

Communist Candidate From Darjeeling — Life-Sketch by G. L. Subba

GURKHA 'ROBIN HOOD'

Leader Of Tea-Plantation Workers

In my school days stories of Robinhood used to fascinate me very much. At that time some senior students of Darjeeling used to tell me a very similar story, not of Robinhood, to be sure, it was about one RATANLAL, popularly known as "My-la Bajay" (My-la means second son or brother and Bajay literally means grandfather, but Gurkha Brahmins are called Bajay).

I heard about his courage, about his bravery, about his daring exploits—how he looted the rich and gave away the looted money to the poor. I had heard that the rich feared him like "Yama" (god of death) and the poor worshipped him. And of course, many legends had also sprung up around him.

I was filled with an urge to know him, see him, talk to him. But this was not to be until six years later.

The first time I saw him was in a law-court. He was in the witness-box giving evidence for a woman in distress. From all I had heard about him I had imagined him to be a very strong and muscular man. And legend had it that he was powerfully built possessing a doublewrist! Tall, about six feet in height, so very unlike most Gurkhas, and slim, he was standing in the witness-box—smiling.

Was he the same Ratnalal about whom I had heard so much all these years? He looked very human just like any simple, unsophisticated Gurkha. But behind his smiling face, was not something striking observable?

A little more acquaintance with him convinced me that he was not merely a Robinhood, robbing the rich and helping the poor, a leader of outlaws, but something more—he was a born revolutionary and a leader of the masses.

Tells As a Boy; Reformer In His Teens

To write the full story of Ratnalal would require a big volume. He was born in the year 1907 in Darjeeling. He lost his father at the early age of four. He passed his early life in his step-brother's house. Both he and his widowed mother had to work hard. They had to hew wood, cut grass and graze cattle in the jungle.

One day he was crossing a stream in flood with a load of grass on his back. He slipped and fell into the river. The angry torrent carried him some distance but his friends saved him. But the load of grass was lost for which his step-brother punished him!

Then both he and his mother served a Bihar milkman doing for him the same kind of work. As a cowherd in the jungle the young Ratnalal would learn fighting, lathi play, using the Kukri, etc. which proved so valuable later. He would arrange mock-fights and often he and his friends returned home full of bruises and bandaged heads.

Fought Superstitions

From his boyhood he fought against silly superstitions. One common superstition among the people is that the graveyards are haunted by ghosts. Often Ratnalal, tired after the day's work, used to sleep upon fresh graves with the grass load on his back. Here he used to see the dead bodies of low-caste Gurkhas callously thrown about which later urged him to start the "Gurkha Dukkha Niwarak Sammelan" (the Association for removing the grievances of Gurkhas) which still exists. One of its aims is to give proper burial to the dead bodies of low-caste Gurkhas.

When twelve years old he lost his mother. The struggle for a



Ratan Lal Brahman

living grew harder. So he made up his mind to give up this life in the jungle. First he worked as a boy servant in a Bengal Baba's house. During his leisure hours he learnt reading and writing. He was very fond of two things, grazing cows and reading newspapers. He never forgot them through all the vicissitudes of life.

Next he went to a nearby tea garden (Takvar tea estate) and worked here as an ordinary labourer breaking tea-leaves and carrying them to the factory for nearly two years. His wage was miserable.

Meets Gandhiji, Hears Magic Word of Swaraj

He came back to Darjeeling and took the job of a "thakur"

in a leading lawyer's house. Here also he continued reading and writing—all by himself. At this time Gandhiji came to Darjeeling and Ratnalal for the first time heard about Swaraj. The non-co-operation movement had spread even among the backward Gurkhas. Swaraj was in the air though few understood what it meant.

In the tea gardens the late Dal Bahadur Giri, Gurkha Congress leader, popularised one slogan: "Uproot the tea plants and grow maize or paddy instead." Touching Gandhiji's feet or body was

the usual custom in those days. Ratnalal also touched Gandhiji's body struggling through the thick crowd which had gathered to hear him. Tea garden labourers at that time believed that the British were packing up and the hated tea garden managers would also go. And so they measured up the tea gardens for division among themselves!

After this Ratnalal went to Ilam, the headquarters of Eastern Nepal, to work as a thakur in the durbar of the Rana. Here he was promoted from a thakur to a subedar for his honesty. But soon he was disgusted with the feudal atmosphere of the durbar and returned to Darjeeling.

