

KASHMIR'S POPULAR MINISTER FORCED TO RESIGN

Struggle For People's Representation In Constituent Assembly

The Maharaja of Kashmir will soon send his representatives to the Constitution-making Body made for us by the British.

As a first preparation for this, he and his Prime Minister KAK have ended the so-called "dyarchy" which has prevailed in Kashmir for the last 18 months. This "dyarchy" meant that the Kashmir National Conference (the people's organisation led by SHEIKH MOHAMMAD ABDULLA) had a Minister in the Maharaja's Cabinet. But "dyarchy" has come to an end. The Maharaja has cleared the decks for action.

Plans For Repression

I understand that leading police and military officials made a tour of the city of Srinagar in order to consolidate their plans for "protecting" the city in case of an uprising.

Ordinance Raj prevails all over the State and meetings and political activity are banned in many districts.

The Khidmat (organ of the National Conference) reports that it expects that action will be taken against it under the Defence Rules.

The Kashmir Government has ordered its Publicity Officer, Pandit SHANKAR LAL KAUL, to proceed immediately to Lahore, Delhi, Bombay and Allahabad "with a view to establishing contacts with editors of important newspapers and Press Correspondents there."

Kaul's mission is to whip up a slander campaign against the National Conference, to isolate it from the rest of the national movement and then to pave the way for repression inside the State.

The Maharaja and Prime Minister Kak count for continued British support on the "strategic importance" of Kashmir to the British because of "the menace of Russia" which is just across its borders.

It is freely rumoured that the Cabinet Mission's visit to Kashmir was not all pleasure. Discussions are said to have taken place regarding the continued "protection" by the British of the Gilgit area. In return for "permission" to defend India, the Maharaja will secure the assistance of British troops to defend his gadi.

All these plans have been made following the resignation of the National Conference's representative from the Maharaja's Cabinet.

Proclamation Of "Dyarchy"

In October 1944, the Maharaja issued a proclamation in which he indicated his willingness to "associate non-official members of the Legislature" with the tasks of administration.

The National Conference accepted the offer, because, to use Sheikh Abdulla's words, "there was an opportunity to come forward and assist in steering the boat of the State at a time when the lives of our people are storm-tossed through the distressing problems of poverty, hunger and slavery."

The Conference nominated MIRZA MOHAMMAD AFZAL BEG, one of its most important leaders, to be its representative in the Ministry.

Of course, from the very start, the Maharaja and his satellites tried to make Mr. Beg a mere figurehead. They felt they had got the National Conference into their net and they were determined not to allow the new popular Minister the slightest opportunity to change the oppressive structure of the State.

Mr. Beg was given charge of the Public Works Department and Municipalities—but not of the Panchayats. He was thus deliberately excluded from every vital department which would directly link him with the people.

Then he was allotted no Secretariat directly responsible to him. Nothing could be more sharply revealing of the real attitude of the Maharaja than this. Repeatedly Beg Sahib wrote to the Prime Minister, but failed to get anything done.

A Municipal Act, which aimed at democratising the municipalities was drafted by the new Minister. But the Ministry put it into cold storage and refused to put it through.

Ordinance Raj

On top of everything else, a regime of brutal repression

through ordinances throttling the basic civil liberties of the people was imposed without the knowledge of Mirza Mohammad Afzal Beg.

What could be more fantastic than this that Ordinance Raj was imposed in the Minister's own constituency without his knowledge—and he had no power to end it.

And Mr. Beg was expected to vote for all these autocratic measures of the Government, and, despite previous assurances, was refused the right to vote according to his own free will. This made his position practically impossible.

"Dyarchy" Ends

Already last August, at the Annual Session of the National Conference at Sopore, delegates from all over the State resentfully complained of the continued repression, corruption, slavery and asked angrily:

"Of what use is it to the National Conference to have a Minister in the Cabinet, if these things continue?"

With the ending of the war and the prospect of constitutional changes in India, the Maharaja and his new Prime Minister, R. C. Kak grew more insolent and did everything in their power to get Mr. Beg out of the Cabinet, in order to pave the way for an attack on the National Conference.

After an unnecessarily long three months' correspondence between Mr. Beg and Prime Minister Kak, the National Conference was forced to withdraw its nominee from the Cabinet. Thus, Kak and his officials succeeded in ending the so-called "dyarchy".

But they failed to realise that Mr. Beg's resignation would strengthen and not weaken the Kashmiris in their battle against the Maharaja.

People Prepare For Struggle

The news of the resignation was received everywhere in Kashmir with joy.

"Now the time has come for the last big effort"—this was what everybody said.

Mr. Beg in his first public speech after his resignation, told his electors:

"Dyarchy has miserably failed... The only solution now lies in the achievement of full

responsible government in the form of "NEW KASHMIR" (the blue print for a new democratic people's Kashmir, adopted by the National Conference as its goal)... To achieve this, a united struggle of the people, bigger than any fought so far and far more costly in sacrifice is inevitable."

On April 30, at a reception for Mr. Beg organised by the various trade unions of Srinagar, KHAWAJA GHULAM MOHIUDDIN (President of the Kashmir Masdoor Union and one of the most important of Sheikh Abdulla's lieutenants) declared:

"The working-class of Kashmir is prepared to give a last-ditch battle to the present irresponsible regime."

On May 8, Sheikh Abdulla, addressing a mammoth gathering of seventy thousand at Srinagar said:

"Kashmir is prepared for the struggle for the liberation not only of Kashmir but of all States' peoples."

The Kashmir national movement is determined that the people shall be represented in the Constitution-making Body and not the British-backed Maharaja. On the outcome of the battle for this representation and similar battles in other States hangs not only the future of the States but of the whole Constitution-making Body—that is, of the whole of India.

IN RAJPUTANA

WHERE AUGUST TERROR STILL CONTINUES

Record Of Five Months' Repression

[Below we give a chronological chart for the last five months, of attacks made on the popular movements in the various States of Rajputana.

The British award declares States such as these "independent" and provides for their rulers to sit with our popular representatives in the Constitution-making Body. The facts given here tell vividly the way patriots suffer under their RAJ. It is not difficult to see what role these autocrats will play in the Constitution-making Body. It is time the national movement inscribed firmly and determinedly on its banners the slogan: "Princes Quit". The days of negotiations and diplomatic talks with these hated parasites must end—now and forthwith.—EDITOR.]

January, 1946

BIKANER: Arrest of prominent kisan leader, CHOWDHRY HANUMAN SINGH.

JAIPUR: SHREE RAGHUWAR DAYAL, leader of the Bikaner Praja-Parishad, externed.

Several peasants arrested in Shekhavati.

Arrest of PANDIT TARKESHWAR SHARMA, General Secretary of the Shekhavati District Praja Mandal and member of the Representative Assembly.

February, 1946

MEWAR: Arrest of SHREE MOTI LAL TEJAWAT, the renowned leader of Bhils and the Praja-mandal.

Suspension of a teacher for reciting a poem entitled "Jai Hind."

UDAIPUR: Starving people stoned and lathi-charged.

Vidya-Bhawan and Hindi Vidyaapeeth asked to submit an explanation for celebrating Subhas Day and Independence Day.

ALWAR: Thirteen Praja-mandal workers arrested.

JAIPUR: Arrest of SHREE VIDYA DHAR KULHARI, member of the Praja-mandal Committee.

Eight State-prisoners on hunger-strike in protest against ill-treatment.

JODHPUR: SHREE DAMODAR RAM, Assistant Secretary of the Kisan Sabha and seven others arrested on the framed-up charge of looting a police station.

March, 1946

BANSVADA: Starving people

lathi-charged. All public workers rounded up. Curfew imposed.

BHARATPUR: SHREE JUGAL KISHORE CHATURVEDI, Praja-mandal leader, arrested.

BIKANER: Arrest of PUROHIT MULA RAM and CHOWDHRY GANPAT SINGH in Dudhakhara.

SWAMI KARMANAND and CHOWDHRY REKHA RAM arrested and 150 peasants detained. Peasant leaders beaten in jail.

Kisan leaders, CHOWDHRY HANUMAN SINGH and NARSA RAM abused and arrested, and their women-folk insulted and searched.

KISHORE-GARH: One hundred and eighty-five workers of Maharaja Mill turned out on the ground of putting up demands for bonus. The Dewan refused to give them a hearing.

April, 1946

JAISALMER: Murder of SHREE SAGAR MAL GOPE on April 4. Condolence meeting disallowed.

SEHKAR: Two kisans killed by the Jagirdar of Bathot's men.

ALWAR: Terrific repression and firing on Meo' kisans. Several deaths and many wounded.

The popularly elected Chairman of the Municipal Board replaced by a Magistrate.

MARWAR (SIROHI): Lok-Parishad workers beaten up by jagirdar's men and police. Procession stoned and fired at. Prominent leader SHREE PHOOL CHAND BANKAD wounded.

UDAIPUR: Over 100 clerks arrested in connection with a

clerk's strike.

JAIPUR: Labour leaders SHREE RADHA VALIABH and MUNSHI GHAFFAR ALI arrested. Later SHREE DURGA LAL BIJLIVALA and ZABEER HUSSAIN SAUDAGAR were also taken into custody.

BIKANER: CHOWDHRY REKHA RAM, the peasant leader, beaten while in detention.

To crush people's movement military posted at every railway station.

A detachment of military police with two machine-guns and rifles brought to Hamirbas, Tehsil Rajgarh. CHOWDHRY LAL CHAND beaten till he became unconscious.

DUNGARPUR: Supporters of Praja-mandal threatened that if they do not desist, 'Bhils' will be summoned to rape their women.

Arrests of SHREE BHOGILAL PANDYA, SHIV LAL KORDIA, KURI CHAND JAIN, etc. Twenty Bhil leaders taken into custody. Section 144 enforced for two months.

Two young men badly beaten by the servants of a Gasetted Officer.

MEWAR: Under the plea of impending food crisis, the Praja-mandal Conference which was to have been inaugurated by BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD, banned.

KISHANGARH: GOPAL SINGH CHAUHAN, worker (of the Maharaja Mills) on strike arrested under Section 107.

JODHPUR: Authorities and jagirdar threaten kisans with arrests.

May, 1946

DUNGARPUR: May Day meeting lathi-charged by the police and the military. Over 80 wounded, 11 very seriously.

SHREE HARI DEV JOSHI and GAURI SHANKAR UPADHYAYA, arrested and then externed. Military posted at State boundaries.

BIKANER: Arrest of CHOWDHRY KUMBHA RAM.



A Kashmiri peasant. Firm supporter of the National Conference

PROVINCE-WIDE ARRESTS

Police Torture To Extort "Confessions"

Dacoity Charge Ends In Fiasco

Exactly three days before the elections were to take place in Chandur (Central Provinces), the Communist candidate DIGHADE's forty leading workers were arrested.

DIGHADE'S opponent was the Congress candidate KOCHARMAL, a Marwari usurer-landlord, who visited his constituency seldom if ever, and then only to collect his dues. Dighade, a peasant himself, led a strong Kisan Sabha, with a ten-thousand membership, and a proud record of successful battles against the black-marketeers.

The Communist election campaign exposing the black-marketeers and hoarders, who were hiding behind the name of the Congress in this constituency, met with very great response.

Success Of Cultural Squad

In particular, the Communist cultural squad which had gone from Bombay to help Dighade's campaign, with its popular political plays and songs, was winning supporters rapidly for the Red Flag.

Alarmed at the success of the Communist campaign and with only a few days left for the polling, Kocharmal's supporters met and decided upon a plan of action.

On March 14th, one MANEK-LAL, a Marwari at Dadhi Padhi, had been murdered and his shop looted. All his relatives were supporters of Kocharmal. His nephew BHAGIRATH offered now to blow up Dighade's entire work.

And he did. On March 22, the police arrested 25 members of the Communist cultural squad on suspicion of being connected with the dacoity.

This was followed by more arrests, raids, searches all over the Province in an effort "to collect evidence."

Simultaneously with the police raids, Kocharmal's supporters raced up and down the constituency yelling: "Do not vote for the Red Flag—or you will be arrested like them. Do not vote for dacoits and murderers."

Kocharmal thus won the election.

But it was not so easy to carry through the scandalous frame-up. For 42 days they kept the Communists in jail, subjected them to all manner of torture and indignities but were forced at last to drop the case—for lack of evidence.

Police Torture

The story of their torture inside the police lock-ups demands an immediate enquiry. We publish a few extracts from the diary of one of the accused which give a brief glimpse of what each one of the arrested Communists had to undergo each day of their detention.

Stripped of their clothes, beaten unconscious, thrown into solitary confinement, not allowed to sleep, cramped like sardines into small unhygienic cells—all this they went through. At Amraoti four of them, harassed by the police, were forced to resort to hunger strike to win elementary human treatment.

Nothing shows up better the whole frame-up than the so-called "identification parade."

