

BLACK ORDINANCE RAJ IN MADRAS

Defence Of Imperialism, Not "Maintenance Of Public Order"

At night on January 22, the Governor of Madras struck a big blow to put the bureaucracy on top under the plea of emergency, cheat the people of their liberties and crush every struggle of the toiling masses for a better life.

HE issued the 'Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance I of 1947', the plea being that immediate action was necessary to save 'the peace and tranquillity' of the Province by preventing and putting down 'disorders' that menaced it.

The excuse is need 'to save peace and tranquillity' but it is the same old plea, the same old technique. These are the familiar tattered rags with which British Imperialism always tried to conceal its naked savagery to crush every rising Indian upsurge.

'Maintenance of Public Order' now, 'Defence of India' then, these are just different names for the same aim, the maintenance and defence of imperialism against an awakened, advancing Indian people.

Under Popular Ministry

What is new is that this savage Ordinance Raj is clamped down on the people while a popular Congress Ministry is in power. The Ordinance has been hurriedly promulgated, though the Legislature is to meet in a week.

The bureaucracy's game seems to be to arm itself with savage powers first and then face the Legislature with a fait accompli.

Even the Press summary of the Ordinance is quite enough to enrage every Indian and try.

Under the S...

rouse his holy wrath at the imperialist bureaucracy.

Savage Powers

Here are the powers that it has snatched:

- 1) To arrest and detain any person without trial indefinitely.
- 2) Empowering the police to requisition any building or moveable property. Even during wartime buildings were requisitioned for the army. Now the police can requisition a building without any purpose. In other words, they can seal up the offices of a party, press or organisation, without actually declaring them illegal.
- 3) Empowering the Provincial Government to gag the Press. By imposing pre-censorship on all matters or any matter relating to a particular subject or class of subjects; prohibiting altogether publication of any matter relating to subjects as may be specified; confiscating not only publications but even presses; prescribing punishment of three years' imprisonment or/and fine.
- 4) Imposition of Collective Fines for strikes or peasant struggles. Collective fines can be imposed on all people in an area who act against 'public safety' or 'public order' or so as to prejudicially affect 'the maintenance of supplies and services which are essential' to the community.

A collective fine can be imposed when a workers' strike or a peasant struggle for elementary rights take place. Even those who shelter strikers can be punished.

5) Lastly, the Ordinance empowers any police officer to arrest any person suspected of being an offender under this Ordinance.

These are savage powers, more brutal than the old ordinances.

It is an attempt to practically legalise the Communist Party, behold the worker and peasant movements of their leaders and crush the toiling majority of our land by large-scale naked terror, while the Press is gagged and the people are told that the 'tranquillity' of the Province and the 'need of the community' make it necessary.

Repudiate The Ordinance

This Ordinance must rouse the holy wrath of every Indian who loves freedom and democracy. Let them raise their voice as loud as they can, and all together. Let them make the demand that the Prakasham Ministry should publicly repudiate this Ordinance and release all the detainees.

Let us all, unitedly, tell the imperialists:

Ordinances have come and gone by the dozens, but the Indian people's struggle for liberty and life, has never been crushed. It has grown stronger, ever stronger and broader. So it was and so it shall be.

(See Page 12)

GROWING PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES FOR BETTER LIFE

Background To Ordinance

South India in 1946-47 has had its great revolutionary baptism of fire. The blood of men and women martyrs, in heroic struggles for wages, food and land, has consecrated the solemn pledge of the workers and peasants to advance the Indian Revolution.

Vayalar, Telengana, Golden Rock, Coimbatore, Karivaloor and Ellerenji—they speak of a new South India, of the revolutionary transformation of unified workers, oppressed Harijans and backward women into a new fighting people.

NOT all the Malabar Special Police (MSP) terror could smash this upsurge. Terror so savage that it was seen only in Chimur, Ashi and Ballia, at the peak of the 'Quit India' movement. Women workers shot dead; a wounded peasant tied to a tree and shot dead point blank; urine poured into the mouths of Telengana peasants; prisoners beaten till their body was full of blank patches of clotting blood; rape, loot, burning all household goods—such is the story of terror and undecreed Martial Law.

Old Lies In New Garb

And yet these great epics of resistance by the Tamilnad workers and Malabar peasants, of the Telengana peasants and the people of Travancore, found little mention in the daily Press. The Nationalist Press doubted by soulless profiteers and their shameless spokesmen blarneyed out almost entirely, and the few bits that were allowed to creep through were just lies.

"POLICE FIRE ON COMMUNIST MOB: 2 KILLED", was the cryptic cynical way in which it would dismiss heroic struggles

by **A.S.R. Chari**

by peasant men and women often armed only with pieces of firewood against the savage MSP and its guns.

Did not the Churchills and Amerys try to dismiss the national movement as the work of a few agitators and extremists? So today the profiteers and hangers, and their friends deplot every organised struggle for wages, food and land as Communist 'mischiefs'.

Workers' Struggles

Everyone knows that the workers of Tamilnad are the lowest paid compared to workers in industrial centres in Bombay and North India, and the oppression and exploitation of the Tamil Harijan hand-labour, the worst in India.

Six years of war burdens, the rising cost of living even after the war (Madras cost of living index in July 1946 was 230 with 1939=100), prices and profits were rising and the workers' standard of living was falling.

Against this economic degradation, the provocative victimisation and spitting tactics of the profiteer bosses, Tamilnad's workers fought.

The Municipal Corporation workers, the sweepers and scavengers of Madras began to fight with a demand for higher wages. The answer that the Congress Ministry under Syt. Prakasham gave was to let the MSP loose on them. The first martyr of the new upsurge was an old woman.

And since then, whenever a strike took place, for higher wages or dearness allowance, the Prakasham Ministry helped the profiteers by sending the MSP. In fact, in Tamilnad, it soon became common talk that a stranger could easily infer the existence of a strike from the presence of the MSP!

