Conference at San Francisco on an equal footing with delegations of other countries. Both Levantine Republics are members of the United Nations. At the General Assembly now in session, their representatives have the same voting rights as the representatives of the other members of the Organisation.

Hence the position of Syria and the Lebanon from the viewpoint of international law cannot give rise to any doubt.

STILL OCCUPIED

The actual state of affairs is quite a different thing. Syria and the Lebanon are still occupied by foreign troops as they have been ever since the First World War—the only change in their situation consisting in the fact that besides the French troops, which had been maintained in these countries since France received her mandate over them at the San Remo Conference of the Entente in 1920, there are now also considerable British occupation forces.

At the time when these latter entered the Levantine Republics, their presence was motivated by the interests of the joint struggle of the Allies against the danger of German Fascist troops advancing into the Near and Middle East. Since that time, essentially, there has been no ground for the retention of Allied occupation forces in the Levantine countries, and this circumstance is a prime cause of the feeling which prompted the people of Syria and the Lebanon in the autumn of 1943 to come out with demands for real and not illusory State and political independence.

These demands were only partially satisfied by the French authorities—and that only as a result of dramatic events which at that time centred chiefly in the Lebanon. The Lebanon Parliament decided to annul those points in her Constitution which granted special rights to France as the mandatory Power. In response to this decision, Helleu, the Delegate-General of the French Committee of National Liberation, disbanded Parliament by force of arms, and in November, 1943, arrested the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and several members of the Government and Parliament.

PROTEST IN THE LEVANT

These acts of violence aroused a storm of protest in the Levantine countries. The French Committee of National Liberation sent special delegates from Algiers to effect an appeasement. They concluded an agreement with the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon granting partial concessions—the transfer of the customs, the lighthouse service, the post office, tribal administration, etc.—to the national authorities. The independence of both Republics was again confirmed; but no agreement was reached on the question of the withdrawal of the French and British troops, which still remain in the Levant on the pretext of the continued state of war.

This conflict flared up with renewed intensity after victory over Hitler Germany. Syria and the Lebanon were swept by mass demonstrations against foreign domination, accompanied by a general strike which paralysed all economic life. In some localities the movement developed into an armed insurrection against the French. Things went so far that Damascus was shelled by French artillery and bombed.

"OPPRESSORS"

The British troops at first conducted themselves as neutral observers, inasmuch as the movement was distinctly anti-French in character.

After a short time, however, the British intervened in the struggle, declaring that order must be restored. As their pressure carried the threat of armed conflict, the French, receiving new orders from Paris, ceased military action and evacuated Syria and part of the Lebanon.

These events throw an entirely new light on the problem of Syria and the Lebanon. Until that time it had been a matter of contradictions between the people of the Arab Republics, who had begun to assert their right to full State independence, and the former mandatory Power France, striving to retain her political and economic influence in Syria and the Lebanon.

PARIS REACTION

The behaviour of the British occupation authorities during the events of the summer of 1945, and the British political activity noted in the Levantine countries in connection with these events, created a strong impression in Paris—as we may judge, among other things, by the statements of high French officials: General Beynet, the French Delegate-General for Syria and the Lebanon, Foreign Minister Bidault, and the head of the French Government, General de Gaulle.

General de Gaulle listed the British methods of action—support of the demands of the local Governments, the application of pressure in regard to the inclusion of British authority as a third party in the French-Syrian and French-Lebanon institutions, attempts to replace French interests by British in such spheres as the French utilisation of Mosul oil, the use of the Tripoli oil refinery and the use of the Haifa-Tripoli Railway, and in general the gradual expulsion of France from the Levant.

When the conflict between France and Syria and the Lebanon took the form of armed strife in 1945, it became necessary to regulate it by means of international co-operation.

The initiative in this came from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government proposed to the Governments of Great Britain, France, the United States and China at that time, that immediate steps be taken to put a stop to military action in Syria and the Lebanon and bring about a peaceful settlement.

The French Government suggested that a conference of the five powers be called to examine the whole complex of problems in the Near and Middle East.

NO DEAL

These proposals were fated never to be put into effect. In the course of direct negotiations between Paris on the one hand and Damascus and Beyrouth on the other, France made certain concessions, one of these being the transfer to the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon of the so-called "special troops"—military units drawn from the local population which had been commanded by French officers and controlled by the staff of the French forces in the Levant.

The main problem, however, still remained unsettled. Neither the French nor the British troops were withdrawn from the two countries. The British forces, incidentally, greatly exceed the French in number.

The last month of 1945 was marked by Anglo-French negotiations on the regulation of the Levantine problems and also of several other disputed questions. Apropos of these negotiations, it was remarked in the Press that they should lead to the removal of obstacles barring the way to the conclusion of an Anglo-French alliance.

THE AGREEMENT

As far as the situation in the Levant is concerned, however, these diplomatic efforts did not meet with success. An Anglo-French Agreement on Syria and the Lebanon was signed in London on December 13th, 1945.

The main point in this Agreement was:

French and British experts will meet in Beyrouth to work out the details of the gradual evacuation and regrouping of the armed forces. The experts will appoint an early date for the beginning of the withdrawal of the troops. Syria is to be evacuated by the French and British troops simultaneously, and the evacuation is to be completed at the same time by both sides. The evacuation programme will provide for the retention in the Levant of "forces sufficient to guarantee security until the time that the United Nations Organisation arrives at a decision concerning collective security in this zone." Until that date the French Government "will retain reasonable forces" in the Lebanon.

