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**THE COMMUNIST
PROGRAMME****Full Share in Tasks
of the Day**

By P. C. JOSHI

On August 15 the Communist Party of India will, together with the rest of our countrymen, participate in the national rejoicing, salute the National Flag, as the State Flag, greet the installation of the National Government and the Constituent Assembly free to create the structure of Indian Independence based on just and democratic principles. The Nation will pay its tribute to the martyrs of three generations of our freedom struggle, soldiers, sailors, workers, peasants, students and common citizens, names that have become legendary and all those unknown whose supreme sacrifices have made this day possible. All fighting forces of the Nation will recall with justified pride the part they have played in forcing imperialism to retreat and enabling the Nation to advance to its present position.

The Communist Party is firmly of the opinion that it will be mocking at the memory of our martyrs and deluding ourselves if we believe that the great struggles are over, that we can rest on our oars awhile! In fact the most decisive and critical period has opened just now. India is yet a Dominion, not an Independent Republic, part of the international, military and economic system of British Imperialism. Every form of pressure and persuasion is being used by imperial statesmen to show the "advantages" of staying inside their Commonwealth and the dangers of "isolated" independence. The Indian Princes are pressing for it and so are their allies, Indian Big Business, Highest Congress circles at New Delhi are debating the issue behind doors; so is the League leadership. What the Nation debated in the late twenties and finally settled at the historic Lahore Congress in 1930 cannot be allowed to be compromised and betrayed in 1947-48 during the coming Indo-British negotiations.

The Communist Party will rouse the vigilance of the nation to the dangers ahead and wholeheartedly ally with all truly anti-imperialist elements to ensure: Firstly, that the Constituent Assembly boldly goes forward with its Objectives Resolution and creates the structure of an independent democratic republic and the Indian Dominion remains no more than the barest temporary transitional stage. Secondly, the economic treaty with Britain must be based on the principles of mutual co-operation and mutual interests as equals, ending India's status as Britain's economic colony and respecting India's right to independent economic development. Prompt payment of our sterling must be guaranteed to enable us to plan and industrialise our country and all efforts of British monopoly capital to extract concessions and get into a position to control the Indian economy must be decisively defeated. Thirdly, India must not remain a military appendage of British Imperialism through any new form of "British aid for Indian defence." The Defence of India can and will be guaranteed by a rapidly nationalised and thoroughly democratised Indian armed forces themselves. It is British militarist slanders that India's soldiers cannot do their job, that they themselves are indispensable. India shall not be really independent with British Generals controlling our armed forces, with British having bases in our country, with India militarily linked up with the "Empire Defence Scheme." All this Lord Mountbatten and Lord Ismay sought to achieve during their last year's stay and all this is just what we have to prevent at all costs in the name of our own independence.

Inside our national movement, not one is proud of the existence of the Indian Princes inside the Indian Union.

Only the right wing national leadership defends it as a necessary stage in our onward march. They are blindly denying the active role that this tradition of fifth column of British Imperialism will play if we let them exist as autocrats over their subjects and are welcoming them or their nominees inside the organs of the Indian Union. They will act as spokesmen of British Imperialism and seek to modify our foreign, military and economic policies in the interest of their masters. Their enemies will be outside the scope of any serious all-India plan and instead open to the British capitalists and trade penetration, thus weakening and endangering the Indian economy. The mantle of "patriotism" that they so cheaply win by entering the Union is used by them to organise a more ruthless campaign against their people whose very pressure forced them inside the Union.

The Communist Party has been organising and supporting the people's struggle inside States and will redouble its efforts with a clearer vision that the States' people's struggles to liquidate princely autocracy and for democracy will help to liquidate future British bases inside our land, extend the frontiers of Indian Democracy, and make Indian unity real. Their battles are not only their own but also ours and they look to the rest of us for support. The Communist Party will spare no effort to win them over broadest support.

People look up to August 15 to begin an era of national reconstruction, liquidating the heritage of British imperial rule and building a prosperous and happy future for themselves. National and Provincial Governments promise it and call upon the people for co-operation. In spite of the grim reality that has been done so far except appeasing vested interests who on the one hand are struggling their hardest to perpetuate the existing social order and on the other getting into alliance with British business and mortgaging our economy for their selfish profits. The national movement stands committed to the principles of a democratic economy. One can begin with the famous Karachi Resolution, made through the notes of the National Planning Committee and just recall the last election manifesto of the Congress.

ECONOMIC CRISIS

The unprecedented economic crisis facing our people, the spectre of famine, soaring prices, scarcity of everything, blackmarket all round are a living condemnation of existing vested interests who control Indian economy to-day and call for their complete elimination. We either boldly change the existing British-created social order or rapidly sink under famine, pestilence, unemployment and degradation. The situation brooks no delay. The Communist Party gives flesh and blood to the pledged programme of the national movement when it demands that the Centre and Provincial Governments sharply break with vested interests and denounce their guilt to the people and together with all popular organisations formulate and carry out a five year National People's plan abolishing landlordism and giving land to the tiller, nationalising key industries and ensuring a living wage, etc., to the working class that will build the India of our dreams through the efforts of our own people which they can measure in terms of their own growing welfare.