During S.I.R. Strike

In the glorious S.I.R. strike of 40,000 workers, the entire MSP force of several thousands were posted all along the line. And at Golden Rock, they wantonly attacked the Union Office, rained death, hoping to smash the workers' resistance. Five more martyrs, but several new heroes came to the forefront of the battle.

And so the story of the epic struggles goes on, with unarmed men and women workers resisting with their bare hands, the savage MSP.

In Coimbatore, it was Subbatha, a woman worker who was in the front-line, who was shot dead. And on that day, November 11, 12 workers also joined the roll of martyrs.

(Continued on page 2.)

PEOPLES AGE

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STOP MADRAS MINISTRY FROM DOING IMPERIALISM'S JOB!

P.C. Joshi's Statement

In the three Provinces, Andhra, Tamilnad and Malabar, of the Madras Presidency, no big blow has been struck against the Communist Party as in 1931, substantiated in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, and in 1934 which ended in illegalisation of the Party. Then it was by the imperialist bureaucracy which struck, today it is under a Popular Ministry that action has been taken.

On the night of the 22nd, a Public Safety Ordinance was issued by the Madras Governor which has all the features of war ordinances and the old Bengal ordinances. It is an ordinance under which any person can be detained without trial; any building seized; and any press gagged.

Two of our Central Committee members, E. M. S. Namboodiripad and N. K. Krishnan, have been arrested and a third, P. Sundaraya, is wanted.

In Malabar, all the leading Party organisers down to Talisher in Tamilnad all leading Party members down to the lowest Party unit have all been arrested in one swoop.

In Andhra, news of large-scale arrests is yet pouring in. They include all the Trade Union and Kisan Sabha leaders, all our leading journalists editing our Telugu and Malayalam dailies and the Tamil weekly, and some members of the Managerial staff.

The Madras Party office has been sealed up and a large police force has cordoned the large Prakasham colony in Rowanda, which was bought and built by the Andhra Kisans.

The Prakasham Ministry cannot be allowed to act in the old bureaucratic way and sanction all that the imperialist bureaucracy wants which still reigns supreme. The people must judge and intervene.

What are the activities of the Communist which are being considered crimes? They are such that the Congress Ministry must support them not suppress. But such are the Ministry's ways today that the people must judge and intervene to save the situation.

The Communists took the foremost part in organising the Travancore and Telengana struggles against princely autocracy. The mass of patriotic opinion in Malabar and Andhra are in sympathetic solidarity. This was upsetting the plans of the Political Department.

Weakening Battle For Freedom And Democracy

But for their sake, can the Prakasham Ministry be allowed to suppress the Communist Party and thus weaken the battle for democracy and freedom, on a very important sector?

Tamilnad is going through the biggest strike-wave. The highest ground, the police terror and even the semi-military Malabar Special Police, with its vans and machine-guns have been tried. All of these have failed.

Even the workers under Congress influence have been one in fighting shoulder to shoulder with Communist workers. The mass of popular opinion irrespective of political differences has supported the struggle. But the imperialist profiteers have become more and more Congress supporters, and they have been pressing the Ministry to arrest all working-class organisations.

After all measures failed, mass arrests of all Trade Union leaders have now taken place.

Lastly, a big peasant upsurge is rising against the ejectment by landlords, for a fair share of the produce and cultivation of fallow land. The peasants have been demanding prompt Ministerial measures but the landlords wanted removal of all peasant leaders. It is the additional parallel handiwork who are being aided by the Ministry and the peasant leaders that are being taken to Vellore, the old Bastille of Madras.

The issues are very big both for the immediate present and the future of our country.

Can a Congress Ministry be allowed to suppress our Party in the same way the imperialists tried to suppress the Congress? The imperialist bureaucracy still reigns supreme and it does want Congress-Communist conflict, to slough the freedom forces.

We appeal to Congressmen to raise their voices and stop the Madras Ministry doing the job of the British overlords against whom we shall all have to fight unitedly one day.

The second and equally important issue is: Would the mass of common people tolerate the weakening of the democratic struggle of the toiling people against the vested interests and allow the Popular Ministry to jail the leaders of workers and peasants instead of meeting their demands?

This way Indian reaction is strengthened and not Indian democracy.

Defence Dept. Sells Parachutes For Use Against Viet-Nam

IN the first week of January FIVE THOUSAND PARACHUTES were sold by the Defence Department of the Government of India to the French Government. These parachutes are to be used by the French Government in its war against Viet-Nam.

This report has just been received by us. We are publishing it after having made sure of its accuracy.

Pandit Nehru and our people have dedicated themselves to the cause of Viet-Nam. Our youth has shed its blood for Viet-Nam. Volunteers are being enlisted to go and fight against French imperialism by the side of the valiant people of Viet-Nam; medical supplies, funds are being collected for Viet-Nam.

And while all this patriotic endeavour in aid of Viet-Nam is being made, the White Generals of GHQ are selling parachutes to their fellow-imperialists of France.

By this criminal act of theirs, they have tarnished the name of India, of the national movement, of Pandit Nehru, in the eyes of the progressive peoples of the world.

How are these dirty deals allowed to be made with Pandit Nehru at the head of affairs?

The Indian people must demand from the man-White Generals, ICS Sahibs and all—responsible for this "transaction" with French imperialism be sacked on the spot.

BENGAL BATTLES FOR DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES

League Ministry Going Deeper Into Clutches Of Vested Interests And British Bureaucracy

Bengal's peasants, Hindu and Muslim together, have won their greatest victory. The Bengal Gazette has published the text of a Bill accepting the justice of the Tebhaga demand (2/3rds to the share-cropper and 1/3rd to the jotedar). But the Bengal Ministry, manned by League leaders, has also almost simultaneously come out with an Ordinance on the lines of the universally cursed war-time Ordinance, which gave all powers to the police to suppress the people.

It is the same old British bureaucratic way of seeming to give concessions with the left hand to gain time, while getting the whip ready in the right.