Shortly after the publication of this Agreement, so replete with reservations and ambiguity, certain difficulties came to light or, as it was tactfully put by Paris and London newspapers, certain "misunderstandings." It appeared that the British authorities had no intention of withdrawing their forces from the Levant.

While the study and discussion of these "misunderstandings" were under way in London and Paris, a new wave of protest had arisen in the

countries that were the direct object of the Anglo-French Agreement—especially the Lebanon where, according to the deal, the foreign occupation forces were to be concentrated in future.

The question was formally discussed at a meeting of the Lebanon Parliament. Speeches were delivered by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and National Education, Frajji, and by many Deputies who were unanimous in qualifying the Anglo-French Agreement as an open violation of the sovereignty of the Lebanon contradicting the decisions of the United Nations. According to the latest newspaper reports, popular demonstrations have been held in Damascus demanding the immediate, unconditional, simultaneous and complete withdrawal of all British and French troops from the territory of Syria.

In the final count the situation in the Levantine countries remains unregulated to the present day. The occupation troops still remain in their former garrisons. To this background but one new thing has been added—the misunderstanding between the British and the French. These partners, it must be remarked, are agreed on one thing: neither is in any hurry to withdraw troops from the Levant.

FRENCH DEMOCRACY'S STEADY ADVANCE

DE GAULLE MADE TO QUIT—WHAT NEXT?

By Air Mail

From Our Correspondent.

The Cabinet crisis in France, though manufactured neatly by General de Gaulle and his followers, has been solved against him and in favour of the democratic forces.

DE GAULLE'S stock, high last November when he became Premier, fell very low in his two months of Office. The economic condition of the people had rapidly deteriorated, the Government was taking no effective action against the black-market-eers, particularly the men who had fattened under Nazi occupation and were still minting money freely. The climax was the reintroduction on January 1 of bread rationing, with a lower bread ration than during the previous rationing period.

Reaction therefore thought that the only way to stop this shift of popular opinion away from De Gaulle, and towards the Communists would be to put the blame on "representative government," to spread the idea that it was the democratic system, expressed in the ministry's responsibility to the Constituent Assembly, that was preventing the quick and speedy action De Gaulle wished to take to improve the economic situation.

REACTIONARY MOVE DEFEATED

De Gaulle himself gave the lead by saying that "representative government was on trial." Then suddenly in the middle of January he resigned—on the issue that he was not free to pursue his own policy. His supporters hoped that if they could follow this up by parading some hoodlums in the streets, shouting slogans like "End Party Politics," "Let De Gaulle do it," "De Gaulle gets things done," they would put De Gaulle back in power. Even if they failed in this, they expected to split the Catholic M.R.P. from the Socialists and Communists. This, they hoped, would result in a left-wing Government that would fail to solve the economic crisis and therefore suffer a heavy defeat at their hands next June when fresh elections take place.

But they miscalculated. A fresh three-party Government has been formed, headed by the veteran Socialist, M. Felix Gaulin.

Vital factor in achieving this solution was the greater unity between the Socialists and Communists during the crisis; secondly much of the rank-and-file of the M.R.P. which is progressive would definitely have thrown its leadership over if it had gone over to De

Gaulle.

NEW CABINET

A new cabinet therefore has been formed; in it the key economic posts, Prime Minister, Minister of Finance and National Economy and Minister of Food are in the hands of Socialists. The cabinet as a whole has pledged itself to a rigorous economic programme, including the death penalty for certain black-market offences.

The Prime Minister in introducing his cabinet to the Constituent Assembly warned sharply that everyone in France would suffer in the coming year but the Government would strive to see that the burden was equally shared.

He foreshadowed the speedy nationalisation of electricity and gas, of the biggest banks, insurance companies and mines and partially of the merchant navy and river transport.

There is no doubt that if the cabinet—particularly the Socialist ministers—fulfil their pledges and really fight the black-market-eers and capitalists saboteurs, the French people will rally behind them despite the sacrifices they are called upon to undergo. And this will mean the defeat of De Gaulle and reaction at the next elections.

DANGER AND OPPORTUNITY

The danger however lies in the M.R.P., much of whose leadership which is very closely linked with De Gaulle and reaction will not hesitate to wreck this new Government, if given the opportunity of making any capital of the slightest mistake. Equally the emergence of the new Party of reaction, the Republican Party of Liberty, with 32 members in the Assembly, marks a renewed attempt of the Right to consolidate its forces.

The Communists meanwhile are strongly supporting the new Government and pressing for closer Socialist-Communist co-operation, particularly in the trade unions and in the countryside—to see that the economic policy is put through effectively; and there is no doubt that it is only success in this that will check-mate the machinations of De Gaulle and French reaction.

OPPONENTS MEETINGS BROKEN UP IN CONGRESS NAME

Communist Rural Squads Cover Half-Million Common People

--Mass Rallies For Freedom And Village Unity

News has appeared in the Press (Patna, January 30) that Rajen Babu has issued a statement calling upon Congress workers in Bihar to observe complete non-violence and in no case to resort to violence nor disturb meetings convened by the Communists or other parties.

RAJEN Babu's statement has come in good time. In Monghyr District (where 3 Communist candidates are contesting the Provincial Elections, Karyanand Sharma, Brahmdeo Singh and Joan Bikas Moitra) the Congress Election Campaign has taken a definite turn towards organised hooliganism in Communist meetings, accompanied by assaults on Communist workers, tearing of Communist literature and burning of Red Flags.

In one week alone, such attempts were made in widely separated areas like Begusarai, Kharagpur and Lakhisarai.