On the night of the 24th the police Munshi (clerk) took down the description of the 'Pathani' sandals they wore. Accidentally they were of a uniform type, the type Bombayites wear. He also took away all their shirt buttons!

The meaning of this became clear the next day when the 'under-trials' were taken out for "identification parade." NA-

RAYANDAS, brother of Manek-lal, the Marwari who was murdered at Dadhi Padhi on 14th March, 'identified' all the accused by looking only at their sandals. Throughout he never even once looked up to their faces.

Only LAZARUS had a different type of sandals. So care was taken to put him second in the line. Accidentally when he changed his position, a constable pulled him up and showed him into his original place. No one else was treated like this! And, of course, Lazarus was then 'identified'!

Another person 'identified' them because they had no shirt buttons. He looked only at the shirt buttons and picked up his men. DHONDIRAM, the drummer of the troupe, by mere chance had his arms crossed on the chest at the time and he escaped "identification!"

Raids On Offices And Houses

A frame-up could not have been more crude!

Not satisfied with harassing the "under trials," the police went all out in their raids and searches of Party offices and houses of Party members and sympathisers at Nagpur, Badnera, Amraoti, etc., an arc of about 125 miles. They kept this on for about 10 days.

Such was their zeal that they searched the houses of not only Communists but even NANA SAMBLE, a member of the Badnera Municipality and the Town Congress Committee, (he was also arrested) and of GOVIND-RAO SAMBLE, President of the Town Congress Committee.

They also harassed over 100 Kisan Sabha workers at various places.

An obviously shame-faced frame-up the police, strangely enough, were encouraged in it by Mr. AMBARDEKAR, the local first-class Magistrate. He went on granting them remand after remand, without even once questioning the need for it.

But when by about April 26th, the under-trials applied for bail, he bluntly rejected it. His reason was, "From my memory I can state that there is evidence against every one of them." A week later the police had to withdraw the case "for want of evidence."

When an application was made for bail to the Sessions Judge, he demanded the case diary. The Police "regretted their inability to produce it" on the plea that AZAM KHAN who wrote it "had lost his father and left the city taking the diary along."

Case Withdrawn

Disgusted at this the Sessions Judge ordered, "I am taking up the case on the 4th. And I must have the case diary then. I am not going to tolerate this flirting with the liberties of educated people."

On May 4th before he could take up the case, the police withdrew it.

The frame-up was proved to the hilt, if proof were at all needed.

And yet the biggest Congress leader Sjt. BRIJLAL BIYANI, President of the Berar Provincial Congress Committee, just would not even refer to this atrocity, to say nothing of condemning it in his speeches.

Indeed, his paper Matrubhoomal at one stage went so far as to describe B. N. MUKERJEE (Communist leader of the C.P.) as an absconder. This was a

crude hint, for the law had not declared him one. Unfortunately for Matrubhoomal the hint was not accepted!

But Biyani and Matrubhoomal stood alone in their campaign.

The Badnera Municipality adjourned for a day in protest against the arrests. Mr. GUPTA, President of the Nagpur Town Congress Committee, and Mr. FAROOQUI, President of the Nagpur Muslim League, sharply condemned these arrests as 'interference in election work.'

Press Exposed Frame-Up

Taran Bharat and Uday two local nationalist dailies, launched a vigorous campaign exposing the frame-up.

The Communist Party issued handbills and held mass meetings condemning it.

When the new Congress Ministry was sworn in, responsible Congress leaders took up the matter. The Communist Party appealed to the Ministry. Popular indignation was mounting demanding the withdrawal of the case. The Ministry intervened.

On May 4th, 6,000 Amraoti citizens gave a rousing reception to these 19 men who had fought the police terror so bravely. The meeting demanded an open inquiry into the frame-up. The daily Uday has supported this demand.

But release is not enough! The popular Ministry must order an inquiry and bring the guilty to book. That alone can end the legacy of the Section 93 regime in the Province.

"WHAT I UNDERWENT IN THE LOCK-UP"

--Kisan Worker's Diary

[Below we print a few extracts from the diary of V. NAYAK CHAVAN, a Kisan Sabha worker and tailor by profession. He was the first to be arrested "on suspicion" in this frame-up and was detained for 42 days. The police did their worst to make him an approver, but failed. —EDITOR].

22nd March

Called to the Chandur Police Station and arrested....

23rd March

I was handcuffed, put up in a solitary cell. Four constables stood guard over my cell, day and night.

25th March

"Identification Parade" at 5 p.m. I was 'identified'. Night 10 o'clock. Kazi, Chitnis, Azim Khan and a clerk present. Questioning for an hour.

Then I was taken to my usual room and made to stand naked facing the wall. Kazi administered electric shocks with the help of the table lamp. I had had no food for two or three days. Forced sleeplessness added to it. I was already feeling exhausted. The shocks made me swoon.

The clerk got me some water and I lay down for about half an hour. Then I was made to stand up again for an hour. In the end they left, ordering: "Day or night, he is not to be allowed to sleep."

26th March

I was given no food during the day. The officers came at 10 p.m. with some mutton and wine. I refused to touch them. When they persisted I ate a little bread with mutton. In the end they forced some wine down my throat....

They would not allow me to sleep. At 2 a.m. after we had returned from the D.S.P.'s bungalow, they shoved me into a car. We were taken to

Amraoti via Tiwasa, Nimbhora, Chandur, etc., a distance of about 50 miles. In the car I was made to sleep below the seat, handcuffed.

29th March

Circle Inspector Kamaldas Singh had a cot put up in my room and would talk the whole day: "Even men like Dr. Khare and Aney joined the Govt. Mahatma Gandhi is a spy of the Government. It was he who asked the Government to hang Bha-gat Singh. Join the C.I.D. You will rise very fast. We shall get you Rs. 100 p.m. from the Sbatji at Dadhi Padhi."

This continued till 3rd April.

6th April

Constables told me: "We shall take you to court today only on condition that you repeat these just what we tell you, and also if you tell the Magistrate that you will not put up any legal defence. Or else we shall tell him that you have refused to come to court and shall show him your statement."

At 11 p.m. Kamal Das, Kazi, Azim Khan and Chitube came in. I was pulled out of bed. They made me naked and forced me to stand facing the wall—"If you again dare to repeat such stupid stuff in the court (he had complained against harassment by police—Ed.) we shall murder you here and tell the Magistrate that you escaped from the lock-up." I stood naked in that condition for about three or four hours.

NO BAIL OR TRIAL FOR 'VICTORY DAY' PRISONERS IN DELHI

Gross Ill-Treatment In Jail

From Y. D. Sharma.

Delhi, May 12.

In Delhi, right under the nose of the Cabinet Mission, a regime of terror has been let loose against all political activity. Delhi is ruled by an autocratic Chief Commissioner, and there is no popular Ministry here as in other Provinces. What happens in Delhi is a fairly good indication of what British rule still means.

WE have already reported the savage repression which followed the Anti-Victory Day demonstrations. To this day, arrests under the Defence of India Rules continue for alleged participation in the demonstrations.

The latest victims are four Communists—SHAKIL AHMED, member of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party and President of the Bus Workers' Union; KALI CHARAN VED, President of the Textile Mazdoor Sabha; AMAR SINGH and HARBANDHU SAMAJDAR, both prominent trade unionists.

Vindictive Treatment

The trial of six leading Communists, arrested under Section 38 D.I.R. for anti-Victory Day demonstrations, has not yet begun and the Crown continues to oppose bail.

Thus for 10 weeks these Communists have been in jail for nothing. The bureaucracy neither begins their trial nor does it allow them release on bail.

The cases of other Communists are also being prolonged unduly and bail refused in the meantime. Even where prosecution cases have been smashed or prosecution witnesses have failed to identify the accused, they are not released on bail.

In the case of FAROOQI (Secretary of the Provincial Com-

RASHID DAY ACCUSED SENTENCED

DELHI, 13th May, 1946.

THE Dist. Magistrate of Delhi today convicted 19 Muslim League and two Communist leaders under Section 56 of the D.I.R. for taking out a procession on February 11 to protest against the sentence by court martial on Capt. ABDUL RASHID of the INA.

The accused were sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 150/- or in default to undergo imprisonment for six weeks. All the accused paid the fine except ANIS HASHMI, a former General Secretary of the Provincial Muslim League, and MOHAMMED YAMIN and RAMCHANDRA SHARMA, both members of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party.

Several other young League workers refused to pay the fine but were prevailed upon by moderate League leaders who paid it on their behalf.

Anis Hashmi alone stood firm and refused.

(Communist Party) the police failed to produce a single independent witness and even stock police witnesses contradicted each other. Yet he has been refused

bail. The bureaucracy's game is to keep these Communists in prison as long as possible, even though the police may ultimately fail to prove their charges against them.

The treatment meted out to them is most callous.

In jail, they are not classed as political prisoners, but are treated as ordinary criminals, although they have been arrested for political offences.

Prominent trade union leaders are handcuffed.

In the meanwhile leading Nationalist papers like the Hindustan Times are completely silent over this ill-treatment of politicals.

As a last resort, the prisoners have given notice to the Government that if they are not treated as politicals, they will resort to hunger strike. When the Additional District Magistrate visited the prison recently, he abused several leading trade union leaders and called them goondas.

When some of them strongly protested, he sent them to solitary confinement.

It was only when other prisoners went on hunger strike in protest, that BAWA RAMCHANDER and another prisoner were taken out of solitary confinement.

And it is this Magistrate or his subordinates who are trying these Communists.

On May Day, mass rallies of textile, railway, tram, Central P.W.D., hotel and Electric Power House workers, and others condemned the repressive policy of the Delhi administration and demanded the release of all political prisoners and the restoration of Civil Liberties.

POLICE STILL BOSS PUNJAB

Congress Ministers Yield On Every Issue

Price Of Coalition With Unionists

From Our Correspondent

"There is no truth in the rumour that there is any hitch between the Ministers. We are all pulling on well," said Mr. BHIMSEN SACHHAR, Congress Finance Minister in the Punjab Coalition Government, at a Press Conference on the eve of his departure to Simla, Punjab's summer capital.

"We discussed with the Congress President, ways and means to reconcile the different outlooks of the parties constituting the Punjab Coalition and for coming to some understanding," said the second Congress Minister, CHOUDHRI LAHRI SINGH at Simla on the 15th. This declaration was made after the Congress Ministers accompanied by Premier Khizar and the Akali Minister, BALDEV SINGH, had had a long meeting with Maulana AZAD.

THESE two contradictory statements followed a strong rumour that the Punjab Ministry was in the melting pot. Even local pro-Congress dailies and many prominent Congressmen gave free currency to this rumour. League circles took it up and started making opportunist approaches to the Unionists and the Akalis.

"Congress is out to swallow the Akalis. Let them pause and think", was the advice given in the Civil and Military Gazette by "ML".

"Sachhar has become a super-premier in the Punjab and Khizar is making surrender after surrender to the Hindu Congress," wrote the League daily Eastern Times.

Not Compromise But Surrender

But what happened actually? I understand that there has been no occasion yet for the actual breaking up of the Ministry. In the words of a prominent Congress M.L.A., "No Party constituting the Coalition can afford to break at this stage. We are strange bed-fellows and have developed strange comradeship."

Hitches there have been many and differences have arisen almost on every issue. But they have "reconciled" and the net result has been that the Congress Party has not been able to make the Ministry implement even a single item of its Election Manifesto.

One of the Provincial Congress leaders told me, "In the name of reconciling our differences we have been surrendering to the worst elements in the Province. Under the cover of the name of the Congress, the bureaucracy is doing whatever it likes. The Congress is in power only in name."

The other day I was talking to a member of the Unionist Party Secretariat. He was very pleased with the functioning of the Ministry and said,

"In the beginning the Congress Ministers tried to move too fast. This made the officials panicky. But Congressmen are very accommodating. When the Premier pointed it out to the Congress Ministers they realised their mistake and retraced their earlier steps."

He then added with a self-confident smile, "After all the Congress here is inexperienced in matters of administration."

Record Of Coalition Ministry

What has been the record of the Ministry? How has it functioned since its formation two months ago?

● Orders under Section 144 continue in Lahore, Amritsar, and Multan. The order which was promulgated in Lahore following the formation of the Coalition Ministry has so far been extended thrice, its last extension for another month was on May 14th. There

Punjab jails." But facts speak otherwise.

The editor of the Hindi Milap in a signed article in his paper reveals, that there are still about two dozen politicals confined in various jails of the Province.

They include RAM SWARUP and two others who were sentenced to seven years in connection with the August movement. They are still serving their terms in the Multan jail.

I understand that the question of the release of prisoners was discussed in a Cabinet meeting following the resolution of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee. But Khizar strongly objected to their release as "they were involved in violence."

The Congress Ministers had to surrender to Khizar and they are still rotting in jail.