THE Tebhaga Bill has been published because the Bengal peasant had already enforced it in practice. The movement had spread to 18 districts and the peasant had got the harvest safe in his own hands. The parasitic jotedars' unjust demand for half the crop could only be enforced through Martial Law, with the risk of a united Hindu-Muslim popular revolt.

The Tebhaga Bill has been drafted to legalise what has already been done by the peasant and accept the inevitable. The new ordinance has been promulgated to destroy the peasant's real strength for further and greater battles; to arrest his leaders, weaken his organisation and thus shake his newfound self-confidence and help the jotedars to put through another offensive of mass evictions, etc., under the shelter of Ordinance Raj. Thereby it is sought to restore as much of the old regime as possible.

Surrender To Bureaucracy

Behind all this is the story of a growing surrender to the bureaucracy as demanded by the vested interests. It is, therefore, necessary that patriotic Muslims know what is happening in Bengal and what worse is coming under the League Ministry the way it is going, unless they rise equal to the occasion and see the danger.

The zamindars and jotedars let loose their hired goondas to beat, loot and rape. Yet it is not they who were arrested, but the peasant leaders under completely faked-up charges of rioting, dacoity, etc. The ordinance came because those fake-cases could never be proved.

The police had arrested hundreds of peasants in every district under Sections 144 and 107 but expert legal opinion said that convictions could not be secured under these Sections; they were being wrongly used. The ordinance came as the only way out.

The police were permitted to fire and terrorise as much as they could, till there was not enough police to go round doing the job. The roll of martyrs is long enough to set the blood boiling. It includes Muslim peasant Sameruddin of Dinajpur, who was shot dead in police custody itself, and peasant woman Hajaribala, who was killed when the police went marauding into her village in Khulna.

New Ordinance—A Lawless Law

When even the British-made laws, operated with British-taught ruthlessness by their creatures of the Bengal police, have failed to cow down the Bengal peasant, the League Ministry has come out with the lawless law that is the new Bengal ordinance.

The District Magistrates, British Citizens leading, have been denouncing this ordinance, and the same police officials, who deliberately did not do a damn when Hindus and Muslims were killing each other in the same Bengal, are now furiously pre-

paring lists of kisan leaders and Communist organisers.

Their crime is that in the Tebhaga movement they dared to unite the Hindu and Muslim masses and through the greatest mass struggle that Bengal has known moved

The same police that failed to function during the riots and brought the League Ministry into existence for failing to protect even life and property under its regime, have succeeded in blackmailing the Ministry to get arbitrary powers and freedom from popular control for themselves.

This was tragically proved when the police threw 120 tear-gas bombs and made 40 lathi-charges before the Senate House alone on the students of Calcutta on January 31 (Viet-Nam Day). They arrested 200 students, including 90 girls, and even opened fire, killing two.

There has been Province-wide protest against this police butchery as our news pages show. The next day itself, a lakh and twenty thousand students and workers struck together, Muslim Students' League participating. The Bengal working-class, Hindus and Muslims both, which

by P. C. JOSHI

lakhs and lakhs of Bengali peasants into action.

Why should the Bengal Ministry fall a prey to the pressure of the British bureaucracy against Bengali kisans, against a Bengali patriotic party—our Party—whom even our worst detractors dare not accuse of being anti-Muslim?

The answer lies in the hold of Muslim reaction within the League itself as was shown in the recent League Working Committee meeting. Dominated as it was by zamindar-jotedar elements, the meeting decided to observe neutrality on the issue of Tebhaga and gave the Muslim jotedar freedom of action to oppose Tebhaga.

It is understood that in this meeting Premier Subhaschandra Bose was even reprimanded for issuing public statements in favour of Tebhaga.

Tebhaga is the most elementary demand of justice and democracy; it merely means that a bellyful of food must be left with the food producers, the toiling peasantry.

Championing Cause Of Exploiting Minority

The majority of peasants in Bengal are Muslims. It was not their demand that the League leadership championed, but that of the selfish food-grabbing parasitical Muslim jotedars who wanted as much paddy as they could get hold of to sell in the blackmarket, i.e., of the exploiting-Muslim minority against the exploited Muslim majority itself.

Moreover, it is only the minority of jotedars who are Muslims while the majority are Hindus.

All talk of Muslim brotherhood during the elections was only meant to behead the Muslim peasant, get his vote to set up a reactionary League Ministry subservient to vested interests, serving their selfish needs.

It was this selfish Muslim reaction, its fear of its own awakened fighting peasantry, that the British bureaucracy exploited to re-impose Ordinance Raj, as the only way to keep the peasant in his old place.

A man-hunt for kisan and Communist organisers—a large number of whom are themselves Muslims, has begun under the ordinance. These organisers have now to function underground to keep alive a movement that is patently in the interest of the Muslim majority, and this under a Muslim League Ministry!

The British bureaucracy is pressing from all sides and the League Ministry is yielding all round.

maintain democratic liberties in Bengal.

It is a bold move to teach the League Ministry to respect the people and not let the police suppress them.

Premier Subhaschandra Bose is not going to listen easily. When the students' and workers' Council of Action met him, he was so sorry to hear that Muslim students too had joined the demonstrators on the 31st and 32nd. He said that the arrested could be released only on the basis of giving an undertaking that they would not do any such thing again!

Only a few months ago, the League Ministry had claimed the credit for releasing the ex-Andaman lives against the advice of the police. Today it voices the police demand against popular leaders. The reason is simple.

If the League goes out to fight the Congress in Bengal, its Ministry has to rely on European votes for its own safety and the necessary price has to be paid: back to the old Ordinance Raj, delegating all authority to the British-controlled bureaucracy and no interference with the police trying to knock the fighting spirit of the people out.

Hindu and Muslim workers and students of Calcutta are out to fight a great democratic battle for the whole of Bengal, for elementary democratic liberties for every section of its people and for all its parties to function normally. The whole of India will watch it with great interest and wish it well, because the issues are the same in all Provinces.