He got the job of a road chowkidar under the municipality on a monthly pay of Rs. 15/- and he continued in this post for six years. In the meantime he had not forgotten his cows. After work, he used to go to the jungle to fetch grass for them, milk them and sell the milk in the town—all by himself. Like this he made some money and when he gave up, the job of chowkidar he had saved up Rs. 3,200/-

Drops Anti-Muslim Prejudices

With this money he purchased a motor car. He learnt motor-driving and drove for another six years. In 1934 he married Hapimiya who is also a Communist Party member and built a house

in Singenari where he still lives. The real life of Ratnalal, the leader of the Gurkhas, now began. He was a regular reader of Vimuktive and read in it stories of so-called Muslim atrocities against the Hindus. This made him intensely anti-Muslim and he organised the Gurkha youths to beat up Muslims wherever they could be found.

The local loyalist Hindus, both Gurkhas and Bengalis, encouraged him in his anti-Muslim activities. But later they all turned against him when they saw him give them up—knowing how wrong and futile they were.

Ratnalal now began to see the hypocrisy of these self-constituted leaders and the bureaucracy. He saw the corrupt officials prosecuting the poor drivers on the slightest pretext and the poor kisan fleeced by the lawyers and their stooges. Their miserable condition aroused in him love and sympathy for them and intense hatred for the bureaucrats and exploiters.

So he made it a regular habit to visit the law-court to help the poor people with money and thus save them from the greed of the hungry lawyers and officials.

The bureaucracy detained him in jail several times. Once in a single day 28 cases were pending against him for trial! And unusually no less than one hundred cases were brought against him on charges of murder, loot, assault, rash-driving, and what not! And yet he could be convicted only once—for rash-driving! The poor loved him, worshipped him. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 1.)

In The "Kingdom" Of White Tea-Garden Owners

POLICE TERROR AGAINST COMMUNIST LEADERS

Darjeeling is famous for its tea and notorious for the tyranny of the White tea-plantation owners. On October 15, at an open meeting of the garden workers and the general public, it was announced that the popular Gurkha leader RATANLAL, would stand as a Communist candidate for the tea garden Labour map in the Provincial Assembly election.

On November 1, three weeks later, a posse of police, intruded into Ratnalal's home and arrested him on a charge of dacoity! The dacoity was said to have taken place in the Gymkhana Club, Darjeeling, and it was alleged that Rs. 18,500 had been stolen!

The Superintendent of Police (S.P.) while questioning Ratnalal called him a "Desot Sardar." Ratnalal called the S.P. a "down-right liar." There was not a shred of evidence against Ratnalal, nor could there be, to connect him with the dacoity, if dacoity there was.

The next day the Police had to let him go but it is learnt that they are still trying to get some evidence against him.

Behind these simple facts is hidden a conspiracy of the White bosses of the tea gardens, which we expose here.

The Plotters Meet

For the first time in the long history of these White plantation kings' tyrannical rule over the workers, Communists had begun to awaken the tea garden labourers to a sense of their elementary human rights. At the meeting announcing Ratnalal's candidature, it was also announced that a Union would be formed. This was too dangerous for the white bosses.

So they rushed to the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, and appealed for help. At a meeting held in the Deputy Commissioner's Office, it was decided that Ratnalal should be arrested on some pretext and kept in jail or convicted on a framed up charge. The same evening, this news came to the mole, Chakra (boy above ten) and in the Provincial Assembly also was

Lakra (child below ten) and their wages were five and a half and four annas, ten pice and six pice per day respectively. The tea garden manager was a "Chhota Hitler" in his own garden. He could, if he chose, throw out a worker and his family within 24 hours though the family might have been born and bred in this hell. This is called "Hata Balak"—meaning kick-out. Hundreds of families are turned out like this every year.

During the war, the wages did not increase despite the high cost of living. Instead, the bosses said they would supply rice at concession rates of five pence a rupee.

But they were such callous profiteers that they cheated the poor worker even of this concession by the rule that a worker must have worked for four consecutive days to get the benefit of this concession. Since the work is seasonal and lasts only for six months, it was available only for that period.

Secondly, they always managed to distribute work in such a way that a large number of workers were not given work for four consecutive days.

No outsider is allowed to enter this owners' kingdom; the bosses' word is law inside it.

Challenge To Tyrants

Under these conditions, suppressed and cut off from the outside world, the workers remained ignorant of their rights, only protesting against unbearable conditions through sporadic strikes or sporadic assaults on corrupt managers and clerks. But the Police would every now rush to the help of the bosses. For one man shot, twenty would be arrested, flogged and jailed.

The one unit given to tea-garden workers to ventilate their grievances in the Provincial Assembly also was

to be filled by the bosses' dala! Anyone who entered the tea gardens would be held up for incitement to strike, riot and what not. The bosses would decide which workers should go on the electoral rolls and they chose only the 'reliable', those who could be tyrannised into voting for the dala.

Thus even for the forthcoming elections, there are only 2,000 of them registered as voters out of a total population in the constituency of 30,000. If the voters were honestly registered, there would be at least 4,000 on the rolls. Until nomination papers are filed (and this will come off in December only) even the candidate standing for this constituency cannot enter it.

