

ONE LAKH CAWNPORE WORKERS ON STRIKE

Protest Against Brutal Firing And Mass Arrests By Bureaucrat-Murderers Of 1942

PEOPLE'S AGE

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On January 6 in Cawnpore the police opened fire and killed eight worker (one of them a woman), wounded over 50, including seven women. Over 1,000 were arrested, easily the peak figure for any strike so far.

Among the wounded and arrested are Hindus and Muslims; Congressmen Communists and non-party Trade Unionists. For the first time, Cawnpore's streets are reddened with the blood of Congressmen and Red Flag workers, all fighting against owners' offensive and bureaucratic repression. And all this when Pantji's Ministry rule over the United Provinces!

THESE men and women who died or were wounded were perhaps the worst price-rocketing during the war; their housing problem was one of the worst in the country, with even latrines turned into "flying quarters" because they fetched high rents.

Owners' Offensive

When the Congress Ministry was formed the workers expected relief. But the Ministry only appointed a Committee of Inquiry and kept silent. Owners were naturally quick enough to move to the offensive and in the last two months their ample evidence of it.

Taking advantage of Cawnpore's communal tension following Noakhali, they tried measures like cutting down the rent period, speed-up in machinery, denying the traditional Idame pay to Hindu workers, forced idleness due to lack of spares, there was even victimisation of workers. The workers had to fight back, and in a number of cases they won.

Meanwhile the Ministry continued to sleep over these attacks and the owners opened up a new offensive, planned to crush the workers and their organisations before the recommendations of the Labour Inquiry Committee came out.

Under the recent Government India amendments to the Factory Act, the workers are entitled to 10 days' leave with pay a year, with retrospective effect for 1945-46.

Workers Denied Due

The owners just refused to pay this law. They refused to pay the workers wages in lieu of this leave, demanding from them an unbroken record of a year's service, without even a day's absence. It was the worst way of denying the workers their due by law.

Alongside this they also tried to force changes in working conditions, introduced efficiency measures without giving any notice to the workers. The second half of December saw a series of strikes over these issues in a number of mills and factories—as the Cawnpore Textiles, Cawnpore Cotton, Kanjira, J. K. Iron, Pearl Products, Hosiery, etc. Workers of the J. K. Mills, Swadeshi, Laxmi and other mills also issued notices.

The climax was reached in the J. K. Cotton Mills. Under the Congress-led Union, the workers had lost a number of strikes. The owners now wanted to round it off with a big victory.

the workers, thousands of them from the entire J. K. group of mills—Laxmi Rattan, Kallash, J. K. Iron and Steel, and J. K. Jute Mills—came out in protest. Five thousand of them marched in procession to the Atherton West Mills.

United Battles

Then began one of the glorious unfoldings of common battles, of Hindus and Muslims, of Congressmen and Communists, of men and women defying police terror, mingling their blood together in a common cause.

At Jaribki Chowki the police ordered the procession to disperse. The men refused. Promptly City Magistrate Stephenson and D.S.P. Abdul Rashid Khan ordered lathi-charge. Seventy workers lay wounded. And yet the procession would not be dispersed.

Mad at their failure, the bureaucrats now ordered firing. At point-blank range the police fired 65 rounds, resulting in eight deaths (unofficial, neutral estimates 17 dead), over 55 wounded. Among the dead was a woman; among the wounded there were seven. Among the casualties there were Hindus and Muslims; among them were Red Flaggers and no less a Congressman than Brahm Dutt Dikshit, a prominent local Congress leader. It was a blood-bath, unheard of before under Pantji's regime.

The bureaucrats had expected to cow down the workers. But it was a boomerang that they had thrown and it only recoiled on them.

Meanwhile, the news of the arrests and the firing spread like wild-fire in the city and mills and factories began getting emptied out on to the streets. C.O.D. workers declared a stay-in strike to demand immediate release of their leaders. When about 300 of them approached the Commandant with this demand, he is reported to have stabbed one of them "in self-defence."

The Strike Spreads

Immediately five lorryloads of police—some mounted police too—were rushed to the C.O.D. Repeatedly they lathi-charged the men, without warning. Two hundred workers fell injured to the ground and then the brutes rested.

The Harness and Saddlery Factory workers struck. So did workers of the Swadeshi, Atherton West and Victoria Mills, no sooner the news reached them. By 10 a.m. another 35 worker-leaders were arrested.

And yet, throughout the day, workers in groups of 200 marched through the streets in defiance of all bans and all police terror. The strike spread to ever more factories.

The District Magistrate knew now that the game had recoiled on him. Immediately British Tommies were rushed in. For the first time under a Congress Ministry Cawnpore saw a White army parading its streets in tanks and armoured cars.