A 2,000-strong public meeting organised by the Communist Party in connection with the cloth rally was broken up in Begusarai on the 21st, by 200 students and other elements in the presence of Sheobrat Singh, lieutenant of Congress candidate, Sarju Prasad Singh. They started howling as soon as Kishori Babu, the respected Communist leader (just released after five years in jail) rose to speak and rushed towards the dais, threw stones, cut the loudspeaker wires and tried to run away with the loudspeakers. A large number of town intellectuals, school teachers and Congressmen were present at the meeting and felt thoroughly disgusted with these tactics.

Interviewed by Kishori Babu, Brahma Deo and Chandra Shekar, important Congressmen like Mithan Choudhry and Rameharitra Singh expressed abhorrence at such acts, but refused to issue a public appeal, lest that might damage the election chances of Sarju Babu.

SHAMEFUL SLANDERS AGAINST SHARMAJI

The Thana Congress Secretary, Bageshwar Singh, moved around a 2,000-strong Kisan meeting held by Communists in the village of Tetiabomber on the 24th with a bunch of school-kids who howled and shouted obscene slogans at the respected Communist leader Karyanandji. "Who eats beef?" "Karyanand Sharma, "Who eats Pork?" "Karyanand Sharma"—such were the slogans they were shouting.

The District Congress Secretary, Nandkumar Singh himself, had tried to dissuade people from attending the meeting by sending a squad to the village and by personal canvassing. This had enraged neutral people so much that two local leaders condemned such tactics in a meeting and asked Congressmen to stop such methods.

Two hundred Students' Congress boys raided the Lakhisarai Office of the Communist Party on the 25th. When asked to stop by the Communists, they threw stones, one of which hit a Congressman sitting there. Red Flags were snatched away from a Kisan Squad when it was passing near the Congress Independence Day meeting and were burnt in the meeting in the presence of Congress leader, Geeta Prasad Singh.

VENDETTA AGAINST POOR KISANS AND AGRICULTURAL-LABOURERS

These are not stray incidents, but the result of well-calculated plans to try to suppress Communists by physical violence. In all the three places, these attacks were preceded by days of minister propaganda and attacks on our squads moving in the villages. In Begusarai Thana alone, at least a dozen Communists were assaulted. Their flags snatched and torn, and sometimes burnt. When our supporters tried to intervene, they too suffered heavily.

Even honest Congressmen are being made victims of such proceedings. One Congress worker since 1930, was assaulted in Pahsara Village and when

poor kisans and agricultural labourers, who are mostly Shudras tried to intervene, their green fields were destroyed, women forced to hide inside their homes and their menfolk forced to give thumb impressions on a blank paper as "security for good conduct".

In Mahendrapur Village, the cattle-shed of one Communist, Uchit, was set on fire and one bullock burnt to death. The total damage suffered by him is estimated to be Rs. 10,000.

These cases of organised physical violence against political opponents arise directly from the rabid anti-Communist propaganda and slander carried on by those higher-up in the Congress hierarchy.

Opening its first election barrage, the Congress organ Searchlight (owned by the Birlas) went to the length of calling Karyanand Sharma (who has been a veteran Congress worker of the Province since the 1920 days and has personally led the biggest kisan struggles of Bihar) a "Communist collaborator" and describing his contest with Babu Sri Krishna Sinha as a "scandal and impertinence." Commenting on the Begusarai hooliganism, Birla's Searchlight "refused to waste sympathy on the plight of the Communists in Monghyr District."

The District Congress Committee Secretary Sjt. Nand Kumar Singh, declared in the village of Tetiabomber: "Communists have entered my house like rats and would have to be destroyed." Were it not for the policy of non-violence, he said he would have given the Communists the same treatment as was meted out to Amery's son or is being meted out to Communists in China!

Sixty-eight years old Congress leader, Nirapada Mukherjee, declared at a meeting in Hassanpur village that the Communists are traitors and therefore should not be allowed to enter the villages.

Similar and worse statements by smaller Congress leaders could be multiplied indefinitely.

APPEAL TO RABID COMMUNAL PREJUDICES

All these leaders seek to incite popular hatred against the Communists by appealing to the worst communal and religious prejudices. Their election propaganda is that Communists have no religion, they have become Muslims and support Pakistan, they want to snatch all land from Brahmans and give it to Shudras!

This is how they give the most rotten communal colouring to the just demand of the landless poor for fallow lands and our support to this demand. Thus they seek to frighten the middle-peasant in the villages and the town intelligentsia. They threaten to crush the poor peasants if they support the Communists. For this end, Congressmen are freely taking the help of notorious zamindars and other elements who have been traditional enemies of the Congress.

Receipt books for enrolling Congress members were given to such people, producing strange results. Baldeo Pandey, agent of the Hussainabad Zamindar, made forced collections for Congress membership in Sheikhpura Thana, while another gentleman in Begusarai realised from four annas to Re. 1 per member, thus making a neat pile for himself.

LIGHT FLAMES OF VILLAGER STRIFE

In Kharagpur, Nandkumar Babu even hired volunteers at Rs. 2 per day for campaigning against the Communists.

By using such methods to coerce the poor peasants and agricultural labourers (who are mostly Shudras) and fight the Communists, these Con-

gress leaders are only driving the rural poor anti-Congress and harming the cause of the Congress. Begusarai Congressmen have created such a Shudra-Brahmin tension that in several villages Shudras (poor kisans and landless labourers) have refused to become Congress members. In some villages, even agricultural strikes have taken place, the enraged Shudras having refused to work.