In the speech of Ratnalal (see above) you will read how he and the Communist Party have fought for the rights of these workers. Meetings were held on market days and the message of human rights was conveyed to them and they were roused to unite and stand up against the bosses' tyranny.

Why This Conspiracy

The majority of tea garden workers are Gurkhas. Ratnalal is the most popular Gurkha leader. The Communist Party is the only Party that is fearlessly fighting for the rights of the tea garden workers. So the Police which is at the beck and call of the White bosses attacks both, G. L. Subba, the young Gurkha Secretary of the Darjeeling District unit of the Party is being prosecuted on a charge of spreading disaffection among the Armed Forces of His Majesty and eliciting military intelligence.

What is the basis of these grave charges? Nothing more than the fact that Subba interviewed a Gurkha who had been to the Soviet Union and the Gurkha had told Subba how much he admired the Soviet land, how much better conditions in the Red Army were compared with those in the 'Armed Forces' of His Majesty!

That is how the White bosses and the local bureaucrats are conspiring to cheat the tea garden workers of their democratic rights and forcing one Party which fights for these rights.

IN MALABAR : Communist Election Campaign Launched

"JATHAS" TOUR ★ 55,000 People Covered VILLAGES

IN NOVEMBER 11 SIMULTANEOUSLY AT TEN CENTRES IN ALL THE TALUKS OF MALABAR, MASS RALLIES WERE HELD TO ANNOUNCE THE COMMUNIST PARTY CANDIDATES FROM THE DISTRICT TO THE MADRAS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

These rallies were preceded by an intensive campaign conducted throughout the taluks by jathas (squads) touring from village to village beginning from November 1.

In CHIRAKKAL Taluk (the Party's strongest Kisan base) four jathas were organised; all together they held 100 meetings attended by 15,000 people—mainly kisans.

In KOTTAYAM Taluk, two jathas held 38 meetings, covering 5,400 people.

Four jathas in KURUMBRA-NAD Taluk covered almost all the villages, held 64 meetings, spoke to 6,500 people.

In CALICUT Taluk, there were two jathas. They covered 200 miles, addressed 70 meetings of 6,800 people—workers, peasants and village middle-class.

In ERNAD Taluk, two jathas were organised. Ernad is the heart of the Moplah (Muslim) region in Malabar. This was the first time after the 1920 Moplah rebellion that political slogans and the message of freedom were taken to the heroic Moplah peasants and their response showed that the Moplahs still remain the same brave fighters for freedom as ever. Sixty seven meetings were held, 12,500 Moplahs, aged peasants battle-scarred in the old rebellion, attended the meetings.

In WALLUVANAD Taluk, jathas toured 75 villages, held more than 25 meetings attended by 4,000 people.

There was only one jatha in PALGHAT Taluk, which covered 50 villages, addressed nearly 3,000 people in 15 meetings.

The two jathas of PONNANI Taluk held 40 meetings and spoke to more than 4,000 people.

Election Slogans

All told 18 jathas addressed more than 400 small and big meetings, 55,000 people attending them.

At every rally a board was put up, showing the number of people who attended it and the amount of money collected for the Party from the rally.

In all these meetings and tours the appeal of the jathas to the people was:

* Return Congress (in General Constituencies) and League (in Muslim Constituencies) candidates to the Central Assembly in the ensuing elections;

* Not to allow their villages to be split up into Congress, League and Communist sections and thus fan the flames of civil strife in the countryside.

* Help build Congress-League-Communist unity to win quicker freedom, food and jobs for all in our country.

Their call was:

* Build up mass organisations to fight the hoarder, profiteer, reactionary capitalist boss and corrupt bureaucrat;

* The Congress and the League must work together after the elections, as before, in the Central Assembly on a programme to defeat imperialist measures against the people.

From every meeting, it was demanded from the Government:

* Allow the COMMUNIST PARTY to convert Desakshamani, its Malayalam organ, into a daily immediately.

* Withdraw the warrant against A. K. Gopalan (Communist leader who had been underground for the last four and a half years and who came out a fortnight ago and was immediately arrested by the Police. He has been released now). We want him in the Legislative Assembly as our representative.

People's Response

Naturally enough the people enthusiastically responded to these slogans. In Chirakkal Ta-

★ 35,000 At Mass Rallies

retary who nursed my brother to life. I won't allow our Sangham to be split. There is something wrong with those who say that the Party under which Kannanayal was cultivated (referring to the GMF campaign) are traitors."

From the landlord-ridden Waluvanad Taluk, peasants were talking among themselves after attending our meeting: "If the juntas (landlords) take all our votes, our fate is starvation and misery."