The District Magistrate dished out his "explanation" for the firing: Workers were on an illegal strike and the procession was violent. They were marching for an attack on the Sesamau Thana. Hence the firing.

That was the usual hold-er-dash. The bureaucrat had expected to play upon the two weak-points of Right-wing Congress leaders. His game failed miserably.



YUSUF

of civil liberties in the city.

Now it is common knowledge in Cawnpore how the local bosses pull the strings of the bureaucrats and the police, and thus that very night the latter rushed into action.

Between three and four in the morning of the 6th Yusuf, Santosh Kapoor, Sone Lal, T. K. Chaturvedi, Anand Madho, Raghubir Pathak, Jan Mahommed, Dost Mahommed, Amritlal, Baburam, Aadh Behari Trivedi, Khuda Bux, George, Gangadin, Sudarshan, Baburao and a number of other members of the General Council of the Mazdoor Sabha and members of Mill Committees were arrested from their residences, offices of the Mazdoor Sabha and of the Communist Party.

Between five and six the same morning at least 15 to 20 organisers of the Congress Socialist and Revolutionary Socialist Parties were arrested including Basudeo Misra, Secretary of the City Congress Committee.

Leftists Arrested

Warrants of arrests were issued against Communist leaders Kali Shanker, Shiv Sharma, Ashok Bose, Bijal Bahadur, Ram Sewak and 22 members of the Central Ordnance Depot Workers' Union. The arrests totalled over 100.

All Mazdoor Sabha leaders were arrested; all Left Congress leaders were arrested. Rajaram Shastri and Hariharanath Shastri, the two prominent Congress Socialist leaders of Cawnpore, were not arrested.

The next morning—January 6—the minute the news reached

For the whole of Cawnpore knew only too well who was violating the laws; and why. They knew too well the cases against the Singhanias. They had seen through the crude tricks of them all to deny the workers their rightful leave or wages in lieu of it. As for violence, only a shameless bureaucrat could attribute it to the workers, when all of them marched unarmed, had unarmed women at their head! No! it would not go down in Cawnpore.

On the 8th, Labour Minister Sampurnanand visited Cawnpore. He assured investigation into the matter, redress of workers' grievances and offered payment of Rs. 100 each for performing the funeral rites of the dead. But there was no promise about release of the leaders arrested or of punishment of those responsible for the firing, restoration of civil liberties.

Indeed, when local Congress leaders asked him to contradict



SANTOSH KAPOOR

the authorities' statement, that they had fired at the orders of the Ministry, Sampurnandji replied: "At this stage I can neither confirm it nor deny it."

Joint Hartal

On the 8th, for the first time since the Popular Ministries came in, Cawnpore saw a remarkable unity of all its citizens. A meeting at Tilak Hall supported by the City Congress, Communist Party, Congress Socialists, the Mazdoor Sabha, C.O.D. Workers' Union and about a dozen other unions and the two students' organisations, gave a call for a complete hartal for the next day.

On the 9th, the city saw the biggest joint hartal of its workers and citizens, its shopkeepers and students.

Since early morning, British soldiers had made the Christ Church College their Headquarters. Armoured cars and tanks were parked inside the College compound to create frightfulness. But it worked the other way round.

Working-class husters witnessed the most unprecedented enthusiasm. Every wall had a poster or chalk writing calling for the continuation of the strike till Yusuf and other leaders were released and all demands met, till the guilty were punished. A group of children and women moved about calling for fight to victory.

At the C.O.D. Factory, despite the presence of armed police and Indian soldiers, the workers

held their meeting. There was complete stay-in-strike in the Swadeshi, Textile, Atherton West and Victoria Mills and in the Harness and Saddlery Factory. The Lal Imli Woollen Mills, so far unaffected, also joined up. There were partial strikes in the Muir and Elgin Mills also. The lock-out continued in the J. K. Group and in the Cooper Allen.

City At Standstill

In the city there was total suspension of business. General-gunj, the Cloth Market, Naya-gunj, the Iron Market, big and small shops—all were closed. Except for a handful of shops on Meston Road, all business came to a standstill.

Students too made a clean job of it. The D.A.V., Christ Church, S.D., K.K. and Marwari Colleges, G.N.K. Girls and other schools all observed complete hartal, even without picketing, though the half-yearly examinations were then on.

That was Cawnpore's thundering reply to the firing. It was that despite the vigorous efforts of some Congress leaders to damp the people's fury and though they succeeded in felling all attempts at any organised demonstration or meeting.