Thus blind anti-Communist propaganda is leading to serious outbreak of strife inside every village, which if unchecked, would dislocate village economy seriously in the countryside.

COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN

The Communists are working their hardest to check this new discord and win over all sections for a common front of struggle against Imperialism, and their agents, the village oppressors. Our rural constituency squads are moving everyday from village to village, explaining the Communist policy, removing people's fears and fighting local slanders.

During the Freedom Week alone (January 20 to January 27) 9 squads went round nearly 100 villages.

addressed village meetings, held three circle rallies and brought people for the main rally in Lakhisarai on the 26th. In Sheikhpura six rallies were held; the audience in each varying from 300 to 1,000. Three rallies with similar audiences were held in Bar-bigha. The Begusarai and Tetiabomber meetings that had been attacked, were 2,000 strong and were each preceded by vigorous campaigns in nearly a hundred villages in each case.

Thus altogether four to five hundred villages with a population of nearly half a million were covered during the Freedom Week in these two constituencies.

But large areas are still untouched where in the name of the Congress they are spreading discord faster than we can check; so the whole prospect is one of greater disunity and increased civic strife inside the village, unless honest Congressmen themselves wake up in time to put a stop to such suicidal tactics on the part of their leaders.

January 29.

Darjeeling Tea-Gardens Labour Seat

White Bosses' Conspiracy AGAINST COMMUNIST CANDIDATE

In our Election Supplement dated December 2, 1945, we published the story of how the white bosses of the Darjeeling Tea-gardens conspired with the police to get the Communist candidate, Ratanlal Brahman, arrested on a charge of dacoity! It was such an obvious frame-up and the people were so angry at it that finally the case against him had to be dropped by the Police.

FOILED in the attempt to lock up Ratanlal the bosses who are panicky at the prospect of having a genuine workers' representative in the Assembly, have now adopted the tactic of cutting him off from all contact with the voters. They had registered only 2,500 of the safest plantation workers as voters. They deprived over 5,000 of their right to vote. In spite of this, they are afraid that if Ratanlal is able to approach even the 'safe' voters' he would be able to win their support.

The plantation workers live in the tea gardens and in bustees close by. They have been cut off from the outside world for scores of years. The white bosses have been chhoti Hitlers able to do just what they pleased. They kept 'outsiders' from entering the plantations on the plea that they were private property. Anyone who enters the plantations without their permission is beaten and thrown out as a trespasser or punished.

So when Ratanlal wrote to them that he wished to approach the voters and asked for formal permission, everyone of the white planters refused. Some of the bustees, which are in fact 'slums', are not owned by the planters but by landlords who depend on the planters. All the planters and the landlords now conspired to keep Ratanlal out. One and all sent the reply that since the plantations and mohallas were 'private properties' no one had any right to enter them!

Election Officer Backs Bosses

The Darjeeling tea-plantations have been notorious for the autocracy of the white planters. The Government officials here are merely glorified servants of the planters. They act as the planters dictate. The plantation workers are looked upon as chattel by the bosses. It was therefore useless to approach them for redress.

The matter was, therefore taken

before Mr. R. A. Dutch, I.C.S., who is the officer-in-charge of elections to the Provincial Assembly. He is fully empowered to see that the elections are fairly conducted, that no undue influence and improper methods are used against any candidate. But that is only in theory. In fact, when the complaint was made against the plantation bosses, Mr. Dutch promptly pleaded helplessness, saying, "How can I compel them to allow any candidate to enter into their properties?"

Gift Of Labour Seat To Owners

If the bosses are allowed to have their own way, it means making a gift of the labour seat to them. They are setting up one of their dais to stand as Labour candidate. They would be able to terrurise the workers to vote for him. The *Buru Sahibs* in Calcutta are using their whole weight in official circles to see that Ratanlal is kept out.

Ratanlal and other Gurkha political workers have made strong representations to the Viceroy, to the Governor of Bengal and are also placing the whole iniquitous case before the Parliamentary Delegation.

The bosses are determined to keep Ratanlal out for they know it will be the death-knell of their autocracy if he contacts the voters. Ratanlal and the Communist Gurkha workers are equally determined and say, "We shall enter the bustees as of right, come what may." They will struggle to their last breath to assert this democratic right.

Every patriot to whatever Party he may belong must support this struggle. Every Nationalist paper must take up the issue as its own. Anti-Communist prejudices should not be allowed to cloud the real issue which is one of smashing British bossdom in one of their darkest fortresses in this country, the plantations, and asserting the people's democratic right.

- **Battle Begins Inside UNO**
- **Imperialists' Misfire On Iran**
- **Bevin Talks Like Curzon**

THE first meeting of the Security Council of UNO has shown the entire world that this is going to be the real international battleground for the struggle between progress and reaction.

Last week three issues came up for discussion before the Council:

FIRST, the situation in Northern Iran, arising out of the refusal of the Soviet to allow the Iranian Government to send more troops to the northern provinces.

SECONDLY, the situation in Greece, arising out of the presence of British troops in Greece.

THIRDLY, the situation in Indonesia.

Reuter's Version

Each one of these issues has been presented to our people by Reuter, British reaction's press agency, with plentiful detail and colour.

The discussion on Iran, we were told, was vitally necessary, had been brought up by the injured party, the Iranian Government, a 'small' power. The British, with their well-known love for the independence of small powers, welcomed this action, though the guilty party, the "imperialist-minded" Soviet was against discussion of the issue!

In contrast, the problems of Indonesia and Greece, we were told, had been merely brought up by the Soviet and Ukrainian delegates to create trouble for Britain; however, since they had been brought up, Britain, confident that it had done the right thing in these countries, would welcome a discussion of the situations.