New Arrests

Prosecutions have been launched against several political workers since the formation of the Ministry. BALRAJ MEHTA, Secretary of the Punjab Students' Federation, and YUSUF, a Socialist worker, are being prosecuted under the Defence Rules.

More than a hundred Communists, Trade Union and Kisan Sabha workers were arrested during this period. Three Communists are being prosecuted following their arrest while selling People's Age.

Above all, there is BIBI AMAR KAUR, sister of Bhagat Singh, who was recently sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Her only crime is that she made a speech against Minister Baldev Singh and for the Congress candidate who opposed him, at the time of the Provincial elections, in Baldev Singh's constituency.

This was too much for the Akali Minister to tolerate. While some cases against politicals

were withdrawn following the assumption of office by the Congress, Government refused to release her.

Congress Committees took it up and hundreds of resolutions demanding her release were sent to the Ministry. But the Government remained adamant. She was not even granted bail.

I understand there was a heated Cabinet meeting over this case. But the Akali Minister refused to show any "mercy" to her. The Congress Ministers had to surrender once again. Referring to it, a Congress M.L.A. told me bitterly:

"The whole thing is becoming intolerable. We have been placed in the worst position. We can neither open our lips nor can we afford to sit tight."

Harassment Of Kisans

● Police Raj continues in the Province. Stories of harassment of village kisans by police officials keep pouring in. The new Government made no difference to them. The vigilance of the C.I.D. has not decreased but is on the increase. Besides others, strict watch is kept on the released INA personnel.

Wherever workers go on strike the police sides with the owners and even makes lathi-charges on peaceful workers. Such cases have already taken place at Batanagar, Lyallpur, Okara and in Lahore on railway workers.

The Government has taken no notice of these uncalled for police atrocities.

● The securities of newspapers forfeited by the previous Ministry have not yet been refunded in spite of the Government's declaration to that effect.

Corruption

● Nepotism and corruption continue unchecked in the Civil Supplies and other departments. Any kisan of the Punjab will tell you how difficult it is for him to get cloth, sugar, kerosene or other daily needs.

Even the Finance Minister in an open speech had to describe

the Civil Supplies Department as the most corrupt and inefficient.

Addressing a meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce on April 27, Mr. Sachhar said,

"It is a matter of great pity that the task of making available to the people their ordinary needs of daily life has been given to incompetent and unsympathetic hands."

Grain Levy Proposal Abandoned

● With the Congress Coalition functioning in the surplus Punjab, one hoped that in view of the threatened food crisis, the maximum export of food-grains would be made to deficit areas. But to the shame of all it must be admitted that the Ministry has no plan for procurement.

It has abandoned the proposal to impose a levy on big zemindars for the procurement of foodgrains, and formulated no other effective plan. It is understood all arrangements for the levy system were complete when at the Cabinet meeting the Government decided to abandon it.

The decision was unanimous, even the Congress Ministers voting for it. The matter went upto the Congress High Command and the Congress President sent for Mr. Sachhar in this connection but all efforts were in vain.

This is the record of the Coalition Ministry and no Congressman can be proud of it. On every progressive step it wanted to take, the reactionaries cried halt, and it had to surrender to the Unionist-Akali octopus.

Soon after assuming office, Mr. Bhimsen Sachhar announced that every day he would hear public complaints and try to redress them personally.

In Lahore, at Bradlaugh Hall, and in villages during his tour, hundreds of people came to Mr. Sachhar with their complaints. They related stories of police atrocities, of the corruption of officials, zaldars and lambar-dars, and told their difficulties in getting cloth and other supplies, etc.

People Barred From Seeing Ministers

The bureaucrats were in a panic. I understand they approached the Premier and wanted him to do something about it. "If the Minister goes to every man, people will have no respect for us," they are reported to have told the Premier.

Khizar promptly came to their aid and issued a statement, appealing to the public not to take their complaints to those so-called "darbars". Ministers can do nothing to relieve their distress, Khizar added. The task of the people was to go to the officers instead.

Even this statement of Khizar which looked like a challenge kept Sachhar Sahib cold.

"There is nothing in it and it was made with my fullest approval," he said at the Press Conference. The public, he added, should actually go with their complaints directly to the officers.

When reminded of the rotten administration he had inherited from his predecessors, Mr. Sachhar only expressed the pious hope: "I believe the officers will behave."

After the Press Conference I talked to a number of journalist friends. All of them agreed with me that the Ministry has not come up to the expectation of the people.

It has functioned for more than two months but has left all the problems facing the people unsolved.

Surrounded by reactionary elements and blinded by prejudices against the League, it could not muster courage to take any bold steps. The result has been one surrender after another to the Imperialist agents, the Unionists.

A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

Who Calls The Princes' Tune ?

LAST month at New Delhi there was quite a stir in the Princes' camp.

At a meeting of India's top-notch rajas—the Committee of the Chamber of Princes—somebody (I am told it was the Nawab of Bhopal) proposed that it would be a good thing to suggest that an Indian should be appointed Political Adviser to the Crown Representative (this is the highest office in the Political Department in the Government of India and the man who holds it really controls the Maharajas. No Indian, has, of course, ever been given this job).

Needless to say, the Princes' proposal to have an Indian had nothing to do with patriotism. It was a coldly calculated suggestion. The proposer argued that "having an Indian in this job would please the new Indian Government", and it would be easier for a popular Government to stomach the States if there were an Indian liaison officer between the new "Free India" and the Indian States.

The resolution was passed by eight votes to five. And yet it never saw the light of day. For the Political Department immediately hauled up the Princes responsible, and ordered them to rescind the resolution.

"The Political Adviser will remain British," the Princes were told. Promptly the resolution was scratched off the books.

For, after all, despite Bhopal's glib speeches on "freedom", the Princes remain as always nothing but British marionettes. And as in

the Chamber of Princes, so in the Constitution-making Body, they will dance to the British orders—a permanent powerful fifth column ready to blow up every real move towards Indian freedom.

Bihar August Criminal Continues Terror

THE Bihar Congress Ministry took office in the midst of a police strike. Senior police officers spread the lie that the strike was aimed at the Congress, and for a time Congressmen were taken in by this propaganda.

But the glorious militant anti-British slogans of the strikers, their new awakening, their obviously great desire to ally themselves with the national movement soon won them the sympathy of Bihar's people.

On the assurance of the Congress Ministry that it would look into the constabulary demands, the strike was called off. But the Ministry after this, it seems, washed its hands of the whole affair and officially authorised the Inspector-General of Police, Mr. Creed, to take "suitable action."

I have just heard that this Mr. Creed was personally responsible for the police firing on a peaceful demonstration of college and school students outside the Patna Secretariat in 1943. The students martyred on that day are being honoured by a Memorial Column, whose foundation-stone was recently laid by Pandit Nehru.

Yet this same Creed is allowed by the Congress Ministry to continue as Inspector-General of Police, and into his hands is placed the fate of the newly-raised policemen of Bihar.

No wonder then that intense repression is being launched against them for daring to shout "Quit India" and "Inquilab Zindabad". In Hazaribagh district alone 22 constabularies were dismissed last month. Bihar's people voted the Congress back into power with such an overwhelming majority in order that the August criminals may be brought to book and made to pay for their doings—not to see them again in positions from where they can repeat their ugly performances whenever the time comes.

Creed must be sacked, his victims reinstated.

Separate Darjeeling ?

FROM Darjeeling a friend writes to say that there is a move afoot to separate the whole district from Bengal and constitute it under a Chief Commissioner, assisted by a council of nominated "leading citizens".

The Darjeeling Hillmen's Association (a body which acts on the orders of New Delhi) as long ago as December, submitted a memorial to the Secretary of State demanding this separation.

This confirms the report that it is proposed to convert Darjeeling into a special military base with four thousand British soldiers permanently posted here (compared with 500 which used to be stationed in Darjeeling's suburbs in pre-war days).

And, of course, this is all part of what Lord Wavell calls the "blue-print for the Freedom of India"—the Cabinet Mission's award.

—Ramesh Chandra

BRITISH PLAN: DEVIL'S OWN

The Cabinet Mission's plan is now before us all. Lord Wavell has characterised it as the blue-print of Indian freedom. The entire skill of the seasoned British propaganda machine is being used to sell the plan to the Indian people as containing all that they desire and explain it to the world abroad as the last word in statesmanship. There is not a good word in the political dictionary that has been left unused.

WHEN the issue is the fundamental relationship between the rulers and the ruled, the tests for every freedom-loving Indian, irrespective of all party differences, are simple enough to apply to the British plan.

FIRST, has the British Government made a declaration recognising Indian independence? And everyone of us knows that the answer is in the negative.

But it may be argued that the Mission has declared that if we do not desire to stay inside the British Empire we may declare our independence through the Constitution-making Body. It sounds easy, only a question of time.

Independence Made Dependent On Princes

But in the Constitution-making Body will be the Princes and the views of His Highnesses about the virtues of the British Empire and the need for the British connection are well-known.

Thus even at an indefinite future date Indian independence will need the consent of the Indian Princes!

SECONDLY, is there an immediate transfer of power from British to Indian hands? Again the answer is in the negative.

It is no accident that the Viceroy and not the Cabinet Mission is taking the initiative to form the Interim Government. It is planned to be nothing more than the Viceroy's Executive Council and not a Free Provisional Government.

In the Viceroy's own broadcast its purpose has been described as to "run the administration."

And in the House of Lords, on a question from Lord Simon, who led the Simon Commission, the Government spokesman assured him that it was only a change of personnel.

No Immediate Transfer Of Power

In fact, it is clear enough from the Cabinet proposals, broadcasts made and the Press Conferences, that the transfer of power too is a matter for the future, after the Constitution-making is over, and for the time being the British Government desires India's foremost leaders to run the existing administration under the Viceroy's leadership.

Thus under the British Plan neither power for our leaders nor the independence of our country are immediate realities but promises for the future, to be realised through the Constitution-making Body.

Whenever the relationship between two countries is redefined on the basis of freedom, the representatives of the ruling power agree to transfer power to the accredited leaders and recognise the independence of the subject country as the starting point of a new relationship between the two countries.

That this is just what the British Plan does not do should make us cautious enough about it and look it all over.

But if we examine the British-proposed Constitution-making Body our natural caution will turn into the holy indignation of a struggling people whom the Imperialist master is trying to cheat anew.

The British propaganda is putting out the Constitution-making Body as the most reason-

able solution of irreconcilable Congress-League differences and giving a real chance to Indians to make their own constitution. On paper, and to the foreigners it may sound plausible.

The Congress stood for the unity of India and modern defence does need unity, and this unity has been preserved through a Union Centre.

The League wanted a separate State to escape Hindu domination, it has been offered the chance to get Muslim Provinces together into a Federation of their own.

Let us see whether the plan helps us to solve our differences or only intensifies them, and where it leads us.

The Union Centre

1. It is a plan for a three-tier constitution, first Province, then Group and last Union Centre. It is an elementary democratic principle that the more indirect the legislative and executive organs the more remote from the people they are and less democratic they tend to be.

This is not all. In the highest tier, the Union Centre, the States will be represented, and in the Constitution-making Body alone the Princes will be 1/4 of the total.

British paramountcy over the States will not pass to the Interim Government, and in fact the Princes are the only element in Indian life who have been declared independent by the British Mission!

Indian parties have to "negotiate" with them and turn the blind eye to 1/4 of their own brother peoples over whom the Princes rule. If their Highnesses find Indian leaders reasonable they may nominate some popular representatives.

It is not only that the Indian people are expected to hug rather than uproot the worst elements of Indian reaction but they are being introduced into the highest organs of the future Indian State.

There is the role to act the British Fifth Column inside the Indian Union when the era of direct British rule ends. They are the 1946 edition of the old British Imperialist trick of the "nominated block".

And it should not at all be hard to imagine what foreign policy they will advocate, of course against "Soviet aggression," nor what defence policy—close military alliance with Britain—as the only way to save India!

To let the Indian Princes get inside the Indian Union is about the same as to let the British stay in India.

Provincial Groupings

2. Let us see what is planned at the base. Provinces have been formed into groups to separately draft their own Provincial and Federal constitutions. The common man gets thoroughly confused by constitutional technicalities, figures and percentages. In simple words, when those clauses of the British proposals are implemented the following picture will emerge.

In the North-West group the League is likely to get 18 out of 36 seats and the balance will be with the three unprincipled reactionary Akalis to guide the first step in the destiny of 36 millions.

If, however, the Muslim Unionists of the Punjab and the Syed Group in Sind vote for the League constitution, then the

League in this zone gets a clear majority.

In the North-East zone out of 70 votes the League will get 35 and the balance will be with the Europeans and a handful of foreigners will decide the destiny of 10 million Assamese and 60 million Bengalis.

Again, even if the League wins in both the zones and they become Pakistan zones it will not be the end of the story but the beginning of a sad chapter.