In Payyannur Firka (Chirakkal Taluk) one Muslim Leagues bought four annas worth of literature and gave Re. 1. When the junta leader returned the balance, he asked us to keep the money as donation.

A grand old Moplah peasant from Eastern Ernad was enthusiastically listening to the speech of P. Ahmed Kutty. When the speaker said that only if the Congress and the League united, could we get food, sugar and kerosene, he clapped his hands and urged the audience: "Now is the time to clap your hands, boys. You don't even know when to clap."

Don't Want Oppressors

In Ponnani Taluk, one of the most affected areas during the food scarcity and epidemics, where in one village the Party and Kisan Sabha had organised a big Grow-More-Food (GMF) campaign, a peasant said: "When small-pox came, it was the Sangham (Kisan Sangham) Sec-

Taluk, the junta was holding a

meeting. Fifteen urchins led by the assistant village Karnam and another drunkard came to the meeting and began shouting. These same people acting as agents of the junta, had formerly disturbed Congress meetings.

But the more the people hear the slogans of unity and the more they see how the anti-Communists are mobilising the most anti-social elements of the village, they themselves come forward to prevent the use of such rotten methods.

Candidates Announced

Thus the ground was prepared for the big rallies of November 11. Rallies were held at Cannanore, Tellicherry, Vadakara, Chittanjeri, Manjeri, Perintalamanna, Palghat, Ponnani, and Talukkam.

Despite heavy rains 35,000 people attended the rallies altogether to hear the statement of E. M. S. Nambudiripad, leader of the Communists, announcing the Party candidates for the provincial elections, which was received with great ovation.

In Cannanore town (textile and handloom centre), 3,000 people marched through the streets in pouring rain before the rally, which was attended by more than 13,000. K. P. Gopalan, the veteran Congress and Trade Union leader of the taluk, is the Party candidate from this constituency. Jathas came from different parts

of the taluk to take part in the rally.

It is significant that this time there was no disturbance in the meeting whereas during the last few months anti-Communists (inspired by Samuel Aaron, most reactionary millowner Congressman of the town) used to break up every Communist meeting here. It was the strength of the audience that held them back.

The Calicut rally was attended by 5,000; rain had prevented as many from coming to the rally. When it was announced that A. K. Gopalan was standing as the Party candidate from the Calicut constituency, the entire audience rose to its feet and demanded the withdrawal of the warrant still pending against him.

Common Man Pays

After announcing the names of the Party candidates, K. Damodaran appealed for funds. A Muslim Leagues who wanted to remain anonymous gave 100 rupees; two others gave Rs. 5 each. A young Muslim student sang two songs saying that he had nothing to give to the Party except the songs. The audience readily responded and collected Rs. 6-2 on his behalf. About Rs. 200 were collected from the rally.

In Manjeri, the Party held its biggest rally among Moplahs. 2,500 old and young, peasants and middle-class came to the meeting. Mohammed Israfil is the Communist candidate for one of the two Muslim seats here.

Mohammed Koya addressed the gathering explaining the election programme of the Party and pointing out the grim prospect before us if we did not unite.

"That young man is talking sense. He has correctly pictured what will happen when our soldiers are demobilised and return to our villages. I have decided whom to give my vote," commented a middle-aged Moplah after hearing Koya.

Underground Leader Appears

In Perintalamanna, the Taluk Headquarters of Walluvanad Taluk, where E. M. S. Nambudiripad is contesting the general seat, the rally turned out to be an historical one. A. K. Gopalan (who had been underground till then) suddenly appeared at the rally. The police had been hunting for him for the last four and a half years after his escape from the Vellore jail in September 1941. The common people had protected him all these years.

Introducing himself as A. K. Gopalan he spoke for about ten minutes when the police came and arrested him; standing between the policemen who had arrested him, he appealed to the 1,000 and odd people gathered there:

"Let those who say that Communists are agents of imperialism, that we have gone to the other side, witness this scene. The people will decide on which side we have been and are now. No one can root out the Communist Party from this country by slanders. As long as there is misery in the land, as long as there are starving stomachs in the land, so long will our Party remain and continue to grow stronger."

"Let Congressmen and Leagues not waste their energy in trying to wipe us out; let them unite to wipe out the scourge of British Imperialism from our Motherland."

the fields belonging to them. Wanton beatings locking them up without food, employing Pathans against the men, thefts of even the petty belongings of the Warlis, etc. were common occurrences.

The authorities certainly did not lack ingenuity.

At Dhaundipada, some Warlis were made to hold their toes and then beaten on the spine. They also adopted the method of beating them on the chest until stones tied up inside a piece of cloth, it leaves no tell-tale marks, but affects the lungs.

At Hormone, the police arrested Deviya Vavhy, took him to a subhukar's place at Zarli. There a police officer threw him down, kicked him in the neck and beat him on the back with the knob of his cane.