Disruptive Moves

But the Ministry once again continues to sleep over it and the bureaucracy is once again out to disrupt the ranks. They have now released the Right-wing Congress leaders (Ramchandra, Trivedi and Prayag Dutt, CSP leader Basudev and a few other Congress labour leaders).

No leader of the Mazdoor Sabha has, however, been released, nor has any other Red Flag leader. Significantly enough they have not released even the two dozen pro-Congress militant workers of the J. K. Group.

Meanwhile the Employers' Association too has come down to accept the workers' demand regarding ten days' wages in all mills.

And with this they have taken in the Congress and CSP leaders who are now talking of "the advisability of returning to work" now that the leave demand too has been met. They are silent over the issue of the release of the Red Flag leaders.

Punish The Guilty

But the workers are standing firm. Three demands: "Release All Leaders", "Punish the Guilty officials", "Withdraw the Army", are ringing forth from all workers, from mills and factories.

Every section of workers including 6,000 of the E.I. Railway have promised them full support. Throughout the Province meetings of workers and citizens addressed or arranged jointly by Congress and Communists, have been held demanding immediate release and punishment of the guilty bureaucrats.

The strike of nearly one lakh workers of Cawnpore is on.

The common man of Cawnpore is standing by their side in this just struggle. For they have suffered together, fought together, shed their blood together. They will continue to fight together for bigger common battles ahead.

—From Our Correspondent

'TODAY WE BATTLE FOR THE HARVEST, TOMORROW WE BATTLE FOR THE LAND'

GIVE US OUR MARCHING ORDERS

20 Lakh Kisans in North Bengal Resist Police-Jotedar Offensive

The North Bengal Tebhaga struggle belt at the moment, roughly covers 1,500 square miles. It includes nearly the whole of Dinajpur district (except the southern projection of Belinghat; four Thanas of Jalpaiguri district (Rajgunge, Boda, Pachagaria, Debi-ganj) plus one Union of Sadar Thana, Dimla Damar, and a part of Jalbhaka Thana, of Rangpur district.

THE extent of the movement can be gauged from the fact that the kisans involved number twenty lakhs, and the number of villages in the area, both Hindu and Muslim, men and women, who are actively engaged in harvesting, guarding, and storing it, exceeds 10,000. Of these roughly 50 per cent are Hindu kisans and 40 per cent are Muslims. Against the jotedars 40 per cent are Muslims and 40 per cent are Hindus. These figures explain the demand that the Tebhaga movement be a communal movement.

The struggle today is no longer confined to the villages (where it began). It has drawn within its orbit all sections of the exploited peasantry from the agricultural labourers to small landed kisans.

At many centres, kisan-organisations (agricultural labourers) are joining, as volunteers by hundreds. They regard the Tebhaga battle as not only the battle for the harvest, but the first road to their battle for land.

Landed Kisans Join

Small landed kisans are fighting on a mass scale with the rich. The force that binds them together is their common hatred against the jotedars, the blackmarketeers and the bourgeoisie. For they know that every year, thousands of poor kisans are being reduced to abject misery and it is the bourgeoisie who stand by the jotedars in any struggle that they wage.

At Rangpur, in Dinajpur, the kisans told us angrily:

- ONE THOUSAND warrants have been issued against kisans in Jessore district.
- FIVE HUNDRED warrants in Mymensingh.
- FIVE HUNDRED warrants in the three South Bengal districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri.
- Over a hundred cases against THREE HUNDRED kisans in 24 cases in Khosla.
- On January 4, the police fired on kisans in a village in Chittagong. The Thana (Jalpaiguri district) killed two and wounded five.
- There are only the highlights of the tale of repression which has no parallel in the history of Bengal. Not even in the days of the British police and military repression were there such widespread and persistent attacks on the kisans.
- Wages in villages, mass meetings of kisans, arrests, lock-outs are daily occurrences in all the above districts, which are strongholds of the kisan movement.

"This, our jotedar Kallush Adhikari, has got the lands of Nandu Barman and Sumar-ahar kisan brothers and has trodden them into dust. That is how he is getting fatter every year. Unless you do away with these Adhikaris, there will be no peace in our village."

With the jotedars and the bourgeoisie have awakened to the reality that this growing struggle for the harvest is the beginning of the kisans' battle against their regime, and they are quick to separate efforts of break the great solidarity of the kisans.

Fearless repression has been let loose. The jotedars are openly allowed to use guns and lathis without the least interference.

"Firm Action"

He openly calls for "firm and drastic action" against "followers of the Kishan Samiti and the Communist Party" and directs that "the activities of the CPI people, as they come to notice, should be reported."

At one place he even says: "The police should not hesitate to use force to the extent necessary to enforce law and order."