This was the sort of nonsense that was dished out by the political commentators and diplomatic correspondents with whom Reuter is so well equipped.

But the dispatch of the *Hindustan Times*' special correspondent, given on this page, properly pricked this carefully worked-up propaganda bubble. The discussion at the Security Council itself showed clearly enough how much of this was truth, how much false.

Support For Iranian Democracy

On the Iranian issue, the stand of the Soviet was quite straightforward.

The differences between the Soviet and the Iranian Governments, explained M. Vyshinsky, the Soviet delegate, were under discussion between the two Governments and rightly the attempt to settle the differences should first be made there, not in the Security Council; neither Government was talking of war or armed action and even the wildest rumour-mongers could not say that the situation in N. Iran threatened world peace.

The Soviet delegate however did not stop with pointing this out; he also related that on the main point at issue—the refusal of the Soviet to allow the Iranian Government to send reinforcements to the northern provinces—they had a clear case.

The Iranian Government's local officials had terrorised the people and had been deposed by the democratically-elected representatives of the people, in spite of the fact that there were plenty of police and regular soldiers of the Central Government there.

Once this had occurred—"as a result of a genuine desire on the part of the Azerbaijanians (in N. Iran) to further their own aspirations"—the Soviet Government had naturally refused to allow passage to Iranian reinforcements whose entry would only have resulted in bloodshed and civil war.

After the Soviet delegate's speech, it became clear enough that the issue was not really one genuinely brought up by a democratic Iranian Government—but by Iranians who were acting at the call of their British paymasters.

For, as the Hindu correspondent commented on January 31:

"All present felt that the debate was really one between Mr. Bevin and M. Vyshinsky. Mr. Bevin seemed so agitated at times that he intervened and raised his voice to speak even before being called on by the Chairman."

In the end, however, even the British were forced to accept the Soviet view; and ultimately the Security Council unanimously agreed that the issue be put aside since discussions were going on between the Soviet and Iranian Governments.

Terror In Greece

THE debate on Greece took an entirely different turn. Everyone knows that the British suppressed the Greek resistance movement and put their own imperialist agents in power. Since then, the British have been the real rulers of Greece, and, as in our country and in every colony, they have relied on the most reactionary monarchists, many of them former agents of Hitler, to provide them with support.

The real nature of the situation in Greece was once more underlined only a week ago in

a U.P.I. dispatch of January 31.

"Greece," it ran, "is being reduced virtually to a British colony according to latest dispatches from Athens."

"In this connection an Athens newspaper reports that British advisers will be appointed to the Ministries of Finance, National Economy, Transport, Supply, Pub-

The Security Council

THE Security Council is the key organisation of UNO to keep the peace.

While the General Assembly is composed of all the members of UNO, the Security Council has only eleven members; at present Australia, Brazil, the Netherlands, Poland, Egypt and Mexico, apart from the permanent members (the USA, the USSR, the UK, France and China).

It is not the General Assembly but the Security Council that has the task of bringing about peaceful settlement of disputes and of organising action with respect to threats to or breaches of peace.

It has the power to call on all members of UNO to enforce partial or complete diplomatic or economic sanctions and to call on the armed forces of members of UNO in case of a threat to or a breach of peace.

It is assisted by a Military Staff Committee consisting of the Chiefs of Staff of the five permanent members.

Voting in it is by an affirmative vote of seven members; in matters other than matters of procedure, the seven votes must include the votes of the five permanent members.

Backing Greek, Indonesian Freedom-Struggles

SOVIET RALLIES WORLD OPINION THROUGH UNO

(The following is taken from the dispatch of the special correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*, dated Jan. 24.)

THE Soviet Union has given a real lead to the new world organisation on two vital questions and regained the moral leadership of the world. This is the considered reaction in progressive circles in London to the Russian action in bringing the problems of Greece and Indonesia before the UNO Security Council.

The British official quarters are, however, flabbergasted by Moscow's action and the British Cabinet has been holding repeated meetings to discuss the far-reaching move of the Soviet Union.

Britain's Varying Tactics

It is learned in UNO lobbies that when the Russians raised the problems of Greece and Indonesia the first reaction of the British Government was to ask the Security Council to dismiss the cases without a hearing on the grounds that they did not come within the scope of terms of the UNO charter.

In support of this fantastic contention the British Government argued that the British troops were in Greece and Indonesia with the consent of the Governments of both the countries and that those Gov-

ernments had not objected to the presence of British troops or to any action they had taken. As one British diplomat joyfully declared: "From a legal point of view Britain has a water-tight case."

Vyshinsky's Neat Rebuff To Bevin

DURING the debate on Iran inside the Security Council, there were several sharp exchanges between Bevin and Vyshinsky. Here is an account of one (given in the *Hindu* of February 1), which began with Bevin asking:

"As the most conciliatory person in the room, I would like to ask M. Vyshinsky one question. If we take out the words that the matter (re: Iran) shall remain on the agenda and later find the progress of negotiations not satisfactory can it be discussed by the Council?"

Vyshinsky replied: "The question is purely hypothetical. However, if the negotiations do not succeed for some reason, owing to the interference of hot-headed men or other cause (and those in the galleries gasped their admiration of this neat and effective rebuff) the answer emphatically is 'yes'."

He Works, Labour and Restoration, and adds:

"These advisers, together with missions for organisation of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Police will form the real Government."

The critical nature of the situation in Greece was particularly highlighted by the dismissal only last week of the Greek Foreign Minister, John Sofianopoulos.