Non-Muslims will do everything to get out of Pakistan and Muslims attempt to keep them in. Hindu-Muslim conflict will thereby not only get still more sharpened but keep rocking Indian politics to their very foundations.

Way Opened For National Conflict

And it will not be Hindu-Muslim conflict alone but national conflict together with it.

For example, in the North-East 10 million Assamese do not desire to get swamped by 60 million Bengalis.

There is no person in India today who is more angry and determined than Syt. BARDOLOI, and he has his people behind him.

In the North-West, the majority of the Pathans do not want

a Muslim Federation, but only their own self-determination, and at the other end, the Sikhs threaten to unsheath their kirpans.

The British scheme of separate zones will not end but only intensify Hindu-Muslim conflict and bring into the political life other national conflicts besides.

When common people get split community-wise or nationality-wise and their leaders rouse them against each other, then they get consolidated more and more under their own vested interests.

What we saw during the elections was only the beginning of this new phase.

Scope For British Big Business Penetration

It is no accident that in the British Plan vital matters like Customs, Tariffs and Planning are not mentioned.

If the different Indian Federations are in conflict with each other and the parties leading them bossed by vested interests then it becomes the ideal ground for economic penetration by British Big Business.

They alone will prosper through the competitive economic war between the different Federations, which is rendered inevitable by the constitutional arrangements themselves.

The Princes through their own separate deals with the British would add to the economic chaos.

The common people need planning against poverty and hunger, the vested interests are only concerned with profits for themselves. How India's vested interests are planning India's economic development, and what the British plans themselves are, will be clear from our story on page 12.

Thus the British plan of groups not only transforms the present political conflicts into permanent divisions but is designed to exploit them to advance their own economic gains.

No Time Limit For Constitution Making

3. Every Constitution-making Body has a time-limit fixed to it within which it

has to produce the constitution. The British-made Constitution-making Body, however, suffers from no such time-limit, and one can see through the game of endless delay before the new constitution is allowed to be born.

After all it is not easy to fix up the alliance of the Princely Order with the Indian political leadership. It is easy enough to make our parties fight each other but not so easy to fix the time-limit to reach the exhaustion point which will make them accept British terms on all counts as the only way out.

It will be great self-deception to consider such constitution-making as anything else but a parody of Constituent Assembly. Amery has already applauded the "classical approach" which the Mission's constitutional scheme provides for.

We know what this approach means, viz., rely upon India's internal differences, accentuate them still more and then call upon India's leaders to produce a solution and thus clear the ground for the British plan going through.

Not Indian independence but Indian dependence, not Indian unity but Indian disunity, not Indian development but Indian disintegration, not the growth of Indian democracy but the triumph of Indian reaction, are guaranteed under

the British Plan.

Our Party forewarned against such a very British plan during the war years itself and again during the very recent past. None believed then that the British Government dare place such a diabolical plan before our powerful popular parties. Now it stares us in the face.

An average Congressman calls it 12 annas Swaraj and an average Leaguer 12 annas Pakistan, and if one read the complimentary comments of the Indian Press one would be left wondering.

Leaders' Responsibility For Present Mess

How could things come to this pass?

How could freedom-loving Congressmen and Leaguers and non-party people, who showed marvels of heroism, courage and foresight during the INA demonstrations and in solidarity with R.I.N. strikers only a short while ago, come to express these servile sentiments, repudiate their own patriotic past, give vent to infantile illusions about what the British are offering. Why cannot they see through the British game which is nothing new but the old device of exploiting our differences and putting their own solution through?

The real responsibility lies on the leaderships of the Congress and the League who, while they talked of freedom and the immediate realisation of their aims by direct negotiations with the Cabinet Mission, only spread illusions about the British willingness to transfer power.

SECONDLY, by preaching hatred against each other they destroyed all faith in a common way out.

Thus when the British proposals actually came, the followers of the Congress and the League took them as the best that could be had under the circumstances, not because of the British but because of the other side.

It will be unfair to fully evaluate the stand taken by the Congress and the League leaderships before the negotiations are completed and all the documents are available.

But even that part of the

correspondence that has been published discloses that neither the Congress nor the League leaderships made declaration of independence and transfer of power a condition precedent to the negotiations.

The Congress President wrote about declaration of independence and withdrawal of British troops once but then it got left high and dry.

The Congress tried to win the British over for the 'unity' of India, and the League for the 'division' of India.

Drift Towards Surrender Or Fratricidal Strife

And naturally this gave the British the chance to act the umpire and put through their own plan, which is based on how long and how best to postpone the dawn of Indian independence and democracy.

The leaders of the Congress and the League have not yet given up their calamitous tactical line and even an Interim Government is not certain.

The Congress is pressing hard and bargaining for its own terms.

The League is sitting back and refusing to show its hand, and bargaining for its terms.

It appears that even the personnel of the Interim Government would be decided by the British Viceroy.

This way the British guide the course of India's destiny and every single step is leading towards it because India's political leaders play into their hands over and over again.

The situation is fast drifting towards a common surrender to the British Plan or fratricidal conflict between the Congress and the League, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Fight The Plan

The Communist Party will play its role in this grave turning point in the life of our freedom movement by rousing the patriotic ardour of the common people and mobilising them behind the following immediate slogans to burst through British designs:

- Immediate declaration of Indian independence.
- The earliest date for the withdrawal of British troops.
- Establishment of an Interim Government as the free Provisional Government based on Indian unity to fight the famine, guarantee the minimum demands of railway and industrial workers and mobilise them for industrial rehabilitation.
- Unqualified support to the States' peoples against the Princely autocracy, by the Provincial Ministries and the Interim Government, in their demand for civil liberties, responsible government and self-determination.

Not the Princes but the people, not a few hand-picked individuals but duly elected leaders of the people, to represent them in the Constitution-making Body.

● Determination to settle Indian differences on democratic principles and abide by the final verdict of our own people.

Irrespective of all past differences our Party will seek the widest contacts with progressive and Left elements inside the Congress and the League to stop the fast growing rot.

No serious Left worker dare remain blind to the dire implications of the British Imperialist Plan for the future of our country nor to the utter blindness of Right-wing policies.

Only when the mass of the freedom-loving Hindus and Muslims are roused, kept ever vigilant, actively intervening from issue to issue, will the British Government realise that there is no getting round India now.

by P. C. Joshi

Story Of Disbanding Of First INA

Present Need: All-Parties' Front Against Common British Enemy

(By Our Special Correspondent)

GENERAL MOHAN SINGH, the founder of the First Indian National Army and his Deputy, COLONEL GILL, held a Press Conference at Lahore on May 11th. We give below important extracts from a report of the Conference, very little of which has been reported in the Punjab Press.

GENERAL Mohan Singh stressed throughout the Conference that he did not wish to discuss any differences between the First and the Second I.N.A.

"Today," continued the General, "the need is for the unity of all parties against the common enemy. The present strife must come to an end." He emphasised that the I.N.A. must not become a party to the differences which exist in our country and "must attempt to bring all together."

Five Years Of Solitary Confinement

At the very outset, General Mohan Singh told the journalists that he had been released after five years of solitary confinement, first at the hands of the Japanese who allowed him no radio, no newspaper and no interview, and then at the hands of the British who allowed him two newspapers of their choice only during the last months of his detention.

He added, "I am back in the midst of my countrymen after being completely cut off from the world for over five years. These have been no ordinary years. There have been mighty changes. The situation in our country is very complex and critical. "I shall try to meet the leaders of all parties and do my best to understand the national and international situation. And when my mind is made up I shall be very glad to place my views frankly before my countrymen."

Birth Of The First INA

After this he explained how the idea of forming the INA was born:

"When the Japanese declared war in December 1941, I was posted at a place which was under their fire from the very beginning. For three days I fought on the side of the British.

"But what constantly worried me was the thought that we were mercenaries and were regarded by our countrymen as agents of British Raj. "I shared my thoughts with Capt. AKRAM KHAN and 54 soldiers. We all thought the time had come to strike a blow for India's freedom. We sent a message to the Japanese."

General Mohan Singh proceeded to explain how his heart

COMMUNISTS WIN FIVE SEATS IN JALGAON MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

In the recent triennial Municipal elections in JALGAON (Maharashtra), five candidates out of seven put up by the Communist Party, have been returned with comfortable majorities over their opponents, who included the Secretary of the Town Congress Committee.

In two wards, Poona File and Joshi Peth, Red Flag candidates G. V. CHITRE and CHINDHU M. TELI topped the polls.

was gladdened when a car flying the Tricolour brought a Japanese officer who contacted him, how he began to believe that they could join hands with the Japanese to defeat the British and how he and his comrades left the British Army.

The Tribune correspondent thought this a good opportunity to have a dig at the Communists, and he asked General Mohan Singh that since "a certain Party" has been "carrying on a propaganda that you were all traitors" would he make it clear that the INA was completely independent and was not a tool of the Japanese.

General Mohan Singh's reply was straightforward.

"We had no intention of becoming Japanese puppets—our aim, like that of the Congress, was to free India."

And Colonel Gill added: "That is why the crisis (the disbanding of the First INA and the arrests of General Mohan Singh and his comrades—Ed.) came at a later stage."

Tokyo Conference

General Mohan Singh then narrated how they raised an army of ten thousand and how the Japanese grew suspicious and began to emphasise what they called "administrative difficulties."

"A Conference was called at Tokyo to inaugurate formally the INA but when we reached there our suspicions about the Japanese were confirmed. We found they were Fascists. Those were the days when Stalingrad was threatened and the Japs were dreaming of conquering the

world along with their German Fascist brothers.

"We told them that no decisions taken or commitments made at the Conference would be binding on us. Decisions taken by elected representatives and at a neutral place would alone be binding.

"We, therefore, came away and had a Conference at Bangkok where I inaugurated the INA. We had been asked to raise an army of only 15,000 but without telling the Japanese we raised its strength to 20,000. We could have raised its strength to several times that number but the Japanese did not let us have so much arms."

Growing Friction

"It became very clear to us that the Japanese were dishonest and wanted to use us to establish their own rule in India. We realised that the INA could not free India unless it was stronger than the Japanese and able to resist them. The Japanese now strengthened their iron ring round us while at the same time offering to form an independent Indian Government."

Colonel Gill here explained how when the Japanese asked General Mohan Singh what had made him suspicious about them, he had replied, "Our own experience and what you are doing to countries under your rule."

And how when the Japanese said, "Have faith in us, see how we have conferred independence on Manchukuo," General Mohan Singh lost his temper and replied, "To hell with independence of the Manchukuo brand."

Victory Of Socialism

General Mohan Singh then narrated how the Japanese were not prepared to tolerate this spirit of independence, how RASH BEHARI BOSE parted company with the First INA at this stage and how in December 1942 Colonel Gill and he were arrested by the Japanese—"Since then I have been in prison till recently."

Colonel Gill added a few words:

"It is a great pity that we happened to be in Fascist Japan. Had we been in Russia or China, India would today have been free and our freedom flag would have been flying over the Red Fort.

"Our dilemma was that while we wanted to do something for our country, we did not want to drag India into a deeper dungeon by bringing in the Jap Fascists. The Congress resolution in support of the Russian and Chinese peoples was there before us and not even the Japanese offer to make General Mohan Singh a dictator could persuade him to do what was against the interests of our country."

To the question whether he still considered that the Japs were Fascists, General Mohan Singh replied:

"Yes, I think we were absolutely right in considering them Fascists. Of course, I have nothing against the Japanese people. It is their Government and their Army that I have in mind."

They were asked what they thought of the outcome of the war, Colonel Gill's reply was:

"We are glad that Fascism is defeated for all times and the forces of Socialism have triumphed. We look forward to a socialist order in India because that is the only just order under which all can live happily."

AUTHORITIES MADE TO CLIMB DOWN

Military Truck-Drivers Secure Wage Increase

(By P. B. Rangnekar)

From Rs. 45 per month to a minimum wage of Rs. 100 per month and this with retrospective effect from May 1945! That was the mighty victory won by over 3,000 truck-drivers employed in the Military Ordnance Depot at Sewree, Bombay, when for the first time they united and fought the army bosses under the Red Flag.

THEIR officers tried partly dilatory tactics, partly victimisation of workers' leaders. But the workers smashed through all obstacles and won.

Drawn from all nationalities, Pathans, Marathas, Sikhs, etc., these drivers never knew what a trade union was till PRA-BHAKAR DONDE, the local Communist Trade Union leader, organised them under the Lorry Drivers' Union.

On March 17th, a huge rally of drivers at Kamgar Maidan formulated the following demands:

- * (1) Adequate wage-increase;
- * (2) Two months' pay as 'Victory' bonus;
- * (3) Discharge bonus equivalent to 12 days' wages;
- * (4) Unemployment allowance or alternate job to those discharged.