The jotedars and other exploiters in the League are spreading the propaganda: "A law is going to be passed ordering Tebhaga; why fight now?"

In Dinajpur where Muslim and Hindu kisans are fighting against a big Muslim Jotedar,



The harvest must be ours. Hindu and Muslim kisans are united in their struggle.

BENGAL BACKS FIGHTING PEASANTS SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT BEGINS

(In People's Age, we have already published statements and messages supporting the Tebhaga movement, issued by leaders like Mr. Habibullah Khan, M.L.A., Mr. Sharmistha Haq (League organizer, East Bengal), Mr. Abdul Malik, M.L.A., Maulana East Ali (member of the Bengal Provincial Legislative Council), Dr. Dhiren Sen (Associate-Editor of Amrita Bazar Patrika) and others.

We publish below more reports of solidarity movements, meetings and resolutions from all over the province.

Calcutta
 Mr. Nizamuddin Ahmad, M.L.A., Mr. Sharmistha Haq, M.L.A., Mr. Abdul Malik, M.L.A., and Mr. East Ali, M.L.A., have held a meeting in Calcutta to discuss the Tebhaga movement. They have decided to support the kisans' struggle and to call for a general strike in support of the Tebhaga movement.

Chittagong
 A meeting of the Chittagong Kisan League was held on January 4, 1947. The meeting discussed the Tebhaga movement and decided to support the kisans' struggle. A resolution was passed calling for a general strike in support of the Tebhaga movement.

Dinajpur
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Jalpaiguri
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SAHIBS HIT E-CROPPERS' OR Security Dem Swadhinata

The Bengal daily 'Swadhinata' has published a special issue in support of the Tebhaga movement. The issue contains a call for a general strike in support of the kisans' struggle and a demand for the abolition of the zamindari system.

The issue also contains a report on a meeting of the Bengal Kisan League, which was held in Calcutta on January 4, 1947. The meeting discussed the Tebhaga movement and decided to support the kisans' struggle. A resolution was passed calling for a general strike in support of the Tebhaga movement.

FROM SEETHING COMMUNAL TENSION TO UNBREAKABLE HINDU-MUSLIM SOLIDARITY

Tebhaga Struggle Changes Face Of Mymensingh

By Khoka Roy

In Mymensingh, the Tebhaga movement, though not so widespread as in Northern Bengal, assumed particular significance in view of the acute communal tension prevailing all over the district after the Noakhali and Bihar holocausts.

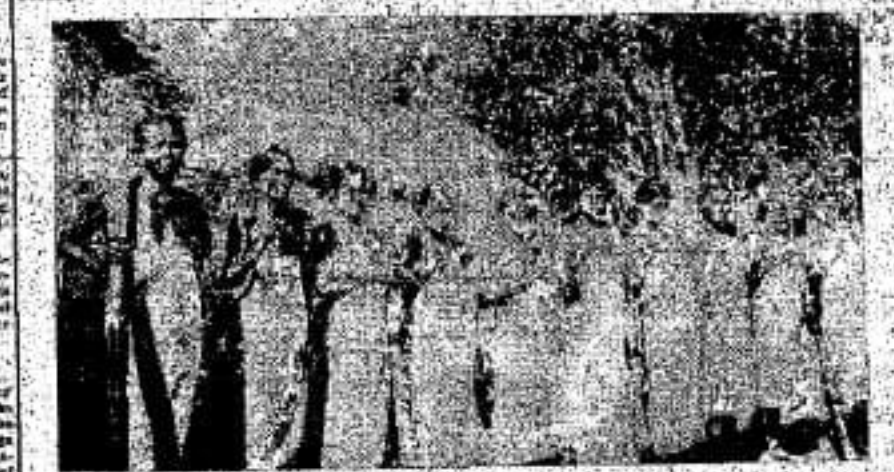
The Tebhaga movement first began here in the last week of November when communal tension was at its height.

At Chital and Barghat (in the Kishoreganj Sub-Division), where the first movement was launched, a woman had been murdered in a communal riot only one week earlier and this had split Hindus and Muslims into two hostile camps.

And yet, a week later, when the movement was started here, one hundred Muslims and five hundred Hindus and Muslims were jointly fighting against the jotedars, using their own tools and weapons.

Movement Spreads
 By the first week of December the organized Tebhaga movement was already raging in fifty to seventy villages covering over 10,000 Hindu-Muslim kisans.

But spontaneously the Tebhaga movement spread among hundreds of kisans in areas where the Red Flag and the Kisan Sabha had never reached.



Who dare stand up? A woman's volunteer corps in Dinajpur district.