Burning Him Alive

But by far the most harrowing tales comes from Vhanti Benda: Ghast-Ghantang in his jungle but he told his story:

"I was locked up in a room in the subhukar's house. Two policemen held me tight. And then the beating started. They beat me on the back. (Continued on Page 11, Col. 1.)



Vhanti Benda Gherai, whose story of police torture on him appears in this article.

Even the wounded were not spared. Shabnam Sumbalya, aged 12, had two bullet wounds near the hips. He had to be carried home. But neither his age nor his bleeding wounds could save this boy from the lock-up.

Jamma Chandru is 35. He got a bullet on the skin bone, from which he fainted through loss of blood. He too was taken to the lock-up.

Chaitya Sukhi, aged 60, was ill. But he shared the same as the other Warlis: the lock-up and beating.

Of the 80 arrested, after great efforts, 81 were released on bail, but not Taiyal, the leader of the Kisan Sabha, nor the other Warli leaders. It is worth noting here that Mr. Dave, the

Al Adimal Village, police and subhukars' goondas broke into the house of one Kalu Kokna. Beating him all the way, they dragged him to an open field. Since then Kalu has not been heard of.

Similar stories of 'co-operation' between the police and the subhukars have come from the village of Nazri, Dhaundipada, etc.

A Pathak arrested a number of Warlis, took them to a subhukar's place and had them mercilessly beaten up. They were all charged with 'assaulting' one Ramu of Nazri.

At Warikas, Dabchhari and other places, the subhukars' men threatened the Warlis with murder, shooting, etc. if they 'did not work'. When the Warlis escaped into the jungles they let loose their cattle on

GURKHA SOLDIERS OF FREEDOM

at the moment? He goes to visit the Party office regularly, starts small. He earned only Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per month. His name is WANGDI LAMA, he is now a member of the Communist Party in Darjeeling.

WANGDI LAMA was born in 1913 in Jalgathor, Cherrapunji, a military outpost, about a mile and a half from Darjeeling town. His parents were very poor, they were daily-paid labourers. They used to live in a dilapidated palanquin which he shared with his mother. He usually results that he used to sleep in his chariot and used to get double pay-days.

But one day he had to leave school as his parents were too poor to pay even his fees. In those days primary schools also failed fast. From the early age of eight he began to work as a labourer. This small daily wage he got was hardly sufficient for a living. How could he help his parents whose money-lenders would not let him go?

So Wangdi got himself rented as a cook—soon he became a good one. He started in a sardar's house earning about Rs. 30/- a month. His honesty and efficiency won the admiration of all those under whom he worked.

Next he got the job of a military store-keeper which brought him more money. With his savings he purchased a piece of land in Balikha Bazaar and settled there for some years. Finally he came to his present village, Sanktola. He purchased about two acres of land and the sardar friends, they sold through their united efforts until they got their necessities.

The DAWBELLING DISTRICT COUNCIL CROPS WAS SORRYLY WASTED A MONTH AND WANGDI HAD TO REPAIR IT.

A wage-signature campaign was launched demanding eight bales of Khasi oil per tonnage and one trip-wheel tynes of charcoal.

Once the Indians sent their police force to Wangdi's

sufficient considering the large number of destitutes.

What could he do? An idea? He approached his sardar-kisan friends for contributions, appealing to their good sense. He visited every household where he found men and women in Calcutta and appealed to collect Rs. 12/- And the 250 rupees was sent to the money-lender-in-charge of the great Balikha and promised to send him back when he reached home.

He came back home and asked his wife to give him all the money they had. His wife hesitated. But he persisted and convinced her that he was doing nothing wrong. She gave him Rs. 200/- the amount of contributions their total earnings of four months. He thought that the amount was in-

adequate and began to earn in two bullock carts.

First met him at Darjeeling town during our campaign against the black book of Churchill, Lala and Co's Vegetables. Wangdi had a good amount of land and was working it in the black-market, selling out pairs of iron wheel tyres found in his garden. When tyres were found in his garden on account, he escaped punishment through some legal flaws.

He was much impressed by our campaign and began to come to

our meetings and rallies.

Who was this peasant who gave Rs. 200, that is, all he had

left him? He had kept it for his wife and children.

He came back home and said his wife that he had given all the money he had. His wife hesitated. But he persisted and convinced her that he was doing nothing wrong. She gave him Rs. 200/- the amount of contributions their total earnings of four months. He thought that the amount was in-

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Wangdi had organised the people and knew their invincible power and had victory with in their strength.

We came to the Party as members in the Darjeeling Party office looking for help. We were told that the manager was very suspicious of the sardar and the sardar was told to be here. "Ah yes," replied the sardar without realising it. "This fellow belongs to the black-market."