Unprecedented Victory

Till April 25th, the authorities just did not care even to send a reply to the workers' demands. So the workers, for years slaving on a miserable pittance (on present reckoning their wage of Rs. 45 is just what should have been their dearness allowance), gave notice of strike from May 13th.

This notice forced the authorities to climb down. They fully met the demand for wage increase. The drivers who earned a meagre wage of Rs. 45 till the end of April got an increase of Rs. 55. And that was the minimum! Those who drove five to ten ton trucks got Rs. 120; those driving heavier ones got Rs. 140 p.m.

And all this increase was to be with retrospective effect from May 1945. Thus, by way of accumulated earnings alone these 3,000 drivers will get at least Rs. 560 each. It was a real big victory against the all-powerful army officers.

But no sooner were they thus made to yield, then the officers started their counter-offensive against the Red Flag organisation.

On May 7th, ARAF SARHAD-DI, President of the Sewree Depot Committee, was summarily discharged without assigning any reason. When four other workers asked for an explanation, they were discharged the next day.

Workers Hit Back

Four thousand drivers immediately hit back at these pin-pricks by holding a meeting on May 12th at the Kamgar Maidan, Parel. They decided on a strike for the next day. Drivers from such distant points in Bombay as Kollwada, Church Gate, Pawai (near Thana), etc., attended this meeting.

And they did mean business. Next day, Bombay's working-class area saw a procession of over 3,000 drivers parading with Red Flags. The Brigadier-General in charge was in panic. He rushed to Bombay, interviewed the workers' leaders and the victimised drivers were forthwith reinstated.

Similar victimisation had been resorted to on the leaders of 200 drivers and other workers of the R.A.F. Depot near Church Gate, who had gone on strike on May 14th, in support of the Sewree drivers. But they were also reinstated and the drivers, etc., there given the same increment as at Sewree once the Sewree strike ended.

The workers have won their fight. But according to an officer in the Church Gate Depot, all the increases had been sanctioned about an year ago. The question is, then why was the matter delayed so long and the workers forced into a strike? The army authorities must furnish an explanation.

Have You Read These Books?

The Socialist Sixth Of The World

by The Dean Of Canterbury Rs. 2

One of THE books on Soviet life, principles, society and morality, written by one of Britain's foremost Christians. It is a slightly abridged edition, but that makes it easier to go through. It is a book that reached millions in Britain and the U.S.A. and transformed their understanding of the Soviet.

Science And Socialism

As. 6

Written in simple language, it answers the question, "Why is science not always used in the interests of the people?" It analyses the part which science has played in human progress, and shows that the vast potentialities of science as an instrument of human betterment have as yet hardly been realised.

Saturday Saga

Rs. 1-9

It is a collection of short stories made by Progress Publishing Co. (London), all of which, except for one, appear for the first time. The Editorial Committee have simply tried to choose from contemporary writing not tied to old patterns of thought.

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OBSERVE JUNE 1 AS RAILWAYMEN'S DAY

AITUC President's Call

MR. MRINAL KANTI BOSE, President, All-India Trade Union Congress, has announced that Saturday, the 1st June, 1946, should be observed all over India by workers and their organisations as Railwaymen's Day.

On this day different Unions of railwaymen will serve strike notices upon their respective administrations as per the resolution recently passed in Bombay by the General Council of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation.

The All-India Trade Union Congress calls upon all working-class organisations and especially the affiliated unions in the country to hold meetings and demonstrations on June 1, to support the demands of railwaymen and to express their solidarity with their cause and struggle.

● Trieste-Italian Or Yugoslav?
● "Independence" For Libya!
● British Intrigues In Germany

THE Conference of Foreign Ministers in Paris adjourned last week—after twenty-one days of hard discussion. They came to agreement on a number of issues—the peace treaty for Finland, the boundaries of Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and most of the details of the peace treaties for these three countries.

But on the three most important issues—the future of Trieste, of the former Italian colonies in Africa and of the Ruhr, no agreement was reached.

Reuter and the Anglo-American Press have a simple explanation for this failure to reach agreement. The reason, they say, was that the Soviet was demanding its own way, and refused to make any compromise.

Bombay's Imperial daily, the Times of India, sums this up by declaring that the reason why the Conference "failed to make any substantial progress" was "the Soviet approach to the problem" (May 21). The Soviet, says the Times, went in for hard bargaining while the Anglo-Americans stood by principles; so naturally no agreement was reached!

Issue Of Trieste

Yet, in fact, on every issue, the attitude of the Anglo-Americans can be seen as one based on no principle but that of expanding their influence, putting through their imperial plans.

First is the issue of Trieste. Trieste is the capital of the Julian March, a territory to the north of the Adriatic, on the borders of Italy and Yugoslavia, whose population is two-third Yugoslav, one-third Italian. The town of Trieste is mainly Italian, the rural areas around dominantly Yugoslav.

Trieste before the 1914-18 war was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and served as the main port for this entire area. After 1918, it was grabbed by the Italians.

The Yugoslavs demand Trieste and the area of Julian March on two grounds:

(1) Trieste "forms the nearest and most natural maritime outlet" for Yugoslavia and Central Europe, in the words of ANGELO VIVANTE, famous Italian Socialist. This is also to the benefit of Trieste itself; for while it was a flourishing port before 1918, feeding the entire Central Europe, in the years 1924-39, despite the fact that world trade vastly expanded, Trieste's trade decreased; it was transferred into a mere transit port for Venice, the major Italian port of the northern Adriatic.

(2) The big majority of the population of this region is Yugoslav, the minority is Italian; and the new Yugoslav Government has shown that it knows how to treat a minority by the effective way in which it

Communist Gains In Dutch Elections

THE results of the general elections in Holland held on May 17, show slight gains for the Labour and Catholic Parties and also for the first time the emergence of the Dutch Communist Party, as an important political force.

Here are the figures—compared to 1937 May when the last elections were held:

| | | |
|--------------------------|------|------|
| | 1937 | 1946 |
| Catholics | 31 | 32 |
| Labour | 20 | 20 |
| Anti-Revolutionaries | 17 | 13 |
| Christian Historic Union | 8 | 8 |
| Communists | 2 | 10 |
| Others | 19 | 8 |
| | 100 | 100 |

Thus the Right-wing groups (Anti-Revolutionaries and Christian Historicals and other smaller groups who fared badly) have suffered a set-back. The Catholics and Labourites who are in fact both Centrist parties dominate, while the Communists are a small but sizeable force capable of fighting hard and effectively.

The result of these elections is likely to be the installation in power of a Catholic-Labour coalition, which will probably continue the present Government's policy of subservience to British reaction, though sharp opposition both inside and outside Parliament can be expected, particularly over reconstruction (attitude towards big business interests who 'loyally' served Hitler) and Indonesia, fierce controversy is likely.

has solved the acute national problem in Yugoslavia.

Against this the British and Americans have put forward no arguments except that the population of Trieste itself is mainly Italian.

Yet the boundary lines suggested by the U. S. and Britain actually do a greater injustice to the Yugoslavs than the incorporation of all Julian March in Yugoslavia would do to the Italians.

By the U.S. boundary line, over two and three quarter lakh Yugoslavs—almost as many as the total Italian population of Julian March—would become Italian subjects; by the British plan, two and a half lakh Yugoslavs would become Italian subjects.

Thus the U.S.-British case is not in fact based on justice but on a desire to discrimi-

ate against Yugoslavia—because the latter is a real people's Republic, no longer tied to the apron-strings of Anglo-American monopoly capital. And it is this that is the basic cause for the failure to reach agreement over Trieste.

Libya-British Aim

OVER the future of the Italian colonies, it is the British this time who are responsible for the breakdown. The Soviet, U.S. and France all agreed that the former Italian colonies should be administered by Italy under UNO trusteeship. (Hindustan Times, May 15).

The British, however, insisted on their plan for an 'independent' Libya which is really aimed to convert Libya into a British base on the same lines as "independent" Transjordan (see page 14).

Naturally, the Soviet, although prepared to compromise by withdrawing its claim to be a trustee power, strongly objected to Britain's attempt to grab yet another Arab land, knowing full well Britain's real aims, revealed by the reactionary London weekly, the Recorder.

"Many see Cyrenaica," it wrote on May 11, "as an alternative base to Egypt for British forces.... The strategic (my emphasis—M.K.) importance of Tripolitania is great.... Its modern airports, Castel Benito and Mallaha, make it equal in influence to Cairo as an aerial junction for Imperial and international air routes....."

FULL STORY OF INDO-BRITISH BIG BUSINESS DEALS

(Continued from page 12.)

In other words, as long as the Nuffields like, cars will not be manufactured in India. Only Nuffield-supplied parts—made in Britain—will be assembled in India and sold to us as home-made cars. The Commerce of Bombay reported in November 1945 that the widely-advertised 'swadeshi' car 'Hindustan Ten' is "a car essentially assembled in India."

ICI-Tata Agreement

The same story is repeated all over again in the ICI-Tata deal.

The ICI is the back-bone of the British Imperialist industrialism. It is the biggest cartel in the British Empire with powerful links in Germany and the United States. Its Chairman, LORD MCGOWEN, has said "that the interests of the ICI are identical with those of the British Government." (Eastern Economist—7-4-45). For 20 years it has ordered the British Government around.

Unlike the Nuffields, the ICI has already two factories of its own in India (at Calcutta and Khetwa). It has controlled the entire Indian chemical trade—both imports and distribution—and the British Government in India has given it the monopoly.

Mr. A. D. SHROFF, Director of the Tata Sons Ltd, gave the following terms of the deal in January 1946 at Ahmedabad:

- The ICI will have 34 per cent of the capital—the rest will be largely bought up by the Tatas.
- A marketing company will also be formed in which the ICI will control 58 per cent of the capital.
- Partnership of this British firm is being taken only on account of the dearth of Indian research experts. The ICI will undertake the training of Indian technicians.

What this means can be guessed when one remembers that the Government-appointed "Dyestuffs Exploitation Committee" (whose chairman has been a partner in the Tata. DR. JOHN MATHAI) has recommended in its report that "the industry will take 15 to 20 years to establish itself fully." Twenty years is long enough. But with this 'expert' advice to back them up, they will no doubt take over long!

This means that the new firm will start "producing" as late as the ICI's like. So there is little meaning in the term of the agreement that "the import of dye-

Thus again it is not Soviet intransigence but Britain's Imperialist policy that was the stumbling block at Paris.

Backing Reaction

THE third bone of contention was the Ruhr, chief economic base of Germany. And once more it was British Imperial aims that prevented agreement at Paris.

During the past nine months, Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet had agreed that:

(1) The big German monopolist cartels should be broken up, as they were the chief supporters and masters of Hitler-Fascism.

(2) The steel production of Germany, which represented its capacity to dominate Europe's economy and make war, should be reduced from 17 million tons to five and a half million tons.

Britain, however, wants to use the German reactionaries against the rising democratic movement in Europe and for this reason is intriguing hard to keep them alive.

On May 14, the Free Press of India carried a revealing report that:

"According to sources close to the White House and private reports from the State Department there is an increasing British opposition to the Potsdam plan to reduce the industrial and war-making capacity of the German Reich.

"Following is among the evidence cited: The British authorities of the occupied region in Germany are resisting the implementation of the Potsdam pledges to break up the German cartels. The German steel industry, the basis of the Reich's war-making capacity, is being allowed to be built up in the British-occupied zone at the expense of the promised coal shipments to France and other liberated countries.

"A loose federation of four or five large German States would probably be acceptable to the British provided the economic internationalisation of the Ruhr—which at present acts as a smoke-screen for the retention of cartels—was assured."

Real Stumbling Block

This activity of Britain in the cause of German Imperialism has been confirmed by Mr. HENRY MORGENTHAU, former U.S. Secretary to the Treasury, and by the fact that Dr. ALFRED HUGENBURG, one of Hitler's earliest big business supporters, is living in luxury in the

PALME DUTT TO SPEAK IN BOMBAY

RAJANI PALME DUTT, famed British Communist leader, will address a public meeting in Bombay next week. He will sum up the impressions of his two months stay in India—and give his view of India's place in the world, particularly in the light of the Cabinet Mission's Award.

The meeting will be at: **RAJ SUNDERABAI HALL**, New Queen's Road, (near Churchgate Station). **DATE: FRIDAY, MAY 31st, 1946.**
TIME: 6-30 P.M.
SUBJECT: INDIA AND THE WORLD.
Admission by Tickets: Rs. 5, Rs. 2-8, Re. 1-4, As. 10, As. 5.
Available from:—**PEOPLE'S PUBLISHING HOUSE**, Raj Bhuvan, Sandhurst Road, Girgaon, BOMBAY.

British zone.

The real solution for the Ruhr is the effective internationalisation of its economic power, carried through on the basis of the expropriation of German Big Business. And here again it is British Imperialism that stands in the way, not the Soviet.

Thus the Paris Conference adjourned without agreement, not because of Soviet power-politics, but because Britain, backed in most cases by the U.S., refused to give up its hundred-year old Imperialist policy.