Responsibility Of Muslim Public Opinion

Muslim public opinion within Bengal faces a great responsibility.

Would it let the League Ministry go into the arms of Muslims reaction, British Big Business and the bureaucracy, or would it successfully prod it in time to make a decisive break with the policy of ordinances, lathi-charges and shootings?

Would it make it function in the popular way, as expected?

ed of a Popular Ministry, pressing for and guaranteeing civil liberties, teaching the police its place and helping the people to come into their own to fight their real enemies?

The very bonafides of the League are at stake. In the Punjab, under a Congress Coalition, its leaders have organised a satyagraha against the use of ordinance. But in Bengal, its own Ministry has passed a similar ordinance! In the United Provinces, Mr. Lari moved an adjournment motion over police zoolium on Calcutta strikers under the Pant Ministry, while in Calcutta similar brutalities have taken place under the Subhaschandra Ministry!

The League would be charged with lack of political principles and moral dishonesty, if the Leaguers within and without Bengal fail to press their hardest upon Premier Subhaschandra to promptly meet the demands of the Council of Action and guarantee that the ordinance will not be used against the kisan movement and our Party in Bengal.

It was easy enough to claim civil liberties for oneself in the Punjab or use it as an argument against the Congress in the U.P. The acid test of the Leaguers in Bengal under their own Ministry.

Dr. ADHIKARI ARRESTED AGAIN

On Tuesday January 28, the Bombay Police again arrested Dr. G. Adhikari, Consulting Editor, and D. S. Hatangdi, former Managing Editor, of the People's Age. They were released on bail of one thousand rupees each.

The arrests under the Official Secrets Act for an alleged offence, article published in the People's Age on October 27, 1946—four months ago.

The Police again raided the Central Headquarters of the Communist Party for about an hour, and took away all copies of the People's Age dated October 27.

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES IN S. INDIA

(Continued from Page 1)

And as if all this was not shameful enough under the Prakashan Ministry, the bureaucracy arrested 35 Madras Communists, and is trying to have a mammoth frame-up on charges of conspiracy to murder, arson, loot from December '45 to December '46.

This is nothing but an attempt to make the entire Trade Union movement an illegal conspiracy! But this game would not work. Bullets could not beat back the workers into submission.

In Jenmi-ridden Malabar, things were even worse. Famine starvation conditions were permanent, epidemics like cholera were wiping out the devitalised peasant children. The food producer was not having food to eat, while the Jenmis took all the grain and sold it in the blackmarket.

On the top of all this, the young Malabar peasant lads from the army were demobilised and back again in their villages, jobless, only to find their near and dear ones not having even food to eat.

Kisan Struggles

Against these conditions, the kisans of North Malabar, organised in the Kisan Sabha, are fighting, and the demands that they are making are such elementary demands, that none who has a spark of humanity can fail to sympathise with them.

In Chavattar Erker, the Red belt, which gave the Kisan War to our freedom movement, the demand is patently simple. It is that the peasants want the right that they have had for centuries, the

right to take thatching grass, fencing sticks and green manure from the forest land. The Jenmis say no. The kisans go and take it.

Then an MSP force 100 strong is rushed there. Kisan organisers are rounded up on false charges of dacoity. Peasant homes are smashed up and shops looted by the MSP. Section 144 is in force.

In Kariyathur, in Chirakkal Taluk, the strongest Red kisan base, the kisan movement is based on the refusal to pay rent in kind. They had done so for years and found that the grain that went to the Jenmi, never came back to the people. It went into the blackmarket.

And so the kisans said they would sell all their surplus grain to the Co-operative set up by Government, at the control price of Rs. 19/11 for 100 cwt. The Jenmis refuse to accept this because if they grab all the kisan grain, they can get Rs. 70 for 100 cwt. in the blackmarket. So there is a deadlock.

So on December 21, an agent of the Jenmi brings 20 MSP men to take away the grain forcibly from the kisans. The kisans resist. The MSP have guns and bullets. The kisan men and about 100 women have only brooms, sticks and stones. Two are killed, three arrested and severely tortured in Tellicherry Jail, the concentration camp for kisan fighters.

M.S.P. Terror Fails

A reign of terror was unleashed in North Malabar. The Malabar Special Police, a quasi-military police that had been created by the British to crush the Moulavi peasant revolt in 1921 by sheer savagery, has been reorganised as the madu bul-work of Imperial rule over Moulavi villages.

Today under Prakashan's Ministry, it is being used as storm troops and its main base has been shifted from South to North Malabar. A big force has been concentrated in

the Red kisan bases to crush the kisan movement.

There are 1,500 concentrated in these areas. MSP is everywhere in South India—5,000 of them with guns and machine-guns mobilised against the workers and peasants.

But all these terror tactics failed to crush these democratic, defensive struggles of the workers and peasants.

The bureaucracy is panicky. It wants to crush this fine fighting force, before the rest of the people join up in the fight for liberty, in the fight to liquidate imperialism and landlordism.

In Andhra, the Party is strong. It has run a huge solidarity campaign for Telengana, and roused the Andhra people against the Nizam's autocracy. It has to be crushed, if possible.

And Now The Ordinance

And so the Ordinance was issued. Its main purpose is to behead the working-class and peasant movement, practically illegalise the Communist Party, gag the Press and crush this fine fighting vanguard of the revolution by unbridled terror.

It is to make South India safe for the British imperialists, the Danks and Harrisons and their Indian allies, the blood-sucking Jenmis, the profiteers and corrupt officials.

So the demands must rise: "Withdraw the Ordinance", "Release the Detenus", "Disband the MSP", "Accept the Just Demands of the Workers and Peasants."

WITHDRAW 'OPERATION ASYLUM' CASE!

More Protests And Condemnations Of Govt. Action

'DID GHQ AND INTELLIGENCE BUREAU HOODWINK INTERIM GOVERNMENT?'