He was scared and the sardar was shocked to find that he was a member of the CPI.

In 1942 a woman labourer (whose name is Bimala) was arrested by the tea garden manager on a charge of treason. The husband of the woman had joined the Labour Corps at Manipur and had made some alliteration for her. Alliteration was paid through the tea garden manager who, fearing labourers from their gardens, sent them to the manager's bungalow as she was expecting to get her monthly payment. The hungry manager whipped her instead and had her arrested for treason.

He worker dared give evidence against the manager, who has the power to kick him out within twenty-four hours. In spite of this Bimala got justice for the workers and ultimately freed her. She had to spend a lot of money over this case as no lawyer would come forward to help.

Bimala Brahman

Last year a similar incident occurred in another tea garden. The manager of the Bokcham tea estate beat up a poor worker, Sandeshan Hal, whose wife had said something unpleasant to the manager's assembled tea workers. Hal had to leave the garden.

He worker dared give evidence against the manager, who has the power to kick him out within twenty-four hours. In spite of this Bimala got justice for the workers and ultimately freed her. She had to spend a lot of money over this case as no lawyer would come forward to help.

Tea Party

Bimala joined the Communists in July 1943. At this time Bimala was taking care of the tea garden and was selling at Rs. 30 to 40 a month; half of her salary. Bimala would not organize the tea garden workers. She was the only one who did not earn any money.

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MASS UPSURGE OF MUSLIM PEOPLE

But Leadership Still Goes In For Opportunist Toadies : --Choice Of Central Assembly Candidates

During the last two weeks I have attended a great many League meetings in the Punjab, and talked to a number of League leaders, ordinary League workers and Muslims.

The picture that emerges in my mind is one of startling contradictions.

On the one hand there is immense enthusiasm for Pakistan and for the Muslim League.

Huge League meetings are being held and it is quite clear that an overwhelming majority of the Muslims are with the Muslim League and that with adult franchise the League could sweep the polls.

Dehi, once a stronghold of Muslim Nationalists and the Ulama is no longer so. On November 4 here, 20,000 came to Mian Ittikhad's meeting.

There was even larger attendance at his Lahore meeting. On the Id Day in the Badshahi Mosque at Lahore where more than 80,000 had assembled to say their prayers, the League volunteers were briskly selling Pakistan emblems which were pinned by all on their kurta or shawaris. A couple of Khaksars who stood shouting provocative slogans were made fun of and ignored.

Primary League Committees in Lahore mohallas hold meetings, exhorting people to vote for the League. In the working-class suburb of Lahore, Mughalpura, 2,000 attended a well-organised League Conference.

In the countryside also there is very great stir. Muslim peasants, labourers, landlords and in many

cases even Zamindars and zaildars come to League meetings and Conferences.

I attended one of the District League Conferences at Rohtak (a small district town in Ambala division). Here the League is organisationally weak and it is a Hindu majority district. But more than 30,000 from all four Tehsils of the district attended the Conference. An overwhelming majority of the audience consisted of peasants and men of small means.

At League Organisers' Training School

I also visited a League Organisers' Political Training School at Baghbanpura, Lahore. Here, there were about 30 pupils who had come from 16 districts of the Punjab. This was the second school of its kind which the Punjab Provincial Muslim League had organised. Village teachers, poor Maulvis, students, peasants and small zamindars, who are now devoting most of their time in organising the Muslim League, in their areas—such was the complexion of this school. Among those who lectured at the school were Mian Bashir Ahmed, Abdurrahman Malik and Danial Latif.

The school lasted for one week and lectures were given on: Dis-

astrous effect of British Imperialism on India, with special emphasis on the ruin of industries run by Muslims and impoverishment of Muslim agriculturists (e.g. in Bengal); the patriotic movement of the Muslims against British Imperialism since the 19th Century up to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's time; the freedom movement among Hindu peoples under the Congress leadership; the Khilafat movement and the growth and development of the Muslim League and the Pakistan demand; finally the nature of Unionist reaction in the Punjab and the League struggle against it. Organisational problems of the League and the forthcoming election campaign were also dealt with.

Another school is due to start from November 26.

Munir Daulana (General Secretary of the Provincial League) and Ataullah Shahani (a rising young League agitator and organiser) gave me graphic accounts of the great awakening that is taking place in the great Muslim belt of the Western Punjab, in the Multan and Rawalpindi divisions. Here the League is for the first time carrying the message of freedom and Pakistan.

Peasants oppressed and terrified by landlord-zoolum come to League meetings; there they see in many cases their landlords and oppressors also sitting. They are exhorted to come under the banner of the League and not to be afraid of Police and landlord terrorism, but face it bravely.

Landlords are asked to give up their ancient clan and tribal rights, give up selfishness and subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the Muslim Qura.