And there is no doubt that unless Britain and the U. S. are forced to turn away from this policy of backing reaction and intriguing for Imperial power, there is little likelihood of an agreement being arrived at at the next meeting of the Big Four which comes off on June 15.

May 21.

capital. But as a resolution of the National Planning Committee in November 1945 points out: "It is not... in her (India's) interests to accept it if it is required for essential industries. EXCEPT IN THE SHAPE OF LOANS OR CREDITS RAISED BY OR THROUGH THE STATE."

Industrialise India Without Sell Out To British

The right way is to confiscate existing British assets in India worth Rs. 400 crores and stop the drain of Rs. 300 crores every year to Britain as payment of interest, commissions, etc.

The British must also be forced to release the major part of our sterling assets.

That will give us all the capital we want to start with. This, in fact, is in line with the stand of the National Congress, the National Planning Committee, etc., although they are considered to be 'old history' and 'unpractical' now by almost everybody except the Communist Party.

As regards 'technical skill', we could get technicians the way any independent country gets them.

The British trusts want to use their 'technical knowledge' as the thin end of the wedge to acquire ownership over our industries.

We should arrange to get progressive, independent technicians and scientists (and there are many even in Britain) who are not pawns in the hands of the trusts.

But only a National Government can arrange to get technicians of the right type, not by asking the trusts but by asking the trade unions and associations of scientific workers in Europe and America.

This is how the Soviet Union got technicians and capital from the United States without allowing them to acquire control over their industries. This, too, is how the Soviet Union gives a helping hand to countries of Eastern Europe, Iran, etc.

But the reality is that the opposite of this is happening. British and Indian Big Business is only waiting for the political sell-out to come off so that their under-hand deals can be passed off as 'respectable' and 'patriotic'.

The least that the Interim Government can try to do is to put a stop to all further deals between British and Indian Big Business interests.

It must order an investigation into the terms of the deals that have already been made.

It must demand immediate release of our sterling assets so that we can use the money to get machinery where we can get it without having to sell our country and industries.

Just Out! Order Now!

MARXIST MISCELLANY
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staffs will begin to be progressively reduced after the new company begins to produce."

In fact, they have already decided to mark imports as "India Made" in future, according to an Associated Press of India message (December 1945).

"Until such time as domestic manufacture is able to meet domestic requirements in full, the dyestuffs marked indigenously and those imported by the ICI will be sold JOINTLY so as to make available to the consumer a full range of products at all times."

The ICI and the Nuffields are obviously not a pack of fools. They will put off the starting of actual manufacture in India as long as possible. Later on, they will grab the lion's share out of the profits of manufacturing in India and by dictating their own terms on the strength of their world monopoly.

In both cases, the goods will be sold to us as 'swadeshi' goods. But we ought to know them for what they really are—as 'viceshi' as they can be.

Middle Businessmen Indignant

Leaders of middle-sized Indian businesses, who knew what was going on, began to see through the game quite early.

Mr. M. A. MASTER, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, burst out in February this year:

"No patriotic Indian can believe that foreign capital has overnight become so altruistic and generous that it would in the future come to India only for India's salvation."

As long ago as May 1945, Mr. Master had warned:

"Moderate sized businesses of factories started by Indians in the country might have to face the menace of being wiped out by new hybrid corporations started jointly in this country by big business houses in India and the big businesses of the United Kingdom."

But the strongest language yet has been used by Mr. Manu Subedar M.L.A. (Central) from the Indian Merchants' Chambers constituency.

"He is the trusted spokesman of middle-sized independent industries and mercantile concerns and speaks in business circles a language which only Communists use in the political sphere."

He said in June 1945 in course of a scathing attack, that "the very rich industrialists everywhere in the world 'sell out' their country's interests in alliance in the pursuit of their own self interest."

There is no denying the fact that we could do with a bit of British "technical skill," perhaps even British

BIG BUSINESS BAGGED BEFORE POLITICAL LEADERS APPROACHED

Does the Cabinet Mission's offer give us independence?

There are three acid tests:

- 1 Does it set the date for independence?
- 2 Does it set the date for the total withdrawal of British troops?
- 3 Above all—for economic power is the crux of political domination—does it end the grip of British Big Business over India?

THE first two questions every serious political worker can answer for himself. Without much thought, all will say: NO.

Some may explain them away. Some may find it difficult to explain. Others may be emphatic. But no one will deny the political and military reality that emerges out of these serious omissions.

The last question has figured least in the discussions at Delhi and Simla.

Economic Settlement

The reason is that British Big Business has already come to a 'settlement' with Indian Big Business with the help of Lord Wavell, by which it is to stay and expand in India and not 'Quit India'.

It was done in 1945—when the Congress leaders were still in jail. The top-most Indian industrialists signed the terms with the giant British firms. One was the Nuffield-Birla deal in June 1945. The other was the Imperial Chemical Industries-Tata deal in December 1945.

The British used the East India Company as a stepping-stone towards the conquest of India. Today, out-and-out political domination of the old type has become difficult. So they are digging into Indian economy as a force relatively ten times as powerful as the East India Company ever was so that they can run 'Free India' as they like.

No wonder both British and Indian Big Businesses are dead set on a political settlement on terms offered by the Cabinet Mission. They have made up their minds anyway on 'Indo-British partnership'.

But so far they have had to keep it semi-secret because the Indian public will not stand it. With a political settlement, they hope to come out in the open as the champions of India's 'national interests'.

The political 'settlement' is yet in the making. But its 'economic' counterpart has already been working for one year.

Let us see how it came and where it has brought us. That should help us to understand what the British are driving at in the political sphere with the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Rise Of Indian Big Business

The traditional British Imperial policy in India was to deny political power and prevent the industrial development of India. They kept her as a source of raw materials and a market for British industrial products.

But the war gave the British a big shake-up. They realised that they could not carry on in the old way after the end of the war.

Politically, they realised that they would lose India altogether in the long run if they refused to modify their policy. Mass anti-British feeling rose to fever heat. Even the armed forces began to shake and the police too. Old-style pro-British politics was totally burnt out. They realised India could not be kept 'pacified' in peace-time, nor defended in war-time under old-style British domination.

In the economic sphere, too, they realised that they would

lose India both as a source of raw materials and as a market for British goods if they stuck to their guns in the old way.

Imports were largely cut off in war-time and the British had to buy heavily at fancy prices from Indian firms. They bought not only raw materials but also consumers' goods like textiles and jute and even machine parts from newly-built engineering plants.

So Indian business made colossal profits. Medium-sized firms became huge Big Business concerns. The 61 textile mills in Bombay Island, for instance, made profits between 1940 and 1944 worth 6½ times their total paid-up capital. Compared to the last pre-war years, 1939, their profits were over nine times as big in 1941, 20 times as big in 1942, 50 times as big in 1943 and nearly 40 times as big in 1944.

The engineering firms' average profits per firm were almost

'Progress' towards the manufacture of locomotives was made at a snail's pace. Plenty of paper projects were drawn up. But only spare parts were actually manufactured—while locomotives were imported from far-away Canada!

Feelers For A New Deal

But by about 1942-43, sections of American Big Business began to encourage Indian businessmen to buy American machinery and get started on heavy industries. So the Government of India, in panic, made it clear

by
Arun Bose

that sterling assets held by Indian businessmen in London would not be 'released' for exchange into dollars to be utilized for buying American machinery.

By 1944, the British began to realise that war-time stop-gap arrangements could not last. They started thinking seriously about post-war plans, of a long-term policy.

They also felt that they had made their military, political and economic strength 'felt' in Indian business circles.

They were beginning to win the war—the danger to India

Gandhiji used strong language in a statement on May 7th 1945:

"Independence will not come for the asking. It will come only when the interests, big or small, are prepared to forego the crumbs that fall to them from the partnership with the British in the loot which the British rule takes out of India. Verbal protests will count for nothing so long as this partnership continues unchecked."

"The so-called unofficial deputations which, the protestants fear will go to England and America, dare not proceed whether for inspection or for entering on a shameful deal so long as the moving spirits of the Working Committee are being detained without any trial."

Birla answered with a blunt statement on May 12th which said in effect: I cannot wait for ever if you cannot pull off a political deal!

"There is need as well as room," he said, "for give and take and mutual assistance.... Nevertheless, I do not think we can afford to stand still and follow a do-nothing policy in the matter of economic development of this country until political freedom is achieved."

It was obvious that the British were twisting Birla's tail: Either you team up with us or you get nothing.

Professor Hill put the point bluntly in April:

"They (i.e., the Indians) have to realise, however, that British industry is not going to do these things for love only. I do not think they can expect British industry to erect by its skill and its resources something in which it is to have only a minor share in controlling. If they want to develop they must

British capital' because he had already become their Indian spokesman.

In June 1945, he had signed the Birla-Nuffield agreement.

In December, his colleague Tata had signed an agreement with the Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI).

The Indian people have not been told much about these deals. Even the terms of the deals are not fully known. But the Birla-owned Eastern Economist has tried to defend them among the close circle of businessmen and economists who are in the know of things.

In its issue of January 4th, 1946, it said that through such partnerships, India will be industrialised very rapidly "without incurring the prolonged delays and heavy expenditure in building up, unaided, the vast experience and research that would be required."

But enough has leaked out about these deals to tell us whether the deals really are so very much in India's interests.

Nuffield-Birla Combine

Who are the 'senior partners' in these deals?

Let us take first the Nuffield-Birla combine.

The Birlas are now one of the topmost Indian capitalists directly controlling over 25 large companies: cotton, jute, shipping, sugar, cycles, insurance, banking, and even newspapers, and possibly the restaurant business. There is no doubt that they have expanded a good deal in war-time—although it is not yet possible to estimate exactly how much of Indian industry and finance they own.

But the Nuffields are the counterpart of Ford (of the U.S.A.). They are a giant cartel producing cars, cutlery and other goods. The Nuffields are at least as big for British and Empire Industries as the Birlas are for India.

It needs only commonsense to see that in the Nuffield-Birla partnership, Birla is the mosquito and Nuffield the elephant and not the other way round.

The formal 'shares' of the Nuffields in the joint Indian concerns, therefore, hardly reflects their real strength in the combine.

No exact reports are available of the share-out of capital between the two partners.

But the Free Press report (June 1945) that the Nuffields will control 25% to 30% of the capital hardly means that the Birlas are the 'senior partners' except in name.

How exactly the Nuffields will hold the whip hand has come out in other reports which have leaked out.

● The Nuffields, for instance, are to get a 'fair share' in the profits for a 'limited' (1) period not exceeding 15 years!

● Royalties will be paid to the Nuffields for patents and manufacturing rights. This means huge sums will be paid to the Nuffields if any attempt is to be made to really manufacture Indian-made cars and not merely put Nuffield parts together.

British Cars To Be Sold As 'Swadoshi'

In fact, there can be no doubt, that the Nuffields have not the slightest intention of helping to put Indian automobile industry on its feet and clearing out.

The Capital—always jealous of British interests as against Indian—wrote on January 3rd, 1946:

"Nuffield organisations are to manufacture and supply the technical parts which could not be economically made in India and Nuffield's technicians are apparently to decide which components should be made in Britain and which in India."

(Continued on page 11)

Light On Nuffield-Birla, ICI-Tata Deals

twice the size of the 1939 profits.

How British 'Chained The Monster'

Inside India, therefore, Indian Big Business was on top of the industrial ladder. British capital invested in India was mainly in 'old-fashioned industries' like jute and tea, and was left far behind in the race for making big money. The rate of profit-making was high in jute. The average profits per firm were 10 times the 1939 figure in 1943.

But jute profits compared badly with textile profits, for example. The average profits per firm in the tea industry increased only three times in 1943 compared to 1939, and the size of the firm and the amount of capital it had were small compared to the textile and engineering giants.

In short, Indian Big Business became rich enough to 'buy up India' and branch out into heavy industries. They began to rank high enough to be counted among the 'Big Shots' of world finance-capital. What brought them 'international recognition' was the huge stock of over Rs. 1,750 crores worth sterling assets they got hold of by selling to British.

All this gave the British a splitting headache. All they did was to 'chain the monster' and put off the evil day.

They decided to put paper money into the hands of Indian businessmen but ban any major industrial expansion with the help of war-time laws rammed down their throats under the Linlithgow regime.

On the excuse that machinery could not be imported, they banned the establishment of heavy industries like aircraft, automobile and locomotive manufacture in India for the period of war.

The "Hindustan Aircrafts" firm had been established just before the war with the help of the Congress Ministries and the Bangalore Government. But when the war came, it was turned over to the United States Air Force as an assembly and repair shop.

was passing.

They had made Indian Big Business feel British political power in India by suppressing the August outburst with blood and iron.

They had shown Indian Big Business that they 'dared' annoy even all-powerful American Big Business by telling them not to 'poke their noses' into India.