Tribune

IN an editorial in its issue of January 26, the Tribune, leading English daily of the Punjab, comments on Pandit Nehru's cable to R. Palme Dutt, which stated that the raids of January 14 "took place without the knowledge or authority of the Ministers."

The Tribune states:

"...Merely to say that the proceedings were not expressly authorized by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel or their colleagues neither absolves the Congress leaders at the head of the administration, nor does it put an end to the 'Who-Killed-Cook-Hobbin' discussion that goes on.... Either the Bombay Government

were themselves guilty of authorizing improper and impulsive proceedings or they let certain officials abuse their power without the Government's knowledge. In the latter event, people would certainly want to know who the guilty officials were and what action was being taken by the Bombay Government about their faulty conduct....

"If the Ministers in the Interim Government had no previous knowledge it seems a reasonable inference that the Central Intelligence Bureau and the Army Headquarters (who as the party directly concerned with the 'Top Secret' were presumably consulted) both hoodwinked the Interim Government. The whole episode

shows the central working in a divided light."

Unfair Harassment

THE Morning News (Calcutta League Daily), in an editorial note published on January 21, writes: "...With all our differences with the Communists, we strongly repudiate the concerted action amounting to unfair harassment of a political party."

"The public is entitled to know what exactly the charges are against the Communists and what authority or authorities have been offended. ...The police could not have moved on its own initiative all over India and this is not being explained."

In the end it recalls that similar raids had taken place in connection with the Meerut Conspiracy case.

Urdu Press On Raids

'GOVT. ACTION--AN ATTACK ON PRESS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES'

Manshoor

Acted Tyrannically

THE Khilafat of Bombay, a leading Urdu League daily, founded by the late Maulana Shaikat Ali, has very strongly condemned the raids of January 14. It writes: "The recent attack on the Communist Party and other labour organizations shows that our Popular Governments are not taking our country towards freedom but dragging it backward."

"By exposing the secret documents, the Communists have done a great service to the Indian people. And in the future also they will be regarded as great patriots, who will expose such things because we cannot tolerate the suppression of our popular movements at the hands of the military. "The Ministries, whether of Bengal, Sind or Bombay and U.P., have acted tyrannically."

Intolerable Acts

THE Hindustan, another League daily of Bombay, has also strongly criticized the action against the Communist Party.

"We have many differences with

the Communists," says the paper in its issue of January 23. "But we strongly condemn the action of the various Provincial Ministries in attacking the Communist Party. In this period of democracy, freedom and Popular Governments such acts are intolerable."

"The Governments are feeling panicky because of the acute discontent among the workers and peasants. And, therefore, they want to destroy those organizations which boldly champion their cause. But they must know that this discontent cannot end unless the lot of the poor is improved."

How Made Possible

THE Manshoor of Delhi, official organ of the All-India Muslim League, writes on January 20:

"We do not agree with the policy and activities of the Communists, but we cannot tolerate an attack on the freedom of the Press and the civil liberties of the people....It is the Communist Party today; it can be any other party tomorrow."

"The Communist Party is getting

strong because the workers and peasants follow it. These mean tactics of the Government of India cannot destroy it."

"The Government of India have announced that action was taken on the initiative of the Bombay Government. But no one can believe that the raids in the whole of India are possible without the knowledge and consent of the Home Department of the Government of India."

Blot On Congress Name

THE Bhasat, a popular nationalist Urdu weekly of Delhi, writes in its issue of January 23:

"...This action (the raids and arrests of January 14) has neither destroyed the Communists nor Communism but has only harmed the Congress. This only puts the Congress in the same position as the hated bureaucracy. The Communist Party on the other hand has, despite its mistakes, gained the same position and prestige which the Congress enjoyed in 1942."

"This 'crusade' against the Communist Party must stop, because it is a blot on the fair name of the Congress."

Marathi Press

'SAVE CONGRESS REPUTATION'

Taran Bharat

Wanted Explanation

THE Bombay Marathi nationalist daily Lokmanya, in its issue of January 24, published an editorial, "Taan Who Raided Communist Offices", in which it writes:

"Pandit Nehru says that these raids were not carried out under the orders of the Central Government. If the Provincial Government ordered these raids, then it may be asked, since when have the Congress Government of Bombay and the League Government of Bengal become so chummy?"

"These raids took place in Bombay under the very nose of the Bombay Government and if Pandit Nehru is denying responsibility for these, then why is the Bombay Government not giving any explanation?"

Calamity For Freedom Of Press

THE Navyug, (Independent Left Congress weekly edited by P. K. Atre, foremost Marathi playwright, humorist, poet, scenario writer,

educationalist) in a one and a half page editorial in its issue of January 23, severely condemns the restrictions on the Press imposed by the Popular Ministry. Referring to the raids, the editorial says:

"...We totally disapprove of the way in which Communist Party papers were raided the other day. We have absolutely no love for the politics of the Communists. But we definitely feel that it is a calamity for the freedom of the Press to arrest the editor of their newspaper, without giving him any idea as to the truthfulness or otherwise of the secret State documents which he published six months ago and extracts from which were later published by many other papers."

Home Dept.'s Explanation Unsatisfactory

THE Taran Bharat (Independent Left Nationalist daily of Nagpur, edited by G.T. Madkhokar, prominent Marathi novelist, literary critic, ex-President of the all-representative

Marathi Literary Conference and one of the organizers of the Maharashtra Unification Movement) in its issue of January 23 publishes a four-column editorial under the title "Why victimise the Communists alone?", in which it states:

"Nobody will be satisfied with the perfunctory explanation of the Home Department that this repression was resorted to by the Police Department of the Central Government in compliance with a request by the Bombay Police Department."

"The Congress has earned a reputation and prestige as an anti-imperialist fighting organisation of 80 years' standing. With a view to maintain this reputation completely unharmed, the Congress Working Committee must immediately declare that Sardar Vallabhbhai and other Congress Ministers had absolutely no hand in this repression."