Our people of Madras Province with eight ounces of rice ration and five yards of cloth per head know it better than any other part of India, in their own homes, that change must begin here and now if the people are to live. The Communist Party will offer full co-operation to every measure Government takes to save, feed and clothe the people. Again, the common people of Madras Province know it better what mighty popular pressures are needed before the Ministry will take such effective measures. The hungry naked of to-day rightly refuse to be satisfied with wordy "sympathy" from the "leaders." They are our proud people. Appeals for patience only makes them desperate when they see hoards of Jemies, Mirasidars and Zamindars and the profiteering of capitalists.

The Communist Party has been the first to war the Nation against this deepening crisis and in the coming days its voice will be loudest in demanding real war measures against these enemies of the people and its efforts most ceaseless in organising the broadest people's mobilisations for democratic measures here and now.

COMMUNAL TENSION

The year-old communal civil war, partition of the country and communal tension everywhere is the legacy of British rulers when they are transferring power to the Congress and League Governments. The Communist Party firmly believes that the cause of Indian unity can and must triumph and works for the same in new conditions and in every way. We demand and work for close and friendly co-operation between the two States. The needs of the defence of Pakistan and Indian Union demand the closest military alliance between the two States. We work inside both parts for ensuring communal peace through vigorous defence and active guarantee of all the just rights of the minorities. Above all when we fight for building internal democracy inside the Indian Union we are inspired with the living hope that the liquidation of landlordism and nationalisation of industries here will inspire the common people there to fight for similar things there and the growth of the common people's movements wedded to fight for democratic advance will not only solidly unite Hindus and Muslims in both parts but pave the path for a final reunion. Enormous relations between the two States, justice to minorities within, struggle to establish internal democracy are three planks that will lay the basis and lead to the reunion of the country.

All the strength of the Communist Party will go to fight shoulder to shoulder with the national movement for the realisation of complete National Independence, building democracy for our people and establishing fraternal relations between the Indian Union and Pakistan and throwing our full weight inside the UNO against the Anglo-American Imperialists and with the democratic forces headed by our great socialist neighbour, U.S.S.R. for world peace, liberation of Asia and free co-operation as equals among the peoples of the world. On the day of national triumph we will point out the pitfalls ahead and pledge anew to carry forward the fight to final victory and take our full share in the tasks of the day.

**FLAG HOISTING IN
NANKING**

NANKING, Aug. 15.
"This is indeed a historic moment in India's destiny. I do not venture to think that this moment is not without significance in the history of Asia and of the world," said Mr. K. P. S. Menon, Indian Ambassador in China, in the course of his speech on the occasion of the hoisting of the National Flag at the Indian Embassy here to-day. "At this moment the hearts of our people go out in gratitude to all those who have sustained them with their sympathy in their struggle for freedom. Never had we any doubt of China's sentiments. We are old comrades in civilisation; and we are determined to stand by each other in weal and woe."

**STATES' PEOPLES
AND THE FUTURE****Objective of Struggle**

By DWARKANATH KACHRU

WHAT will be the character and the objective of the States' people's movement in the New India? This is an important question at the moment because unfortunately the status of the people is still vague and undefined.

To-day, the 15th of August, India has attained full Dominionhood and a year hence or a little earlier she will have inaugurated a constitution of her own making—the constitution of the Republic of India. The promised day has at last arrived and the thrill of freedom and liberty fills every heart! For the first time in many centuries Indians will attain the sovereign status that will give them the necessary strength and security to shape their destiny and plan their own progress and growth.

But what about the Indian States? What will be the position of the States or their people in this picture of a free and independent India? It is true that the British Imperialist hold over the country has been withdrawn and that the States would also become free; but what is the share of the States' people in this freedom that we have won? Have the 10,000 States' subjects also become free? What is their position?

The position in the States, however, is considerably different and must be understood in all its aspects before an estimate is made of the new forces and factors which will inevitably be generated by the wake of Indian independence. It must be understood that the very outset that the States have been treated and recognised as separate and distinct entities, legally and politically, in the body politic of India. This position, unfortunately has had to be accepted notwithstanding the fact that the States were not created as separate entities and have during the last many years shared with their countrymen in the Provinces the national urge for freedom and independence. With the lapse of Paramountcy the States therefore revert back to a position which legally and technically has now come to be accepted as tantamount to sovereignty and independence. Geographical factors accompanied by the force of circumstances will thus be the only compelling factors which will tend to exercise powerful influences for the entry of States into an organic relationship with the Indian Union.