So they thought Indian Big Business would now talk 'business'.

They were not wrong. Indian Big Business did talk 'business', and almost certainly took the initiative to 'speed up' matters. BIRLA, the old Nationalist business magnate and the TATAS—turned pro-Congress in 1942—took the lead.

Under-hand 'contacts' probably began as early as the end of 1943.

A key-role was played by Professor A. V. BELL, a talented Tory intellectual and Secretary of the Royal Society. He came out to India as an 'innocent' scientist out to 'contact' his Indian opposite-members at the Indian Science Congress.

The Indian Industrialists' Mission—headed by Birla and Tata—which went to Britain and the United States in May 1945, also played their part. They praised British businessmen for their 'changed attitude' and blamed the Americans for being 'indifferent' to India.

It is said that Lord NUFFIELD (the Henry Ford of Britain) himself visited India 'incognito' sometime in 1943 or 1944.

It is not easy to unravel these complicated and semi-secret negotiations. But certain landmarks are known.

Gandhiji's Opposition

About April-May 1945, Gandhiji was trying for a political settlement with Wavell, who refused to discuss transfer of power and was harping on 'co-operation' on his own terms for 'economic reconstruction' and development.

Wavell could not trap Gandhiji then, but seems to have made a big 'catch' among Indian industrialists who were going on their mission abroad.

go equal shares with the 'people here. Going halves seems a fair proposition." (Bharat Jyoti, April 1, 1945.)

The Calcutta Capital, the mouthpiece of that section of British Big Business which is already entrenched in India, was still more blunt in its issue, dated November 15th, 1945:

"British business has no intention of being just run out of the country, either now or in the hereafter... even though in the eyes of some it may be cast for a subordinate role in the future, it will not be drummed out of a country to whose prosperity it has made an abiding contribution."

Indian Industrialists Surrender

At this stage, LORD WAVELL and COLVILLE, the newly-appointed Governor of Bombay (home of Indian Big Business) seemed to have stepped in by trying to point out the 'great blessings' of an Indo-British business partnership.

Wavell gave an official stamp to the negotiations in his speech to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, in December, 1945:

"I firmly believe that co-operation between British and Indian enterprise in an atmosphere of goodwill provides the best means for the industrial development of India in the quickest and most fruitful manner."

Colville also talked like a smart salesman to the Bombay Chamber of Commerce in March, 1946:

"British businessmen will long continue to be able to offer India much which India badly needs—goods of high quality and wide variety, managerial and technical experience, scientific and engineering skill, experience in working conditions, in trade unionism, in the social services—the whole accumulated wisdom of long established and highly industrialised economy and India can supply many essentials to the United Kingdom."

By this time, Birla had become a good friend of British vested interests, his partners. His daily paper, the Hindustan Times, reported on April 11th, 1946, a speech in which Birla had said:

"There is a big exodus of British capital in India. I estimate the total investment of Britain in India at present as under £150 million or Rs. 200 crores (an under-estimate by half obviously intended to give the impression that it is too small to bother about—A.B.) I don't believe this will ever be expatriated. The British firms will carry on."

Birla spoke so warmly about

IMPERIALIST WHIP CRACKS OVER MALAYA AGAIN

British Disband Anti-Jap Army, People's Councils United Popular Upsurge For Freedom

Pandit Nehru's visit in March last focussed Indian attention on Malaya. But we saw very little beyond the purposeful hospitality of Mountbatten and the conditions of our own fellow countrymen.

And yet what is happening in Malaya is of vital importance to us.

It was only in September 1945 that Malaya was 'liberated' with the landing of British and Indian forces at Penang, Port Swettenham and Singapore. On the mainland, the forces of the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army (MPAJA) had taken over the administration in almost every town.

For three years this army fought against the Japanese conquerors unaided by the British. It was a people's resistance army similar in organisation and political background to Tito's in Yugoslavia and the FFI in France.

It was composed of about five thousand regular troops. Although the majority (80%) were Chinese, the army consisted of all the peoples inhabiting Malaya—Chinese, Malaysians and Indians. The badge of the MPAJA was three red stars—symbolic of the unity of the three Malayan peoples.

All classes were represented in the army—coolies, artisans, shopkeepers, kisans—most of whom knew little of jungle warfare, but all of whom became expert guerilla fighters.

In the spring of 1945, British Halsey officers, dropped by parachute linked up the work of the MPAJA with the Allied armies. As soon as the Japanese surrendered, the MPAJA took over the administration through People's Councils. For the first time after years of slavery under the British and then under the Japanese, Malaya was ruling itself.

Martial Law

But the People's Councils were short-lived. With the British landings, the MPAJA was ordered to withdraw immediately from all principal towns. The whole army was formally demobilised on December 1st.

Curfew, restrictions, proclamations, posters giving lists of offences incurring the death penalty—it was martial law. The people were horror-struck. They had freed themselves, they had taken power. They had worked for a combined offensive with the British to liberate Malaya. And after all that, it was martial law again.

It soon became apparent to the Malayan peoples that the British Imperialists meant to keep Malaya unchanged. It was the same old tyranny again. If there was a difference it was only that there was greater repression and a new effort to maintain British power by both the old and new tricks.

Divide And Rule

In Malaya, the Malaysians and the Chinese are approximately equal in numbers; while Indians (mostly Tamilians) form about 15% of the population. The Chinese were always the most important among the three peoples. They held the commercial and political leadership.

The Japanese occupation meant the greatest hardship and sacrifice for the Chinese, as they were the most politically and nationally conscious element. And their courageous battle for the freedom of Malaya during the years of Japanese rule has won them the undisputed political leadership of Malaya.

The British administration in pre-war days imposed discriminatory laws against the Chinese community as part of their avowedly pro-Malay policy. No Chinese or Indians were allowed into the Malayan Civil Service.

The Chinese were prevented from purchasing agricultural land.

As for the Indians, the British always counted on the fact that the majority of them kept returning to India after working in the rubber estates for three years, and thus their political activity and interest remained confined to support of the national struggle in India itself.

With their return to Malaya, the British are striving once again to split the three peoples. They are propping up 'communal' organisations like the Malay Racial Union, which is an off-shoot of the Anti-Chinese Youth Movement, notorious for its co-operation with the Japanese.

By pretended 'sympathy' with the Indian national movement (as flagrantly witnessed during Pandit Nehru's tour), they seek to keep the Indians isolated from the Malaysians and the Chinese.

Popular Awakening

But in 1946 the tricks which worked so well in the thirties just do not click.

The Indians have already begun to break with their previous sectarian indifference to the fate of Malaya. A newly-formed Indian Democratic League voices this new feeling among Indians to take their full part in the anti-Imperialist struggle of Malaya.

The Malaysians, also, have formed their Malay Nationalist Party. The British are alarmed at the close friendship which exists between this party and the Communist Party, which is today by far the most active and potent force in Malayan politics.

Before the war, owing to illegality and the systematic arrests, persecution and deportation of its members by the British, the Communists' influence was limited.

But since the war and the Japanese occupation, the Communist Party has grown enormously in size and stature and now dominates the political scene to an extent never thought possible. Initially predominantly Chinese in its make-up, it has become more representative in the last few years.

Its firm and resolute leadership during the last four years has earned it the confidence of the working-people of all races in the Trade Union movement of the towns, of the labourers in the rubber and tin industries, and to a large extent of the artisans and the lower middle class.

Other democratic organisations which have grown up as a result of the anti-Imperialist upsurge in Malaya are:—

*The Democratic Youth League with a membership of over 30,000;

*The Women's Federation;

*And the Malayan Democratic Union formed in December on the basis of demands for self-determination, civil liberties and liberal reforms.

Trade Unions

The Trade Union movement has also grown rapidly and the Malayan labour unions, led and organised by trusted leaders of the Resistance are now more than 30,000 strong—which is a remarkably large number in an industrially backward country like Malaya.

The workers and the town and village poor are facing acute distress. When the British returned, they declared Japanese currency invalid, and no compensation was given.

Prices of food shot up.

In December 1945, food prices showed an increase raging from 550% (long beans) to 2,400% (rice).

All price controls were as meaningless as those in India during the worst days of Bengal famine.

Workers Shot Down

The trade unions and other popular parties urged the British Military Administration (BMA) to alleviate the distress of the workers. But all that happened was that the very first demonstration called by the Labour Union was attacked by the police and many workers were injured. Subsequent strikes resulted in untold repression, the police opening fire on many occasions.

It has not been the working-class alone which has faced the brutality of the BMA. At Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, Taiping and Seremban, the largest towns of the mainland—a drive was launched against the local people's press.

The paper *Sbi Tai Jit Pail* was suspended and its manager and editor sentenced to seven years' imprisonment (later reduced to three years).

The proprietor and the editor of the *Ming Sheng Pail* of Kuala

Lumpur were sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

The editorial staff of the *Seremban Guidance* were arrested and later released.

In all these cases, the charges were without reference to any legal precedent but merely couched in terms such as "publishing articles calculated to be detrimental to the BMA".

Anti-Japanese resistance leaders are being tried under false charges on the evidence of known enemies of the people, who have toadies the British or the Japanese all their lives. Among those arrested were SOON KWONG, one of the most famous guerillas and President of the Anti-Jap Union of Selangor.

Soon Kwong won his release because of the volume of public protest and the general strike and demonstrations called by the Labour Union.

But CHU KOW, leader of the Fourth Regiment of the MPAJA, was sentenced to death. And thirty other Resistance leaders are on trial or serving sentences on cooked-up charges.

February 15th Demonstrations

On February 15th, began another round of repression, and stirring scenes on par with those of Bombay during the R. I. N. strike, were witnessed. The demonstration had been called to commemorate the day on which Singapore fell and the Resistance Movement began. The White Sahibs lost their tempers. They are, of course, very touchy about

the fall of Singapore. The demonstrations were banned.

Police raids took place immediately—on the offices of the Labour Union, of the Communist Party and the Democratic Youth League.

But despite the ban, meetings were held all over Malaya; the police opened fire and in the Johore State alone, twenty-one people, including several women and young children, were killed. Forty-one were seriously injured, some thirty less seriously injured. A large number of arrests took place.

On March 31st—the last day of military rule—ten leaders of the Labour Union were deported—to face almost certain death at the hands of the Chungking police, as Communist suspects. No trial or enquiry took place, despite popular protests.

Battle Against White Paper

From April 1st the new civil administration has taken over. The popular parties are waging a united battle against the dangerous new constitution, embodied in the White Paper on Malaya. (We shall give a detailed criticism of the White Paper in our next issue—Ed.)

The country which produced the guerillas of the MPAJA—which built the People's Administration Councils—is determined to be free. Singapore shall not remain a permanent Imperialist base to rule over the Far East. It will become the people's base for freedom, the centre of a new prosperous East Asia.

From Our Correspondent



Redeem Promises To Ratings

I WAS a member of the Naval Central Strike Committee of the R.I.N., which was formed when on February 18 last Rear-Admiral Battray wanted to meet the representatives from the "Talwar" to hear the grievances of the ratings.

I have been dismissed from service though the members of this Committee were assured that they would not be dismissed.

Learning that the men of the I.N.A. are being released and the trials of the I.N.A. leaders are being dropped, I would like to draw the attention of the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League to their promises made by them before our surrender.

I would also like to draw the attention of the people who heroically supported the ratings during their strike, and the great leaders of our country not to forget the discharges and dismissals and trials of the R.I.N. ratings which go against all the promises and assurances made by the leaders before the termination of the strike.

I call upon everyone of our people to agitate for the unconditional release of the R.I.N. ratings and the stopping of trials, and support the demands made by us which include better pay, leave and other facilities and the removal of unsympathetic British Officers from the R.I.N.

In the name of the thousands of the R.I.N. ratings who are suffering today, I call upon the newly-formed popular Ministries to take up our cause.

An Ex-R.I.N. Rating.
Madras, May 3rd.

Tamil Communist Weekly In Malaya

YOU would probably be interested to hear the news of our attempts to organise the sale of our Ta-

mil weekly *Jansakthi* in Malaya.

At the start we had given the sales agency of the *Jansakthi* to a businessman with distribution rights for the whole of Malaya, who is also the sole agent for other Tamil papers. But recently we received a letter from the Singapore General Labour Union complaining of blackmarketing in the *Jansakthi* by the local agent and wishing that the agency be transferred to their address.

We have, therefore, cancelled this agency and are waiting for the necessary deposit from the Union. Already the Union is receiving our Tamil books on cash.

It is good to know also that the *Jansakthi* has been greatly in demand at Singapore. We ourselves are not able to spare more than 100 copies for them, due to paper control restrictions. The result has been that each copy valued at Rs. 0-2-6 was being sold by the old agent for more than Rs. 0-15-6, i.e., 40 cents! That is why we are changing the agency.