BOMBAY PROGRESSIVE WRITERS CONDEMN RAIDS

IN January 26, in a big meeting of the Bombay Progressive Writers' Association and the People's Theatre Association, held to celebrate the Independence Day, scathing condemnation was made of the India-wide raids on the offices of the Communist Party and other organisations like the Trade Unions, the Kisan Sabhas, the People's Theatre Association and the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mama Warekar, the veteran Marathi writer, was in the chair.

Prominent among the 300 writers, artists and others who had gathered were: Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, Ismat Subid Latif, Sajjad Zaheer, Vishwamitra Adli, Saifur, Rasid Begum, Sardar Jafri, Kafi Azmi, Sultana Begum, Abid Gulrez, Nishat Shahidevi, Z. Ansari, Bhogilal Gandhi, Swapnasth (Editor, Samskar), M. Desai (Editor, Bombay Vartman) B. T. Ashar (Acting Editor, Bharat Samachar), Rati Kumar Vyas, (a bard from Kathiawar) Shamsheer Bahadur Singh, Rajeeva Saxena, Ramesh Sinha, Balraj Sahni, Nur Jehan, Damayanti Sahni, Shanta Gandhi, Mohan Saigal, Kapoor, and Anil De Silva.

Withdraw

Prosecutions

After songs and poems and speeches on Independence Day, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand moved the resolution on the raids and demanded that the prosecution against the Editor of the People's Age should be withdrawn, all documents seized from the

various offices should be returned and the Interim Government should institute an enquiry into the allegations against the Army Headquarters contained in the pamphlet "Operation Asylum".

Attack On Art And Culture

Moving the resolution, Dr. Anand said:

"The raids seem to show the shape of things to come. If such things continue, I warn you," he said, "there will be no chance for the flowering of art and culture in this country....The achievement of the 30 years of our battle for a free and nobler life will be negated...."

"If we do not rise against these assaults, whether they are directed against the Communist Party or the People's Theatre or any other organisation in the country, tomorrow the attack will come on us; and believe me, the voice of all writers and artists who want to speak clearly and sharply, will be silenced. We will be persecuted....Then there will be neither democracy nor freedom, nor art nor culture in India...."

Seconding the resolution, the well-known actor and Director, Balraj Sahni said:

"It is a slap on the face of our leaders. It is a slap on the face of all our people and we must answer it appropriately....While re-dedicating ourselves to the service of our country on this sacred Independence Day, we must tell the British Government and warn it that we shall not tolerate such things."

The resolution was passed unanimously.

ALLAHABAD PROTEST MEETING

A REPRESENTATIVE meeting of Allahabad University, Sjt. S. K. Das, the citizens of Allahabad including Sub-Editor, Amrita Bazar Patrika (Allahabad), Mr. D. L. Anand, Provincial Organiser, Hindustan Scouts Association (U.P.), Mr. Zaheer, Vice-President, Electric Workers' Union; Thakur Shrinath Singh, prominent offices of the Communist Party, Kisan Sabha, Students' Federation, etc., and the arrests of prominent leaders of these organisations. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya of the Allahabad University presided.

In the course of his speech Prof. Chattopadhyaya said that this repressive policy indicated that something was wrong somewhere; either the Congress Government were powerless to intervene in this situation or they were pursuing a wrong course.

Prof. O. P. Bhatnagar, Prakash Chandra Gupta, R. N. Deb of the

meeting of Allahabad University, Sjt. S. K. Das, the citizens of Allahabad including Sub-Editor, Amrita Bazar Patrika (Allahabad), Mr. D. L. Anand, Provincial Organiser, Hindustan Scouts Association (U.P.), Mr. Zaheer, Vice-President, Electric Workers' Union; Thakur Shrinath Singh, prominent offices of the Communist Party, Kisan Sabha, Students' Federation, etc., and the arrests of prominent leaders of these organisations. Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya of the Allahabad University presided.

The following resolution was adopted unanimously:

"This meeting of the citizens of Allahabad places on record its emphatic protest against the country-wide searches of the offices of the Communist Party, Kisan Sabha, Students' Federation and other organisations, the residences of their members."

'THE PAPER DID ONLY A PATRIOTIC ACT'

Pt. Sunderlal's Statement

PANDIT Sunderlal, an old Gandhian Congress leader of the United Provinces and the author of the famous Hindi book Bharat men Angrez Rajya, has issued the following statement:

"The recent raids on the Communist Party offices in several Provinces are to me a surprise and a painful surprise. I am not a Communist. I have perfect faith in non-violence. The idea of class war, as advocated by the Communist Party is alien to my nature. Yet I have failed to understand the justification of these raids. Such a step could not have been taken by several Provincial Governments simultaneously without the full agreement of the Government at Delhi."

"The information published by Communist papers must have been either true or not true. If the information was not true, the Govern-

ments, both of the Centre and in the Provinces, which control a much larger number of newspapers than does the Communist Party, could have published the contradiction broadcast for general information.

"But if the information published was correct, then the papers concerned only did a patriotic act in exposing a crime inimical to their country's freedom. In this case, even if they were guilty of a technical legal crime, it was within the powers of the Governments concerned, which are formed without, not to give permission for the action taken."

"After all, what has happened to all our tall talks about the freedom of Press, the freedom of platform and the freedom of expression. I consider to think of the application of these raids. I hope our country is not to experience a new type of civil conflict, within national ranks, as in unfortunate China."

Cawnpore Workers Call Off Strike To Prepare For New Battles

18 DAYS' STRUGGLE WINS UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL LEADERS

The 18-day old strike of one lakh Cawnpore workers (in case of some mills over three weeks) has been called off. The decision was taken at a meeting of 15,000 workers held on the Parade Grounds on January 26. It was adopted amidst shouts of "Hang the murderers of Cawnpore workers", "Victory to the General Strike", "Inqilab Zindabad".