SERIOUS HANDICAPS

The Government of India has thus started functioning with serious handicaps in respect of the Indian States. No doubt that the position is one of their own creation, but it is another matter and can be dealt with separately. It was perhaps, therefore, necessary that the terms offered to the Indian Princes should have been such as to induce them to accede to the Dominion and the Union. It is, however, permissible to argue that the terms offered to the States for accession and the arrangements arrived at earlier in the Negotiating Committees fall far too short of the expectations of the States' people and may even be regarded as amounting to their betrayal. But the central fact of the situation remains and that is that the Government faces a very serious internal difficulties and certain disintegrating forces could probably not afford to be strict with the States particularly when the Princes were generally in a recalcitrant mood. Besides it was too late to think of being strict. The Congress could certainly have taken a strong stand on the States issue at the time of the Cabinet Mission. They could have insisted and with ample justification, on the States' people also being accepted as partners in the historical discussions. But that was not done. Having thus accepted the Princes and their Governments as the representatives of the States the way was thus made clear for the reactionary elements to play their role. The League-Princes axis soon became a reality and this formidable combination soon set to their task of wrecking the Cabinet Plan.

However, the axis between the League and the Princes had thus to be broken. It could be done by two methods: either by strengthening the States' people's movement thereby creating conditions in the States which would compel the rulers to retreat from their positions and come to terms with their people or by offering them terms which would lure them into accepting a position within the framework of the Indian Union and the Constituent Assembly. The Congress, perhaps due to the circumstances, accepted the path of least resistance and offered the Princes the terms which they were in a frame of mind to accept. Hence the 50-50 basis for representation in the Constituent Assembly and the terms now offered for their accession to the Union.

The next point to be considered now is the actual position in the States as it is likely to develop in the near future. Most of the States have now agreed to join the Dominion and the Constituent Assembly. They are thus parts of the Dominion of India and would no doubt be the parts of the Indian Union in the fullness of time. They are thus subject to the Central authority of the Government in respect of the subjects transferred by them to the Central authority. Internally, however, they are independent and have no legal or constitutional binding to model their internal administrations on the framework laid down for the other Units. In short the States still continue to be as autocratic and irresponsible as they were at the time of the Cabinet Mission's arrival in this country.

This state of affairs thus brings to a head the internal conflict within the States and gives another point and direction to the States' people's movement. With the increasing volume of the Indian freedom and opportunities of constructive and creative work there will naturally grow a corresponding sense of conflict between the Princes and their people.

TWO ASPECTS OF STRUGGLE

The people of the States would naturally like to be liberated and while they may accept the Princes as the constitutional heads of their States they shall accept nothing short of full and complete responsible government. They would also like to break the natural barriers and the political divisions created by the British. The problem of the States as it will develop now will thus have two aspects: the national and the local. Locally the States' people would demand popular and responsible governments more or less in harmony with similar institutions of the other units. Nationally they would want to merge in the great Indian nation and be united in a common fellowship and endeavour with their countrymen outside the States. They would thus exert maximum pressure for the States to join the Indian Union and scrap off the clause in the Instrument of Accession giving the States the option to opt out of the Union at the final stage of Dominionhood or at the time of the inauguration of the new Constitution. They would insist on the equality of status with their fellow countrymen in the other units and would willingly accept the obligations and the limitations of a unit of the Union.

Briefly stated, the objective of the States' people's movement as it will

develop now, will be the immediate establishment of full responsible governments in the States and the forging of organic and vital links with the Union. The States should thus gradually assume the character and the position of the other units conforming to them in their internal structure and differing from them only in one respect and that being that the head of the States or State unit may perhaps be a Ruler. Even ordinarily the ultimate evolution of the States as the units of the Indian Union like the other units should be regarded as the ultimate result of the growth of the Indian Union. Factors of geography and economics accompanied by other factors like the considerations of internal security and growth, defence and international solidarity and above all the mass popular urge for unity will at no distant date constitute what has been aptly described as the coercion of events.

GATHERING STORM

The Indian Princes would therefore be compelled to come to terms with their people. Refusal to do so would only harm them. They cannot stand against this mass upsurge and sentiment any longer. Up till now they were secure because the British bayonets were always there to prop them up on their positions; but the position now is very much different. Accession to Dominion without recognising the sovereign political rights of their people may not constitute much of a strength. For after all the position of the Dominion Government is not the same as that of the Government that protected them so long. The States' people would thus be in a much stronger position to fight the Princes, now shorn of the support of the Paramount Power.