Sofianopoulos, a leading liberal, has since written an article in the *News Chronicle* warning that "terrorism by responsible organisations and by state organs must cease." "The state machine," he goes on, "must be purged of all Fascists and reactionary elements who remain at their posts although they are remnants of both the dictatorship and enemy occupation."

The Soviet delegate in his speech put forward all these facts and many more, and demanded the withdrawal of British troops because, with their protection, the Greek Fascists were attempting to crush the democratic movement inside Greece itself and were uttering threats against the democratic movements in neighbouring countries—thus endangering peace.

Curzon & Chamberlain

To all these arguments—which it is obvious, even from Reuter's mangled dispatches, must have been supported by facts—Bevin replied with a speech, half-bombast, half-bluster, that recalled the most noisy imperial sabre-rattling of the heyday of anti-Sovietism, the early twenties.

The major part of his speech was devoted to a wild attack on "propaganda from Moscow and the Communist Party in every country in the world."

To this M. Vyshinsky answered sharply and clearly:

"I may say, that it is the opinion of the Soviet delegation that nothing worse could have been said than Mr. Bevin's declaration."

"When we heard those words spoken . . . all the Soviet delegation felt a cold breath of the unhappy past and we could think of the dark shadow which in the past worked not for good but for evil between our two countries."

"The song of Moscow propa-

ganda is an old song. "In 1921, Lord Curzon issued such charges and went so far as to make an ultimatum, but we were easily cleared and the whole plot of Lord Curzon (the then British Foreign Secretary) failed."

"In 1928-27, following the lead of Lord Curzon, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, then British Foreign Minister, sent a note to the Soviet Government on anti-British propaganda allegedly coming from Moscow."

Bevin's Bombast

After repudiating the charge that the Soviet accusation "of inhuman conditions and terror in Greece" was 'propaganda', Vyshinsky once more demanded the withdrawal of British troops.

Once more Bevin replied, more bombast and bluster; particularly comic was his pompous statement that:

"I believe I speak for the whole of the British Commonwealth when I say that no Prime Minister or Minister of External Affairs of anywhere in the greater part of the world for which we are responsible has ever given a thought of support to a single act that is calculated to disturb the peace of the world!"

Finally, after considerable discussion, a deadlock seemed inevitable, the British pressing for direct approval of the presence of their troops in Greece, the Soviet naturally refusing to agree to this but offering to accept the British statement on early withdrawal of its troops. And this is where the issue stands when we go to press (Wednesday, February 6).

Steps Forward

THE two debates in the UNO Security Council, however, show clearly enough the nature of the forces working in the world today. On one side, Bevin's Great Britain leading the reactionary bloc, using the old anti-Soviet slanders that have been mouthed by every imperialist and Fascist since the day the Soviet state was born; on the other, the Soviet, sharply defending the people's movement, and indicting imperialist manoeuvres.

And there is no doubt that the discussion on Indonesia will reveal the same, will help to mobilise world progressive opinion behind the Indonesian national movement.

For this is the real value of last week's discussions in the UNO Security Council. They have helped to focus the attention of the entire world on key issues that threaten to hold up democratic advance. They have thus helped towards rallying more and more people behind the demand for a change in Greece and Indonesia—which alone will force the British Government to change its policy and to withdraw in favour of Greek and Indonesian democracy.

Election Rallies In Tippera.

(Continued from Page 12.)

zemindars and the British and not against the League."

They looked at the microphone in Nilavar's hands with great curiosity and asked how much it cost. When he told them that it cost five hundred rupees and the money had come from the workers and peasants, like themselves, one of them said: "Do you know what Yakub Meah's enemies say? They say the Sarkar (Government) has given the talking machine to him". But how could the Sarkar give it to Barhe Meah who fights, and asks us to fight, the British all the time?" And laughing he added, "They are crazy people really. Do they think that they can befool us so easily?"

Indeed, Tippera's Muslim chasris cannot be fooled so easily for they are seasoned veterans of freedom's battle and it is not without good reason that they trust the Red Flag without reserve.

"RED FLAG TAUGHT YOU TO STAND UP TO ZEMINDARS AND THE BRITISH"

--"Carry Forward The Heritage Of 1857 And 1920s"--Says P. C. Joshi

From Nikhil Chakravarty

Feb. 1

Last week, P. C. JOSHI, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, addressed Communist election rallies in Tippera district, Bengal.

While attending such a rally at Barua village, 14 miles from Comilla, I saw a glimmer of the new awakening among Muslim humanity. Here and there in the heart of Muslim Bengal, one was able to see some of the finest fighters of our freedom movement. Since the days of the Khilafat movement, this district has been one of the most advanced political centres of Eastern Bengal and the Muslim peasants here have participated in their thousands in the freedom struggles.

MUSLIM kisans, once stirred by the Khilafat, continued their struggle against zemindari and mahajan oppression in the twenties and organised the Kisan Sabha under the Red Flag in the thirties. To-day one of their foremost leaders, MOHAMMAD YAKUB, hero of a hundred battles, idol of the kisans and the terror of the zemindars, is standing as a Communist candidate for the coming elections.

In the constituency, out of a population of two and a half lakhs the Muslims number over two lakhs, but such are the constitutional inequities that only 35 thousand of them enjoy the vote! We also learnt that the men who control the District Board had helped to keep down the number still further by frowning upon Muslim kisans enrolling as voters.

A powerful Kisan Sabha is an eyecore to them, particularly after the crushing defeat sustained by the zemindar and his men in the elections to the Union Board, which had been an uninterrupted monopoly of theirs for the last 20 years.