TWO days earlier, the Negotiating Committee of the City Congress Committee had made an announcement at a workers' meeting at Shradhdhanand Park, calling upon the workers to resume work because they had secured an assurance from the Government that a number of their demands, including the following, would be conceded:

Demands Conceded

- Unconditional release of all labour leaders and withdrawal of all cases and warrants in connection with the strike.
- No victimisation.
- Compensation for the victims of the firing—to the relatives of the dead and the wounded.
- The Provincial Government will give its full consideration to the recommendations which will be made by the Enquiry Committee appointed by the City Congress President.

by
Our Correspondent

The Adjudicator's Award regarding ten days' leave with pay had been accepted by the employers and all workers who worked for 12 months in 1945 shall be paid 10 days' wages, even if they had absented themselves for seventy days in that year.

The workers, however, were totally opposed to the nature of the settlement, as beyond the release of those arrested and the payment of compensation to the victims of the firing, none of the major demands of the strikers had been conceded.

When the vote was taken, half of the audience of 8,000 had left the place.

To Maintain Solidarity

Many were determined to preserve the greatest achievement of the strike—namely, the solidarity of the workers—the

announced an end of the strike and a few workers had gone back to work. The situation was such that in order to maintain the glorious solidarity of Cawnpore workers, it was necessary to call off the strike and prepare ahead for further action.

Workers' Meeting

Accordingly the Mazdoor Sabha called a general meeting of the workers on January 26.

Fifteen thousand workers assembled on the Parade Ground. Kallishanker moved the main resolution which greeted the workers on the heroism and solidarity displayed by them and paid homage to the martyrs.

The resolution further condemned the leaders of the City Congress Committee for calling off the strike on conditions which did not include the main demand of the strikers and without putting the question of calling off the strike to the democratic vote of the strikers.

The resolution, however, noted the fact that an impression had already gone round among the workers that a settlement, however unsatisfactory, had been arrived at and the result was that workers had already begun to resume work.

Under the circumstances to preserve the greatest achievement of the strike—namely, the solidarity of the workers—the

resolution advised the termination of the strike.

In the end it warned the employers that any victimisation following the strike would be resisted by the workers with all their strength and by declaring that the unity forged in the strike would be utilised by the workers for continuing the struggle for the unfulfilled demands and for securing the major demands regarding wages, trade union recognition and security of service, formulated by the Mazdoor Sabha.

Strike Called Off

After speeches by Kallishanker and by Maulana Yusuf, the famous leader of Cawnpore's workers, explaining and commending the resolution, the workers from various mills spoke—some of them appealing for continuation of the strike despite the calling off by the Congress leaders, others agreeing with the resolution that in the interests of preserving the unity of the working-class, the strike should be called off.

Finally by the show of hands the resolution was carried.

Cawnpore's workers will go back to work, to prepare for the coming battles.

(We hope to publish a review article on the Cawnpore strike next week—Editor).

BENGAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' VICTORY

ALMOST as a sequel to the general strike by 20,000 Central Government employees in Calcutta on January 10, the Directorate of Supplies strike ended on January 12 after four weeks of battle. Finding the employees well-entrenched among the people as seen in the general strike, the Director of Administration and Co-ordination at once negotiated a settlement with the union.

The terms conceded that notices of discharge and demotion would be postponed until January 31, and nothing would be done without consulting the employees themselves. They also promised no victimisation for strikers, withdrawal of police prosecutions, strike period to be counted as leave, anybody retrenched would be sought to be reinstated in some other job.

The settlement is a big triumph for Government employees for the first time fighting their battle.

DOCK WORKERS' UNITY WINS DEMANDS

THE mighty unity of Bombay's 8,000 dock workers—Hindus and Muslims, Pathans and Marathas—has won its reward. They have forced the bosses to cancel their orders for the discharge of 1,200 of them and have also substantially won their other demands.

They were to go on strike simultaneously with the Railway workers on June 27 last. Then the Navy authorities assured them against retrenchment and they withdrew the strike notice. Soon, however, true to their character, the bosses went back on their promise and decided to dismiss 1,300 men even when the exact complement needed in the Docks had yet to be decided upon.

Again the workers were forced to give a notice of strike and once again they have brought down the bureaucrats.

DOLLARS AND THE BOMBAY POLICE

FIRING twice, lathi-charge several times, over 80 arrested, the Goonda Act applied to refuse bail, strikers chased by armed police,

beaten while taking tea, dragged out of buses and arrested, even threatened with communal riot...that is the way the Bombay police are honouring the Ministry's promises to the workers of American-owned Firestone Tyre and Rubber Co. that their picketing would be permitted.

For well over a month now, since December 17, eleven hundred workers and one hundred clerks of this firm have been on strike.

A daily production of 1,640 tyres and 1,699 cycle tyres is at a standstill. Against the Company's net profits of over Rs. 80 lakhs in 1945 alone, the men had asked for leave with pay, Sunday a holiday, immediate grant of bonus, scheme for gratuity, recognition of the Union, etc. The General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee fully supported their cause.

When the police started violence, the workers got permission to picket from Mr. Nuzar (Labour Minister) and Mr. Morarji Desai (Home Minister). The police, however, believed in orders from the bosses on the spot and indulged in terror that has no recent precedent in a Bombay strike.

But the strike continues, every act of terror serving only to increase the determination of the workers.

G.P. SWEEPERS POSTPONE STRIKE

THE province-wide strike of sweepers and scavengers in Central Provinces has been postponed for one month. The Strike Committee took this decision in view of the Provincial Ministry's agreeing to implement the recommendation of the Thakkar Committee (1938).

The Ministry's record in this entire dispute concerning a public utility service makes a very painful reading. Eight years back the first Congress Ministry had appointed a Committee under the renowned social worker Thakkar Bappa. Its report was never implemented.

In March 1946, the Provincial

Sweepers' and Municipal Workers' Federation forwarded to the Government, its demands regarding wages increase, Dearness Allowance, etc. They were based precisely on the recommendations of that Committee. "Sympathetic consideration" was promised. Then nothing.