The rumblings of the gathering storm have in fact begun to be heard from Kashmir, Hyderabad and Travancore; and the day may not be far off when the storm against the autocratic Princely rule will gain momentum. The people of the provinces now freed from their main political pre-occupation struggle against the British—would also tend to lend active support to the States' people's movement. Is it, therefore, too much to say that the Indian Princes would greatly increase the chances of their survival if they realised the signs of the time and recognised the sovereign political rights of their people?



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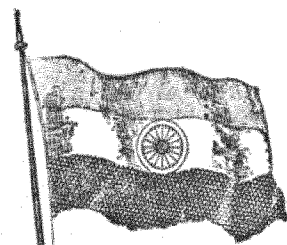
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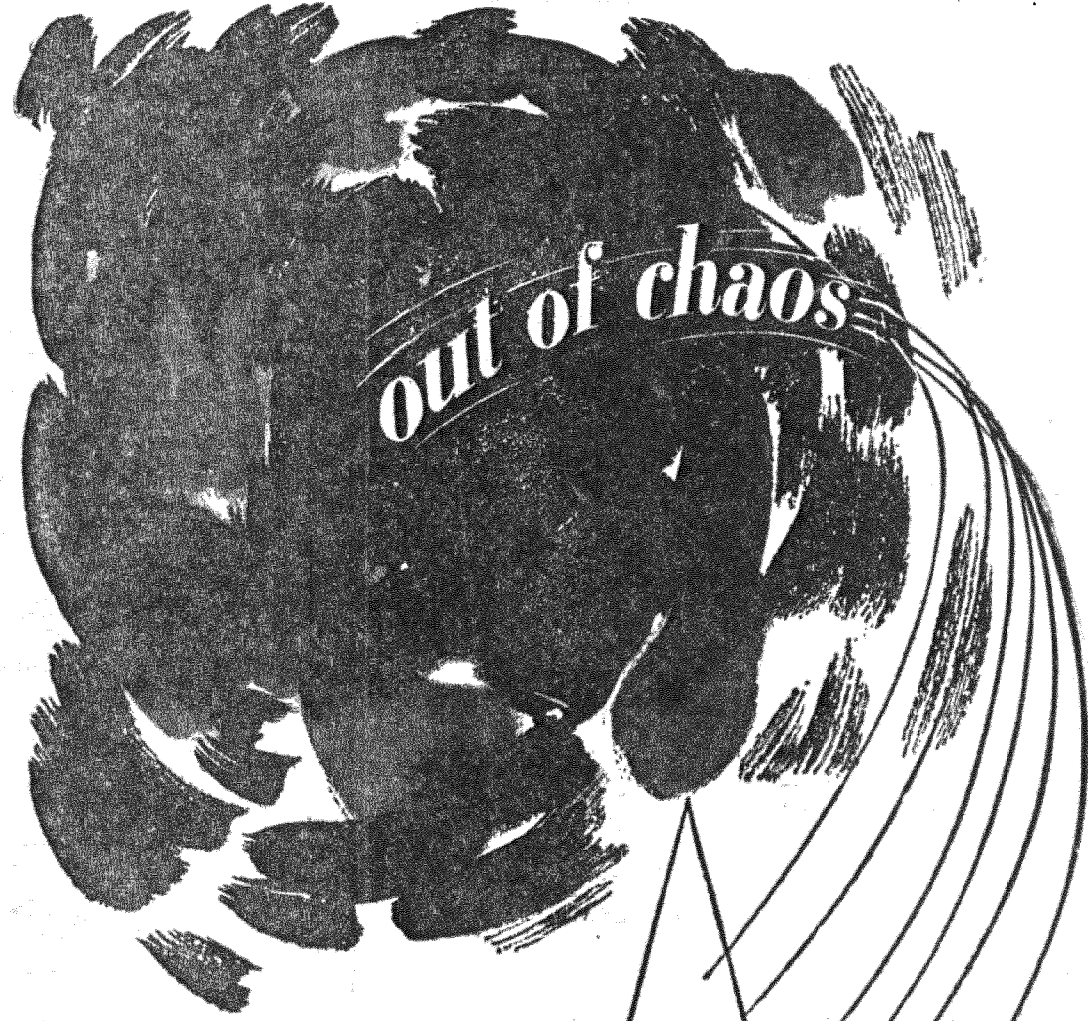
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Never before in history was the world in such turmoil as it is today. True, the War has ended but discontent and want are growing. Yet, out of this gloom and darkness, this misery and frustration, a new star is taking shape - a star that will shine on this ancient land of Hindustan, on Asia and on the world. That new star is the freedom of Hindustan.

Never before indeed has there been an instance of an enslaved and disarmed nation attaining freedom without having to wage a full scale war. Varied are the factors which have led to the immediate emergence of our ancient people from the shackles of bondage but one thing stands out supreme—that great as have been the sacrifices of the people of the struggling nation, equally great is the heart of those who have acted in appreciation of these. The glory of it all goes as much to Britain as it does to Hindustan.

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