Opposed By Both League And Nationalist Muslims

YAKUB MEAH is facing a strange combination to-day. On the one side is Maulvi Wasimuddin the sitting Krishak Proja M.L.A., who until recently had worked with him in the Kisan Samity but now, backed by the Congress, is opposing him. On the other hand, the League candidate, claiming the monopoly of Muslim patriotism, is bent on fighting a man who, perhaps more than anybody else, has roused the patriotism of the Muslim chasis here.

Both the Leaguers and the anti-League Nationalist Muslims are using the same "arguments" against Yakub Meah. They rouse the most obscurantist sentiments calling the Communists anti-religious and agents of Russia and demanding the growth of a beard as the symbol of a good Mussalman!

Wasimuddin has begun a whisper campaign against him and is issuing ingenious leaflets slandering him. Although a respected old man and uncle-in-law of Yakub, he is reported to be spreading the vilest calumnies against the Communists.

League Goondagiri Against Red Flag

The League has taken to hoodliganism in fighting Yakub. On January 19th last, the Communists called a meeting at Chandgochal village. To disrupt it, Mustafa Ali of the League, announced a meeting at the same place and hour. Men of the locality, however, approached both saying that they would like to listen to both and got the Leaguers and the Communists to agree in writing to postpone the meeting to a future date when both would place their points of view in public and to promise that neither abuse nor violence would be used by one against the other.

But hardly had the kisans with the Red Flag started going back shouting the slogans, "Kisan Sabha ki Jai," "Zemindari partha dhwamsa ho" (Down with the Zamindari system) when a band of nearly five hundred men imported from the neighbouring district, pounced on them; in the scuffle many, including Yakub, were injured, some of them seriously.

This attack, in open violation of their signed agreement, disgusted the entire people of the area and the next day at another meeting in Perpati when 60 lathials arrived, the crowd got excited and it was only the intervention of Kisan Sabha volunteers which saved the situation.

As we reached a village, we came to learn about the widespread propaganda that the Leaguers had been carrying on against the Red Flag rally. In the neighbouring villages they had gone round spreading a rumour that five thousand armed lathials would be sent to break up the rally; at other places they campaigned that the Communists would get all Muslims into the Congress.

From eight on the day previous to the rally, the Leaguers sent bands of people to intercept Kisan processions that would be coming to attend the rally.

Rally Of 15,000 Muslim Kisans

But despite all these manoeuvres and terrorisation, kisans began to come in their thousands shouting slogans and carrying Red Flags. Young and old, grey-beards and kids came, tense with excitement, ready to resist anybody coming to break up their rally.

At 2 p.m., a huge kisan gathering of over 15,000 assembled by the side of a big tank. Yakub Meah first addressed them and said:

"From to-day begins our political battle. No longer is it merely a question of our demands for the amelioration of our lot, but it is now the battle for our freedom. This battle will not end with the election. To-day, we have come in thousands, but tomorrow as our battle progresses, we shall have to rally in lakhs."

As JOSHI rose to speak, the entire audience burst into applause. It is no exaggeration to say that perhaps no other non-Muslim leader in India can expect to get such a mighty ovation of so many thousands of Muslims.

JOSHI began:

"Your district has long fought the British and it is its Muslim kisans who have fought most in that battle. But to-day there is another kind of battle going on here; while in other districts, Hindus and Muslims are fighting, here Muslims are fighting among themselves."

We Accept The People As Our Judge

Referring to slanders against the Communists, Joshi said: "Our Congress brothers call us dala of the British, while the League

brothers call us dala of the Congress. We say, you both call a panchayat of the village and let it decide about us.

"It is not necessary for me to introduce our Party to you. The Lal Jhanda was born in your own homes, among your brothers, sharing your joys and sorrows, fighting with you for your life and living. But today Yakub whom you call Barhe Meah (big brother) is being called a dalal.

"But you know who has taught you to stand up to the zemindars and the British, who has made you Admi (men) out of Ghulams (slaves). To call him a dalal today is to forget your own battle of the last twenty-five years. We don't fight slander by slander. We accept the janata (people) as our judge."

Explaining how azadi is necessary today for our daily existence, Joshi referred to the havoc that the three pillars of the British,—the zemindar, the mahajan and the beopari—have wrought inside the villages:

"These three bishabari keshas (poison trees) were not there in our villages before the British came. Unless you can root out these three, your rozana (daily existence) is impossible. Let all of us in the village get together and root out these three."

Patriotism No Monopoly Of Any Single Party

As Joshi went on elucidating the Communist programme for building up free villages, rid of the oppression of the zemindar, the mahajan and the black-marketeer, faces beamed with hope as they listened with attention to every detail.

"But freedom of the village cannot be retained unless the country too is freed. And it is the same course that will bring the freedom of the country. We are anti-zemindari and anti-thekedari (monopoly-contract). If anybody claims thekedari of deshprem (patriotism) we are against that too. When our entire people is restless for freedom, for any single party to claim thekedari of deshprem is to clamp thekedari on the kisan's freedom in the village.

"Our freedom movement cannot be the monopoly of any Party or group however great it may be, for it began before these parties were born. Our war against the British began the very day they came and grabbed our land.

Common Man Can Unite

"And today our parties fight among themselves. We say that freedom cannot come to a country where brother parties fight each other; it is as disastrous as 'chasis' fighting among themselves instead of together fighting the zemindar.