AFTER EIGHT MONTHS' WAITING

In June, the Federation leaders approached the Congress Ministry with the same demands. Mishraji, Minister for Local Self-Government, asked for one month's time. After that the Federation sent a number of reminders. They were not even acknowledged. The Federation then served a notice of strike to begin on January 15, after waiting for over eight months.

Meanwhile, "By Order of the Governor" secret circulars were sent to all Deputy Commissioners to enforce the Essential Services Ordinance and Public Safety Act, to keep the Communists out and to crush the proposed strike. Soon all over the Province, top Communist leaders were arrested. A Press campaign was let loose about the demands being exorbitant, about "Communists inciting the scavengers."

These steps instead of alienating the people drew Congress leaders of Nagpur and Jabalpur, the Scheduled Castes Federation and some papers strongly to support the demands of the sweepers.

And on January 12 (three days before the scheduled date of strike), Pandit Saikia in a Press Conference felt compelled to appeal for Press support "in view of the growing unrest in the Province". He offered to implement the Thakkar Committee recommendations and appoint Deputy Commissioners as conciliators between

workers and various Municipalities. Of course, he did not forget to talk of severe repression, "should there be a strike".

The Strike Committee, having regard for the people's needs, has accepted the announcement even though it does not specify any time limit for conciliation. It has demanded Union representatives on the Conciliation Committee, settlement within a month and end of repression (release of leaders, withdrawal of warrants, etc.). The strike stands postponed. Now it is up to the Ministry to redeem its pledge.

BIJAPUR VICTORY

TWO hundred beedi workers of Bijapur have won their battle for wage increase.

The Beedi Mazdoor Union had demanded Rs. 110 for making 1000 beads, an increase of Rs. 4 only on the old rates. All owners except four had agreed. Negotiations failing, the 300 employees of the four owners struck.

On January 14, workers started peaceful picketing. On January 20, Section 144 was on. No striker would be allowed anywhere within 25 feet of the beedi shops and factories.

Against this gag order, local college and High School students, Municipal employees, tonga-wallas and hamals came out to picket. Their Union also gave a call for general strike on January 22.

On the night of January 21, the owners came down. At the intervention of M. Sagarbhai, ex-Congress MLA, they agreed to pay Rs. 118 per thousand beads. The workers accepted the settlement and the strike was successfully called off.

SUPPORT FOR CAWNPORE WORKERS

Meetings And Processions All Over U.P.

The inspiring unity exhibited by Cawnpore's one lakh workers has won its reward. But even more than the reward, it has revealed a new awakening not only among the working-class of the U.P. but a new unity among its citizens, Congressmen and League, Congress Socialists and Forward Blocs, Communists and others. It was this unprecedented unity that forced the Ministry to climb down.

Below we print a brief account of this remarkable solidarity of the people of U.P. against bureaucratic terror (and lies) and in support of Cawnpore's workers—Editor.

THE Cawnpore Spring took place on January 6. On the 7th Sjt. Damodar Swarup Seth, President, U.P.P.C.C., severely criticised it and demanded open inquiry into it.

On the same day Communist leaders Surdesh, S. A. Nagvi, and Mahanandapur appealed for January 11 to be observed as Cawnpore Day. Three demands they made: 'Release the Labour leaders; Punish the guilty officers; Grant the workers' demands.' This appeal was endorsed by K. Shrivastav, President U.P.T.U.C.

Benares

BUT even before this appeal reached them the Benares workers came out on protest strike. On the 7th were held four meetings of railway workers and citizens. On the 8th, 5,000 workers of the Benares Cotton Mills struck work, both the 'Red Hand Union' and the Red Flag Union actively participating.

In the evening there was a huge procession and a mass meeting. The resolution condemning the firing and demanding inquiry was moved by Communist leader S. P. Tripathi and seconded by R. Mishra, Secretary, Congress Labour Committee.

Lucknow

ON January 8, all the workers' organisations of Allahabad jointly formed a 'Cawnpore Relief Committee' and condemned the firing. Next day the Revolutionary-Socialist Party also condemned the firing and demanded inquiry into it.

On January 10, Congress, Communist and Congress Socialist Labour leaders agreed upon a strike on the 11th. On that day a procession was taken out to the Assembly Hall where Hadrat Mohant, the veteran League leader, offered them his fullest support. Their united might forced the police officers to quietly withdraw their threat of lathi-charge.

Later at Aspinabad Congress Socialist and Communist leaders addressed the meeting.

Mirzapore

THE Cawnpore Day was jointly observed by local Congress Committee, Communist Party and the various workers' unions. A big procession was taken out from the Gandhi Park headed by J. T. Bhowar and a Red Flag. A meeting in the Town Hall was held under the Chairmanship of Sjt. Sitaram Dwivedi, President, Town Congress Committee.

Shahjahanpur

AT Shahjahanpur the Forward Bloc, Congress Socialist Party, various labour organisations and the Communist Party jointly observed the 'Cawnpore Day' by taking out a procession.

Jaunpore

JAUNPORE City Magistrate had prohibited the 'Cawnpore Day'. Despite the ban the Congress, Muslim League, Communist Party, Jamiat, Weavers' Association, Revolutionary Socialist Party, Trotskyist Party, Kisan Sabha and student organisations jointly observed the 'Cawnpore Day' by observing a complete hartal on January 16.

Gorakhpur

ON January 11, the Congress, jointly held a public meeting at 1st Party and Communist Party Muslim League, Congress Socialist Party, Shri Sevguru Prasad Chowdhary, President, Town Congress Committee, presiding.

Bareilly

THE Congress Socialist Party organised a public meeting to condemn Cawnpore incidents, in which representatives of the Communist Party, Revolutionary Socialist Party and Rudra Democratic Party also spoke.

The workers of the Western India Match Factory struck for two hours in sympathy with Cawnpore strikers.

Strikes of workers took place at Bauli (lawyers) at Ferozabad (where 20,000 came out) at Agra and at other centres. Students of Lucknow struck on January 12; Benares students observed Workers' Day.