As many places, Hindu-Muslim kisans started the Tebhaga struggle after the Red Flag and the Kisan Sabha had never reached. The movement spread like a wild fire in Tangail, Moulvibazar and Kishoreganj Thanas.

In Tangail, the spontaneous movement of kisans and Muslim kisans became so powerful that the very first demand of the kisans was for the abolition of the zamindari system. This demand was met by the jotedars, despite police threats, and despite the lack of any organized kisan movement.

Brotherly Solidarity
 The story of the movement is full of wonderful stories of brotherly solidarity between Hindu and Muslim kisans. In fact, had the Tebhaga movement not been launched, the communal tension of Mymensingh would have been unbreakable.

MADRAS BUREAUCRATS' & OWNERS' HUGE ANTI-COMMUNIST FRAME-UP

Over 250 Arrests Include Top Communist And Trade Union Leaders

On January 8, the bureaucracy in Madras staged one of the biggest political frame-ups the history of our freedom movement when they arrested en masse most of the top-ranking Communist and Trade Union leaders in the Province on such fantastic charges as arson, loot, murder and incitement to violence.

Simultaneously they arrested Communists and Trade Union leaders in Madura and Dindigul also.

In all over 250 persons have been arrested in this gigantic hoax which will be called the Madura Conspiracy Case.

AMONG the arrested are such eminent working-class leaders as P. Ramamurthy, recently India's representative on the I.L.O. Textile Committee, M. R. Venkatraman, Secretary, Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India, Balachandra Menon, General Secretary, Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress; the entire District Communist leadership and all Trade Union leaders of Madura; and others.

As never before in South India's history, a mighty strike wave is sweeping over the entire Province drawing in not only the textile but also tannery, glass, foundry, press and other workers.

Congress, Communist Workers Uniting

What is most alarming for the bosses is that despite the most poisonous anti-Communist campaign, more and more workers led by Congressmen are joining their brothers under the Red Flag for their common demands—increase in basic wage, adequate dearness allowance, bonus, etc.

To quote one instance, the prospects in Coimbatore district alone 40,000 textile workers under the Congress and the Red Flag may soon be fighting shoulder to shoulder in a common battle.

The only way the owners could think of forestalling and smashing this growing menace was to get the bureaucracy-police combine to attack the Communist leadership. And they counted on the Ministry's anti-Communism to help them through.

The Madras working-class is one of the worst-paid sections in the country, while the owners have amassed some of the biggest profits during the war.

Thus, in Coimbatore, while the average earnings of a textile worker amount to Rs. 27 or Rs. 28, the minimum monthly expenses of a family of four or five amount to Rs. 87. Since March '46, prices have risen still higher—in Madura by 30 points, in Coimbatore by 23 points, in Madras by 16

When the Adjudicator appointed by the Ministry was investigating the conditions of the textile workers, Doak easily bypassed him by granting his workers a paltry increase ranging from As. 8 to Rs. 4 and the Adjudicator accepted this 'gesture'.

Thus while workers elsewhere got an Interim Relief upto Rs. 13 per month, his workers were left high and dry.

Again the Ministry refused to worry about this shamefaced hoax.

The workers, however, prepared for a show-down and had organised a conference of their representatives to meet on January 12.

In Tuticorin Doak imposed impossible production quotas on his workers without even consulting the Union. The workers tried all efforts at settlement; they even approached the Ministry. Nothing availed, and so they struck work.

Doak was quick enough to sense the danger. This strike was jointly led by Congressmen and Communists, had the fullest support of the local Congress Committee, the Communist Party, the Dravida Kazhagam and the people in general.

Well-Planned Conspiracy

Doak and the bureaucracy now engineered a plot. On December 24, his goondas precipitated another clash inside the Madura Mills and severely beat up some Red Flaggers. When the masses of workers resisted this assault, two goondas of Doak's were reported to have been killed.

The police were only waiting for the news. They rushed to open fire and introduce Section 144 in the city. Leading officials of the city's Red Flag Unions (not only Textile but Motor and Cigar Workers' Unions also) as well as the entire Communist leadership of the district and nearly 200 mill workers were promptly put behind the bars.

On December 30, Madura witnessed the biggest strike and hartal to condemn these arrests. Over 12,000 workers (textiles, bus, jutka, toddy tappers, etc.) came out. Nearly 3/4ths of the city's shops were closed. And

this despite vigorous opposition from the City Congress leaders prompted by anti-Communism.

This was more than what the bosses or the bureaucrats had bargained for. And so on January 8, they struck the final blow. In Madras for full ten hours lorry-loads of the hated Malabar Special Police threw a steel ring round the offices of the Communist Party, the Madras Provincial T.U.C., the Harbour and Press Workers' Unions.