"Our leaders have lost faith in unity. But we say, it is the people at the top—the zemindar and the majutdar (hoarder)—who cannot come together but fight among themselves. It is the people at the bottom who come together to fight the zemindar and majutdar.

"So in our country, our common people, both Hindus and Muslims, must unite to fight the British, our biggest zemindar and biggest majutdar.

Mutual Justice As Between Hindus And Muslims

"We tell the Congress. We stand by you in your demand for Swaraj from the British but at the same time we want you to grant Swaraj to every people in India." The Congress says, "First fight for azadi from the British and then your Swaraj will come." But we point out that unless the different peoples of India are definitely assured about their future in a free India, our freedom's battle will be weakened.

"We tell our League brothers: 'Our Party is the only party that supports the Muslim demand for Pakistan and we have faced slander and abuse for doing so. We have, therefore, a

right to speak some plain truth to our Muslim brothers. We support the just demands of Muslims to form their own state wherever they are in a majority. But we do not support the League leaders when they demand six provinces which include the lands of the Assamese and the Sikhs, where the Muslims can by no means claim a majority.

"You cannot demand justice for yourselves and in the same breath try to perpetuate injustice against your brothers. This is not the mentality of free men but of a zemindar who wants to grab other peoples' land and keep them under his ghulam.

"And we have full confidence in the sense of justice of the Muslim people that they will not want to make such unjust demands. Justice and freedom go hand in hand. If we can concede justice to each other, only then can we all together win justice from the British."

It is remarkable how the entire Muslim audience listened with attention to these criticisms of the League stand. It will be a lesson for many of our Congress leaders to realise that if you concede justice to the Muslim cause, the Muslims are bound to reciprocate.

Heritage Of Hindu-Muslim Unity

Joshi then attacked those who despair of unity:

"Once in 1857 our forefathers, both Hindus and Muslims, joined hands and fought the British. Again in 1930 our fathers, and many of our leaders among you, fought—Hindus and Muslims together—against the British.

"Today when our whole people hate the British, as never before, it is the Communist Party which alone calls for such joint struggles. The heritage of those glorious epochs is now being borne by us and we want our people to fight the coming freedom battle with justice as their banner and with the fervour of a jihad of our Muslim brothers and a dharma-yuddha of our Hindu brothers."

Referring to the Communist candidate, Joshi said:

"It is not for me to introduce Yakub Meah to you; he is your own man who has fought for and with you. My Hindu kisan bhais cannot vote for him because of the laws of the British, but as they will campaign for Yakub and demonstrate their stand for justice to the Muslims, they will instill into the minds of their Muslim brothers a sense of confidence in the Hindus which the bickerings of to-day are fast destroying."

WEEK IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 2.)

gress Hindi Daily of the U.P. "First Fortness of Pakistan to be blown up in Sind," says Vande Mataram, Gujarati pro-Congress daily.

It is significant that as far back as January 14, Sardar Patel in his widely-publicised speech at Ahmedabad had declared:

"The Provincial elections will show in how many of the 11 Provinces League Ministry can be formed. There is no power in the Centre. The Congress will again form Ministries in the Provinces. We will then see where Pakistan stands."

It is clear from all this that the Congress leadership and Congressmen are concentrating upon the formation of anti-League Ministries in Muslim majority Provinces primarily as a weapon to fight the just demand for the right of complete self-determination for areas where the Muslims are in a majority.

The argument is: if by any Congress Coalition with other groups, League Ministries are rendered impossible in the Muslim majority Provinces, how can the League say it represents a majority of the people of those Provinces, and raise the demand for their self-determination in the Constitution-Making Body?

What is conveniently forgotten in the case of Sind already is the democratic verdict of the people as shown by the results of the elections. Out of 57 seats won by the patriotic parties, at least 31 have been won by candidates who stand for the complete right of self-determination (including the Sved Group which also, it is well-known, firmly stands by the Pakistan demand).

The same kind of situation clearly enough is going to be repeated in the other Muslim majority Provinces also.

Do Not Let Goondagiri Poison Village Life

Joshi then appealed to the village elders not to allow goondagiri to pollute the life of the village.

"It does not matter under what name the poison of hatred is spread; whether under the name of 'Inqilab', 'Swadhinata' or 'Islam'. Once that poison is let in, the battle for freedom will be lost."

He appealed to the kisan youth to come forward and become Yakub's volunteers.

"It is only by service to the cause of justice, for which Yakub and his Party stand, that young men like us can grow from chasis' sons into leaders of your people."

Yakub Speaks: Who Are Opponents Of Red Flag?

Yakub, the Red Flag candidate himself, then spoke.

"People who are opposing us today are the same people who from the same places attacked me twenty years ago when I first stood up against zemindari oppression. It was they again who fought us when we were fighting the mahajans and who later became black-marketeers. Under whatever banner they may come now, they have always helped the enemies of the poor, whether it is the zemindar, mahajan, majutdar or the Police.

"It is not for me to say that I should stand as your candidate and my Party is not such that it forces its choice on people. It is for you to decide if I should stand for election."

And amidst deafening cries of "Allah-ho-Akbar", the whole audience rose to its feet to greet Yakub, their Barhe Meah, as their own candidate for the coming election.

In Village Teashop: Chat With Muslim Peasants

After the meeting myself and Nilavar, our milkman, were sitting in the village teashop when groups of Muslim peasants came in. They had come to hear their own leader from as far away as twenty miles. I asked them if they supported Yakub. "Of course, whom else can we support but our Barhe Meah?" "But what about the League?" "Our Barhe Meah is not against the League. He is fighting for us all against the (Continued on Page 11, Col. 5.)