R. SANTANAM
116 Davidson Street,
Madras, 1st May, 1946.

Repression In Hyderabad

ON May 3rd about 500 peasants of Khanammatt taluk submitted a petition to the Duvvam Talukdar for iron implements to be supplied to them at control rates. The Duvvam Talukdar listened to the kisans' grievances and promised to look into the matter.

When the peasants were returning peacefully, they were attacked just in front of the police station by 10 police constables leading about 20 rowdies employed by the Taidarpally Jagirdar. The peasants were lathi-charged and severely beaten. A peasant's leg was broken.

Not only this, about 25 peasants and workers of the Andhra Conference have been arrested.

This is not the first time that the peasants have gone to the officials for iron implements. Agitation has been going on for many months. Only a few days ago the Duvvam Talukdar

with the help of Andhra Conference workers unearthed some hoarded iron implements and distributed them to the peasants.

He also ordered the police to unearth other stocks. But the police disregarded those orders, terrified the peasants and launched cases against Andhra Conference workers.

When the peasants came for a third time, the above developments took place.

These latest incidents, the lathi-charge, arrests, etc., are the result of a conspiracy between the local hoarders, corrupt police officials and the rowdies employed by the Taidarpally Jagirdar, whose illegal exploitation in Taidarpally has been wiped out by the Andhra Conference.

It is the duty of the Government to release immediately all the arrested persons and conduct an open enquiry and punish all the corrupt officials who are responsible.

R. NARAYAN REDDY,
President,
Hyderabad State Andhra Conference.
May 6th, 1946,
Lingsampally,
Hyderabad, Deccan.

Press Telegram Suppressed

YESTERDAY I sent you a Press telegram reporting a public meeting of the sweepers of Ahmedabad at which they resolved to give notice of a strike if their demands were not conceded. I also reported the May Day meetings we held.

Today I have received a notice from the authorities that my telegram has been "held objectionable" and so suppressed. I have not been told what is objectionable in it.

This is a shocking state of affairs—and especially when there is a popular Ministry in power. The Minister in charge should look into this attack on the freedom of the Press.

DINKAR MEHTA,
Secretary,
Gujarat Committee, Communist Party,
Ahmedabad,
May 7th, 1946.

BRITAIN TO GRAB TERRITORY IN E. AFRICA

New Base In Palestine, Puppet Government In Greece

[This article, based on a despatch in the Left-wing weekly newsletter, The Week, gives a revealing insight into the real British objectives in the Middle-East.—EDITOR].

A SENSATIONALLY frank despatch from Cairo to the Daily Express by its correspondent Mr. SEFTON DELMER, who was in charge of "secret" radio propaganda to Germany during the war, this week made clear the real pattern of the new Middle-Eastern Imperial strategy of Britain.

Entitled "Why We Are Getting Out Of Egypt", the despatch stated specifically these things:

- That at Gaza, Palestine, a new base for part of the troops being moved out of Egypt is already being established.
- That parachute exercises from the Palestine bases are currently being carried out.
- That the main British bases are to be shifted to East and South Africa—in accordance with the new strategies based on the latest developments in long-range air power.
- That "Greece is already completely equipped with British and U.S. material."
- That "Turkey has received some (materials) and will be getting more."

Co-ordination

- That there has already been "careful co-ordination" between the British General Staff and the military authorities of other States in the area so as to ensure that in the event of

Exclusive

an "emergency", troops and supplies can be moved northwards from the bases to the forward areas "knowing that we should find there equipment and installations fitting our own."

This is the first time that the "map" of British policy in the Middle East has been so clearly drawn by somebody so assuredly in touch with the highest British authorities in the area as Mr. Delper.

It is significant that they should at this stage be prepared to have published information of this character.

Greece And The Plan

It is thus obvious that the strategic plans drawn up in Cairo are the over-riding consideration in the whole of British policy in relation to Greece. There has been some scepticism in Labour circles as to the extent to which Greece has really been developed as a forward military area, forming a crucial sector in the whole plan of Imperial strategy.

Mr. Delper now discloses how complete is the interlocking of Greece with the general plan. Since Greece has been "completely equipped" by Britain and

the United States in the very openly military sense referred to by Mr. Delper, it is clear that the strategists take it for granted that British control and domination of Greece will at no time be seriously relaxed.

If troops are withdrawn in response to public pressure—and the pressure of manpower needs and financial needs—it is certain that it will only happen as and when the strategists are satisfied that the Government at Athens is a puppet, absolutely secure in its subordination to British policy, and sufficiently armed and aided by Britain to enable it to deal effectively with popular opposition to itself and to the general conception of Greece being employed as a kind of Imperial aircraft carrier for the purposes of a third world war.

The fact, revealed by Mr. Delper that some agreement for similar "equipping" has already been reached with Turkey, throws considerable light upon recent public events in relation to Turkey.

Turkey's Part

It has, of course, been known for some time that Turkey was envisaged both by Britain and the United States as a potential and highly desirable advance base.

It now appears that matters have gone forward somewhat faster than was previously known.

The extraordinary "scare" worked up in the British and American Press in regard to

Turkey at the time of the equally remarkable Persian "crisis" is now seen to have coincided with secret arrangements to turn Turkey, too, into an "aircraft carrier," directed to defend British Imperial interests

The Anti-Soviet Scare

At a time (in March) when arrangements were in fact already being completed for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Persia, the British and American Press was filled with astonishing reports of Soviet military "threats" not to Persia only, but also to Iraq and to Turkey.

There was at the time some speculation as to the real object of reports which, it was obvious, must be proved baseless within a very short space of time.

It now appears that the object was a short term one—to create, briefly, an atmosphere in which the completion of that section of the general Imperial military plan for this area could be comfortably completed.

The plans for employing East Africa as a main base are the background against which has to be seen Mr. Bevin's recent proposals for the enlargement of the Empire in that area, together with a "compensatory" offer to Abyssinia.

By this the Abyssinian Province of Ogaden is together with British and Italian Somaliland to become virtually a British colony. 'Independence' for Libya is also a part of this plan—for the independence would

clearly be of the same type as that conferred on Transjordan (see article on this page—EDITOR).

Transjordan

Reports in the Middle East this week also stated that in Transjordan preparations were already being made for the quartering of 150,000 British troops in the country.

It is known that the Transjordan independence move was conceived as part of a wider plan for the "fusion" of Transjordan with Iraq—the two together to enjoy the same sort of independence now conferred on Transjordan: that is to say, complete British military and economic domination (local armed forces to be paid by the British), and with British "advisers" giving their services in virtually every department of administration and political life.

The general plan calls for the use of Transjordan and Iraq as "half way houses" between the main bases in East Africa—and still further back in South Africa—and the most "forward areas."

This, therefore, is the general outline of British Imperial plan for the Arab World—for the area stretching from Libya to Turkey; and it reveals that the same old vicious hand of Imperialism, intriguing to perpetuate in a new form British domination and Arab slavery.

SHAM INDEPENDENCE FOR TRANSJORDAN

Permanent Barracks For British Armed Forces

THREAT TO FREEDOM MOVEMENTS OF ARAB WORLD

From Our Correspondent

A Treaty of "Alliance" has recently been signed between Emir Abdullah of Transjordan and the British Government, nominally to end the British Mandate and confer independence on Transjordan.

UNDER the terms of this treaty Britain will be allowed to maintain her air bases, with the Transjordan Government providing facilities for the maintenance and training of British troops. Communications and transport for these purposes will also be under British control. The Transjordan Government will still have British "advisers," while "consultation" between the two Governments will take place in respect of the country's foreign policy.

Even under the terms of the treaty, Transjordan has to maintain a big armed force; too poor to do this on its own, it has permanently pledged itself to accept a huge annual subsidy of about two and a half crore rupees; in return the British have the right to determine the training, strength and composition of Transjordan's armed forces!

Reuter's diplomatic correspondent has stated that "at a time when the maintenance of foreign troops on the territory of an independent state is one of the most controversial policies in the world, the provision that British troops are to remain in Transjordan can hardly escape foreign criticism."

Implications Of Treaty

The implications of this treaty, however, are far wider than "controversial policies" and danger of "foreign criticism."

Recent events have indicated that the Middle East is fast becoming one of the focal points of the intensified independence struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples.

In the face of increased nationalist pressure for the withdrawal of British troops (first in the Levant States, today in Egypt), a strategic regrouping of Britain's vast troop concentrations in this sphere may yet appear to reactionaries to be necessary.

The terms of the treaty make provision for this possibility.

The Arab-Jewish problem in Palestine, which constitutes Britain's "justification" for the maintenance of troops in that country, is today the smoke-screen behind which military preparations of a formidable character are taking place.

In Iraq there are also large numbers of British troops. Thus, with Iraq, "independent" Transjordan forms a vast military camp stretching from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf.

Backward Territory

Transjordan, some four times the size of Palestine, is the most backward of all the Arab territories. A large area is desert, with its population of 350,000 divided into two main groups, nomads and settled peasants living and toiling in the most primitive conditions.

Apart from a few small cigarette factories, industry is nonexistent. Of considerable importance, however, is the Haifa-Mesul oil pipe line, which traverses some 200 miles of the territory, and which gives employment to some thousands of workers.

Arising out of the events of the last war, the British placed two princelings of the Hussein

(Hashimite) family on the thrones of Iraq and Transjordan to act as the custodians of British companies' oil interests in the Arab countries.

Recent events have tightened the companies' bonds with the Hashimites. These princelings and their cliques of landlords had not become "infected" by the penetration of rival American interests into the Middle East. Also certain British reactionaries are now working to re-establish and widen their "power bloc" in the Middle East against the rising national independence movement.

Turkish Reaction

In their plans they seek to utilize Turkish reactionaries as well as the Hashimite princes. Thus, for example, a new treaty between Iraq and Turkey has been brought about and, just at the moment, when there is a rising demand in Iraq for radical revision of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty, Dr. Kakheril Jamali, Director-General of the Iraq Foreign Office, has declared that "certain Iraq circles feel that British air bases give Iraq security."

Further schemes are under consideration, and in these Emir Abdullah of Transjordan has an important role to play. His recently published book, My Reminiscences, gives some indication of just what this role is.

Of the Arab League he writes: "The present call for Arab unity is of doubtful origin and should be examined...subversive efforts are current and thus a union of Arab States is an intangible project." (page 237).

Egypt's dominating position in the League is attacked; "as long as the Arab League is centred in Egypt it is extremely dangerous."

His eagerness to serve his British paymasters found expression in reminding Ibn Saud of Britain's protest against the granting of oil and gold concessions to the American companies in the peninsula and denounced them as ungodly and not in accordance with Allah's will: "these regions are holy and Ibn Saud may not desecrate them by permitting foreigners to introduce industry which would cause people to forget the Almighty." (p. 258).

His hated rival is designated as a butcher and plunderer; whilst Syria and Lebanon are given a stern warning for not having accepted the "Great Syrian" project.

It will be seen, then, that this recent treaty, coming almost simultaneously with the Iraqi-Turkey pact, is part of strategy adopted to achieve dominance in the Middle-East. There are already indications of further developments which may follow the eventual union with Iraq.

In Palestine both the Hebrew and Arab Press report that partition on the lines of the Peel Report will be put forward by the Inquiry Commission as the "solution" of the Palestine problem. This would include the non-Jewish part of Palestine into Abdullah's kingdom.

Widespread Alarm

It is not surprising, therefore, that in Egypt these recent developments, coming on the eve of the negotiations for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936, have caused grave concern and dismay.

Here it is asked how "independence" is compatible with the maintenance of British troops when the core of Egypt's

demands is the evacuation of British troops.

Syria, too, has been filled with alarm and indignation.

The Syrian paper, *Sani-as Shaab* attacks the treaty bitterly as a threat to the independence of all Arab lands, writing:

"No one doubts that the retention of British armed forces in Transjordan is an occupation of a very real kind." The *Varada* is even more categorical. It writes:

Escaping Criticism

"Britain understood that she could not freely leave her troops on the territory of the Arab countries, in view of their participation in the United Nations Organisation. She understood also that all her Mandate rights would pass into the hands of the Trusteeship Council."

"Britain, therefore, hastened to announce the independence of Transjordan and concluded a treaty with the obedient Emir—a Treaty whereby Transjordan becomes a barracks for British armed forces evacuated from other Arab countries."

"By this treaty, Britain has secured for herself a place from which she will threaten all the surrounding Arab countries. (Emphasis ours)."

"Emir Abdullah signed the Treaty, thereby doing harm to all the Arab countries, ignoring the opinion of his own people and forgetting that Transjordan was not his property to do with exactly what he liked."

(Soviet Monitor, 12-4-46.)

Thus "independence" for Transjordan is only a trick to escape the growing criticism—at home and abroad—of Britain's colonial policy. In fact, Transjordan remains a British colony from which British Imperialism will continue to direct its attempts to continue its dominance of the Arab peoples and their lands.