There is a split in the ranks of the landlords; only a small section is left with the Unionists and their Zamindari League.

Unionists Politically Beaten Already

The Unionists have been unable to hold any mass meeting among the Muslims for the last two or three months. They hold cloistered meetings of their landlord factions. Daulana told me how the Unionist Minister, Aslam Hussain, held a meeting of a couple of hundred Zamindars and landlords in his Multan constituency where an appeal was made to them purely on selfish and clan lines.

Here too, many of those present declared privately to the Minister that it was impossible to oppose the League or the Pakistan demand; people were not with them.

There is a similar story about A. K. Jodali, son of the richest man in the Punjab, a Military Contractor, and one of the pillars of the Unionist Party. A. K. Jodali is standing for election from one of the rural constituencies of Ferozepur District in the Central Punjab. When told that mass sentiment was running against the Unionists and in favour of the League, he boasted it did not matter. He is reported

to have said that he would spend five lakhs and see that he won the seat!

It is quite clear that the Unionists are morally and politically already whipped and beaten. Only intrigue, official pressure and corrupt practices remain as their sheet-anchor in the Punjab today.

But what of the League, the main political force which is today arrayed against the Unionists?

A responsible League leader told me that if the League had six months more to campaign, no Muslim seat would be won by the Unionists, except the three or four of the Landholders' Constituencies. But the position at the moment is that, of 80 odd Muslim seats, the League hopes to win only between 50 to 60.

Weakness Of League Leadership

Why this weakness?

First and foremost is the fact that the League leadership in the Punjab has been, unable to organise and develop the great upsurge which is moving the Muslim masses to-day in the Punjab. One and all, they complain of lack of good organisers, workers and agitators in the Muslim League.

It seems paradoxical that, with the entire Muslim educated middle-class of the towns and villages with the League, and with the support of the largest sections of Muslim peasants, zamindars and town poor, not enough or

(Continued on page 9, Col. 2.)

IN BOMBAY

by A. S. R. Chari

BIGGER ASSAULT ON COMMUNIST PHQ

ON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 24, A CROWD OF 200 led by the same goondas who had led the three previous raids on our Party headquarters came straight from the meeting at Chowpatty addressed by Sardar Patel and laid seige to it.

ONE OF OUR COMRADES WHO ATTENDED THE MEETING telephoned to us that the crowd was being mobilised at Chowpatty for the raid. The question arose: should we defend ourselves and disperse them? We decided that we should not. Countrywide Police repression and firing on student demonstrators clearly showed that the Police would only take advantage of any disturbance to open fire. We decided to lock ourselves in, and let the raiders shout on.

The Attack

The rowdies found the entrance door locked, they tried to force it open but were not able to do so. Then they began to throw mud, stones, chappals etc. at our Office. They smashed window-panes and kept up their frenzied shouting. This went on for over half an hour.

The Police then came upon the scene and the crowd began to move away from the door. I opened the gate and came out. The goonda-leader whom I described in my report of the previous raid came up to where I was talking with two spectators and began to abuse me filthily saying I was responsible for the trouble. I caught and gave him a couple of sound smacks. He bolted.

The crowd that had moved away formed itself into a procession with the job of hunting down this crowd of 300. The goonda gang was so cowardly that it dare not face these four Communists. A few hard blows and they turned tail and fled. It is a slender to call these cowards the people or August revolutionaries. Surely our people and still more our Congress fighters who fight for a cause have far greater courage and can stand up and fight long and hard. But this was a hireling crowd of goondas who attacked us because they were hired for it and dared not risk their skin.

Police Arrest Us

While the main crowd of raiders moved away, a small group went

The crowd now stationed itself in the adjoining lanes and started hurling bricks and soda-water bottles on us. Ten of our comrades were hit: Bhagwan our Treasurer got a deep cut in the head which had to be stitched. The attack with soda-water bottles and stones went on for 15 to 20 minutes. People in a passing tram were also hurt. The whole area was strewn with glass, stones etc. The police then came again and the goondas went away.

Such is the story of the raids on our Office. Let us see now how the Press played it up.

Congress Press

Concoctions

The Navakar, the well-known Marathi daily, served up the news thus:

"COMMUNISTS GO MAD"—"INCORRECT PASSERS-BY BEATEN."

"Bombay—Saturday—Tonight, near the Communists' Head Office, innocent passers-by on the road were set upon by some Communists and beaten with lathis and sticks. It is understood that some people who were returning after the Chowpatty meeting散了 were passing by the road shouting slogans of victory to the Congress. These slogans of victory to the Congress maddened the Communists in their Head Office and some of them rushed out with sticks etc. But since the crowd had meanwhile gone away a good distance, these Communists vented their wrath on those who were passing to and fro and quite unprepared for this assault."