In Madura they arrested the district leadership of the Party.

In Coimbatore already 11 Communist and Trade Union leaders were facing trial on another murder charge.

Warrants are reported to be pending against other Communist leaders of the Province.

Bureaucracy Given Wide Powers

The bureaucracy and local officials are now freely boasting that the Government has given them the following powers to deal with "the growing Communist menace."

For specific offences prosecution may be launched without prior reference to the Government. Superintendents of Police have been given powers to launch immediate prosecutions in such cases in consultations with District Magistrates.

Security proceedings should be freely launched against important Communist leader and organisers, whose activities incite or threaten public peace.

District Magistrates and the Madras Commissioner of Police have been specially instructed that they should not hesitate to exercise their prohibitory powers to prevent any Communist meeting or procession which in their opinion may lead to disturbances.

What Is The Ministry Doing?

To this extent has the P. W. Ministry gone to allow the bureaucracy and police to crush every democratic movement. And that to help save the profits of a handful of men who have done nothing else except persistently defy the Ministry's orders.

V. Chakkara Chettiar, the Grand Old Man of the Madras working-class movement and President of the Madras Provincial Trade Union Congress, has condemned this "flagrant violation of elementary civil liberties by the police and the bureaucrats under a Congress Ministry."

A public meeting was held in Madras on January 9 to condemn these arrests and demand the immediate release of all leaders.

Our Correspondent

points) and workers' hardships have become unbearable.

As for the owners, Doak, the biggest of them all, from one mill alone in 1945 reaped a net profit of Rs. 52 lakhs when its paid-up capital was only Rs. 88 lakhs. And Doak controls one-third of the spindles in the entire Province, and has mills over the whole 'Harvey Belt', in Madura, Vikramasingapuram and Tuticorin.

The workers expected relief when the Popular Ministry came to power. The Ministry, however, appointed a Committee of Inquiry and left the matters there. The owners grasped their chance and with the bureaucracy and police ready to oblige, they went to the offensive.

Doak's Goondas Stage Clashes

Doak began with a Company Union and staged clashes inside his mills between his goondas and Red Flag militants. After every such instance, the police would arrest the Red Flaggers.

Not satisfied with this, he openly began defying the Government. Three months ago in a ballot under an adjudication award the workers of Madura and Vikramasingapuram had overwhelmingly rejected the claim of his 'Union' to represent them. Obviously, he was expected to honour the award and recognise the Red Flag Union. But he refused to do so, and strangely enough, the Ministry took no notice of it.

UNITED DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES

Not a day has passed in Madras during the last two months without a strikers' procession. And the new factor is the Tricolour appearing in the demonstrations.

- Two hundred Beehive Foundry Workers have been on strike for the last 20 days under the famous orthodox Congress leader Suryanarayan Rao, President Swadharna Swarajya Sabha. They parade the streets every day demanding a living wage.
- Twelve hundred workers of the Chrompet Tannery have been on strike for 10 days for adequate dearness allowance, wage increase, etc.
- Eight hundred workers of the biggest local White manufacturers—Binney Beach Engineering Works—have been on strike for higher wages. They parade the streets with Congress banners denouncing the White bosses.
- The Siyani Glass Workers' strike has been on for over a month, a high-handed owner obstructing settlement.
- On the 10th, 1,800 Government Hospital employees and all workers of the Government engineering factories came out on a one-hour symbolic strike to demand a month's bonus, granted to all non-gazetted staff.
- There was 100 per cent ballot voting in support of strike in the Simpson Automobile Industry. Also ballot is being taken in other big Auto Works—Addison, George Oaks, Union Company, Ford and Shri Ram-Vilas-Service Co. Common demands—Rs. 38 as dearness allowance; three months' wage as bonus, flat increase of Rs. 15 in the basic wage.
- One hundred press workers of Hoe and Co. have given strike notice. Workers from Caxton, Artisan, Addison and other presses will follow soon demanding three months' wage as bonus and wage increase.

That is the workers' reply to the bureaucracy's tactics of terror and suppression. Against the Ministry's pro-owner policy yielding more and more grounds to the bureaucracy and the police, the vast masses of Madras workers under Congress or Red Flag are fighting common battles and repression nor attempts at disruption can hold them back.



INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By Iqbal Singh. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 1-8.

In the short space of 84 pages, the author describes the world situation as it stands today and indicates India's place in it and a correct foreign policy for our country. He places in the forefront of his analysis the aim of British foreign policy as one of desperately attempting to retain its imperial power, despite its loss of strength—economic and military—in the last two decades, and points to this as a key danger to world peace.

So also he correctly places Soviet foreign policy as one of maintaining peace and sharply attacks those who assert that Russia has gone imperialist, pointing out sarcastically that division of land among the peasants in Eastern Germany and the refusal to disarm the popular resistance movements in the Balkans do not constitute imperialism.

Its Weakness

The weakness of his book, however, lies in the mild and incorrect critique of American policy and aims—which, in the author's eyes, though essentially dollar-imperialist, "will not execute any ambitious plans of empire-building on the British model".

For this reason, he totally underestimates the dominant role of American imperialism in the leadership of world reaction, and therefore, fails to indict the present foreign policy of the United States with its atom bomb monopoly, its aggressive seeking after bases and markets, with its troops in fifty countries of the world, as essentially a policy of preparing for war, a war of world domination.

This weakness is, therefore, naturally reflected in the sections on India's foreign policy, while rightly attacking such reactionary proposals as Sardar Panikar's for an Indo-British alliance, Mr. Iqbal Singh does not put in its place any clear-cut alternative policy.

failing to see that it is only Anglo-U.S. leadership that the world reactionary front is being built up, he fails also to state in unambiguous terms that India's foreign policy must

be based on opposition to this bloc and support for the democratic Governments in all countries, notably Asia, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—whose support it was that enabled India to triumph over Smuts at UNO.

Despite this weakness, his book because of its reminder that India must pursue a consistent anti-imperialist policy both in words (as in Pandit Nehru's first foreign policy speech) and in deeds, is a useful contribution towards a correct understanding of the problems facing the Interim Government and our people.

As Mr. Iqbal Singh pungently comments:

"The proof of a foreign policy, in the ultimate analysis, lies in its concrete implementation.... There are powerful elements in the Indian administration who would exert themselves to the utmost to frustrate the purpose of the foreign policy enunciated by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. There is a tendency on the part of the new Government to tardiness, if not timidity, in purging the administration of these recalcitrant elements."

In particular, it should help to focus attention on some key weaknesses in India's foreign policy, notably the failure to withdraw from our neighbour countries Indian troops, thus allowing them to act as British imperialism's mercenaries.

Mohan Kumaramangalam

Books Received

THE NEGRO PEOPLE IN AMERICA. By Herbert Aptheker. International Publishers, New York. Price 25c.

USSR LAND OF FREEDOM. Published by Friends of the Soviet Union, Bengal. Distributors: Living Age Press, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. By Alexis De Tocqueville. Oxford University Press. Price 6 sh.

UNEMPLOYMENT, FIVE, EMPLOYMENT AND INDIA. By N. Das, Ph.D., U.S. All India Publishing Co., Ltd., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

★ Behind Marshall's Appointment In U.S.A.

★ Growing Influence Of American Militarists

★ Significance Of London Transport Strike

ON January 6, President Truman announced the resignation of James Byrnes from the post of Secretary of State and the appointment in his place of General George Marshall, former Chief of Staff of the American Army and Special Envoy to China.

What is the significance of his appointment? Britain's Reuters and American Press agencies have hailed this appointment as one that will carry forward present American foreign policy. And in fact, it will not lead to any decisive change. The policy of striving to achieve world "leadership" (more refined term for world domination) will continue.

But the appointment is very significant. For, it marks the trend in American politics that has become increasingly apparent since Roosevelt's death and the end of World War II. It is the biggest evidence of the growing influence of reactionary American militarists, something new in American history.

Narrow-Minded Reactionaries

Marshall is essentially a military man, with all the narrowness and reactionary outlook of the usual top-ranking, high-class military officers of the West—the type that India has seen in the persons of the be-medalled stiff-necked titled Burra Sahibs who have been Commanders-in-Chief of the Indian Army for so many decades.

He has been in the Army ever since the age of 20, steadily climbing up the ladder of promotion until in 1939 he was raised to the highest post in the U.S. Army, the Chief of Staff. He remained in the position till late 1945, when he was sent as President Truman's Special Envoy to China, charged with the task of helping "to achieve unity" in China.

In fact he did very effectively what he was really meant to do—that of helping Marshal Chiang with money, arms and equipment in order that Chiang could fight the Communists; in return he won for the U.S. economic domination of China through the notorious Sino-American Commercial Treaty that turns China into virtually an American colony.

It is this man with all his narrow-minded reactionary militarist outlook who is to be today America's chief of foreign

affairs; and along with him in key positions to frame American foreign policy are four other big professional army-men, first the notorious General MacArthur, the American Mikado of Japan; second, General Bedell-Smith, Ambassador to Moscow; third, General Mark Clark in Austria; and fourth, General Lucius Clay in Germany.