Every word of it is false. It was the same old trick that anti-Communist Congress leaders had used in Andhra, the same game that we had anticipated just written about in our own report of the last raid. The Navakar was once a paper with clean traditions and when it kills the truth like this at the bidding of the anti-Communist Congress leaders of Bombay, one can only fear for the future of Indian democracy.

The Vishwamitra, a Congress Hindi daily, gave the headline: "THEY CAME OUT WITH LATHIS." It put out the same story that the Communists were enraged by Congress slogans but improved on the Navakar by saying that later on there was a clash between "Communists and the people." It said, "Communists rushed out with lathis, stones, bottles and bricks began to rain." It did not say who threw them, obviously the people could not have done it!

But you cannot conceal the truth and in the Congress press itself there could not but be a division. Even the Lokmat, the pro-Congress, anti-Communist Marathi daily, edited by P. V. Gadgil, gave a seven column headline to the story thus:

"GOONDAS TWICE RAID COMMUNIST PARTY'S HEAD OFFICE. STRONG ASSAULT WITH STONES, BRICKS AND SODA-WATER BOTTLES. 10 COMMUNISTS INJURED. 3 SERIOUSLY—POLICE ARREST 8 COMMUNISTS ONLY."

It gave a story which was substantially true.

The Prabhat, a pro-Mahasabha Marathi daily gave an anti-Congress twist and headlined it:

"ANOTHER INSTANCE OF CONGRESS GOONDAGIRI IN BOMBAY. STONE THROWING ON COMMUNIST OFFICE—TEN PERSONS INJURED."

The Gujarati Congress daily Janmabhoomi, tried to effect a compromise between truth and falsehood and reported:

"It is said that stones were thrown from the Office of the Communists at the crowd which was shouting slogans and it is said that one important leader of the Communist Party opening the door of the Communist Party Office attacked the crowd of the people. So the people got excited. And after that there was a free fight. Regarding the arrest of the two Communists it wrote:

"After this, a crowd had collected again. The crowd again tried to enter the Communist office from the rear lane. Two Communists who were standing there as guards started marauding after some discussion."

The Janmabhoomi reporter certainly has a peculiar idea of political discussions. Reciting his report, one would think that the goondas had rushed into our rear gate at 10 p.m. to carry on a political discussion in the darkness!

He used his powers of imagination even more and wrote:

"10 Communists were injured. Three received serious injuries. Many, many from the crowd had received injuries." (Pravasi—Sunday Edition of Janmabhoomi—Nov. 25)

Obviously the Janmabhoomi editor like every other patriotic daily had received a 'directive' how to report the incident.

API's False Version

The Associated Press of India, which claims to be only a news-agency, and impartial, is the Indian branch of Reuters. The API knows which way the bread is buttered. So it gives currency both to semi-official Government propaganda and official Congress propaganda thus keeping on the right side of the Government that is and

the Government that is to be. The API put across the same patently false version of the Navakar. The API Office did not care to ring up our office as many other newspapers had done. It was not necessary. Because it had obviously been told what had to be said, irrespective of what might actually have happened. I came to know of the API version only when a member of the Times of India staff rang us up and read out the API story and asked me what I had to say about it. I told him, "Every word is a shamless lie."

But though the Bombay papers may not play up this false story, it would gain country-wide currency through the API.

As for the Bombay English dailies, the Free Press Journal gave a correct account though not prominently. The Times of India published both the API and the true version but the Bombay Chronicle could not make up its mind either way and blacked out the whole incident.

This is the ugly way in which things are going even before Sardar Patel and S. K. Patil have become the power behind the Government in Bombay. The appeal that we sent to S. N. Nagindas Wadia, the President of the Bombay P.C.C. on the 11th November asking him to issue a press statement condemning goonda methods against us, has been unanswered. Even our rooster was ignored.

A Fateful Choice

Evidently, the Bombay Congress leaders do not want this goondagiri to stop, nor will they own up responsibility for it. The goondas must be left alone to physically crush us if possible and the Press is being told to lie for the sake of the Congress, and suppress truth. Communists are traitors, enemies of the Congress and, therefore, should be physically exterminated.

Let the anti-Communist Congress leaders know that we Communists cannot be terrorised or crushed. If British repression and terror could not wipe us out in the last 15 years, we will not go under the threat of their goonda gangs—but much worse than the lives of Communists are involved, the entire future of our great country is in danger.

Until all decent and honest men, who love democracy and hate tyranny and oppression raise their voice and condemn such gangsterism, far worse days are ahead for our country. Once the goonda is glorified into a Congress supporter, things will not rest with goonda raids on offices of other parties with the Press lying to hide them. It is easy for the goonda to turn to knives, clubs and sticks—then the lives of Communists are involved, the entire future of our great country is in danger.