Building Military Might

This emergence of professional military men in the field of foreign affairs is a reflection of the growing militaristic policy that the U.S. is pursuing today; it is the reflection of a policy based on the conviction that "freedom of the U.S. should be

preserved through strength," (General Spaatz, Chief of Air Staff, October 8) and not on the Wallace-Roosevelt conception that:

"Peace based upon understanding lasts. Peace based upon force can never last."

It is another part of the same policy which is striving for "peace" through the establishment of American domination of the world—shown by the following facts.

● In the latest 1947 budget estimates, military and defence expenditure (including that on atomic research) is "the largest category" amounting to over 30 per cent of the total budget, over 11½ billion dollars out of a total of nearly 38 billion.

● Contrary to all U.S. tradition, conscription, which should have ended in April 1946, six months after end of the war, was extended to April 1, 1947, despite sharp opposition from democratic circles.

● The pre-war U.S. Army was 1,74,000 strong; the Army for 1947 will be over fifteen lakh strong, with at least sixty lakh trained reserves. Out of these fifteen lakh men, over six lakhs are for the U.S. Air Force, i.e., are being trained for bombers and fighters.

● The U.S. possessed hardly any military bases outside American territory before the war; today in the name of "self-defence" it has grabbed over 400 such bases, many as much as 7,000 miles away from the U.S. coast and not more than a

thousand from the Soviet, like Dabran in Saudi-Arabia (to be bigger than the nearby British base, Basra) or Okinawa, near Japan.

● According to the American Associated Press, U.S. plans to utilize Japan as a military strategic base as well in hand.

● The U.S. is firmly clinging to its monopoly of the atom bomb in the confidence that this will give it the dominant position in world politics.

All this is very far removed from any attempt to build a peace, based not on force but on understanding.

Warning To Freedom Movements

In fact, General Marshall's

appointment is the crowning event of the last year in the U.S.A., an event that signifies more sharply than any other the growing triumph of the most belligerent and imperialist forces in that country.

Taken together with the victory of the reactionary Republican Party in the last a 44-hour week and 12 days' elections, it underlines the holiday with pay were "discus-

leadership by the U.S. of world reaction.

Under Marshall and with Republican Senator Vandenberg, now Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as his chief adviser, American foreign policy will be based on more and more building the Anglo-American bloc against world democracy and against the Soviet; it will be directed to strengthen the already close military-diplomatic alliance of the two Powers (that has been revealed in the Anglo-French Press).

It, therefore, is a warning to all freedom-movements including our own that it is not from America today that can come support and help. That possibility ended with the repudiation by Truman of the Roosevelt policy.

On the contrary our freedom-struggle, like those of all enslaved peoples in the world (and as in Indo-China today—see our London cable on this page), will also have to reckon with American hostility and will have to understand that under Marshall-Vandenberg leadership, American interest in India will only be directed either towards support of British imperial policy as at present, or at grinding her own axe in an attempt to increase American influence and exploitation of India.

Beginning Of New Stage

BIGGEST event in England last week was the strike of transport drivers of lorries hauling meat and foodstuffs in London, "biggest of its kind since the General Strike of 1926" (Statesman, January 12).

The cause of the strike is simple: the workers' demands for the last a 44-hour week and 12 days' the holiday with pay were "discus-

sed" for NINE months and then the decision given (and agreed to by the reactionary officials of the Union) was against the workers.

The mass of workers, however, rejected and put aside the advice of their Union officials; today in a special meeting of the delegates of the twenty-thousand on strike and Union officials, the advice of the latter to go back to work, was unceremoniously rejected, the delegates shouting "No" when the General Secretary of the Union (the Transport and General Workers, the biggest Union in Britain), Arthur Deakin, "appealed" to them.

Impatience With Timid Reformism

The situation in London remains tense; the Government—ironically a 'Labour' Government—is talking of calling in the Army to break the strike but has not yet done this because of the threat from other transport workers that they will join the strike also if this step is taken.

It is clear that the discontent and impatience with the timid reformism of the Labour leadership is growing in home affairs as well as foreign affairs (seen in the Labour MPs' revolt last month) among the very people who voted them into power eighteen months ago.

And this big strike certainly marks the opening of a new stage in the struggle of the democratic and radical sections of Britain's Labour movement to force their leadership to implement sincerely its own election pledges, in home policy as well as in foreign and imperial policies where its stand today virtually approximates to that of the reactionary Tory-imperialists.

January 14.

PROGRESSIVES EXPECT NEHRU RAISE VIET-NAM ISSUE AT UNO

Story Of International Intrigue

The entire progressive world is looking to India and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to raise the Indo-Chinese question at UNO. They feel that the situation in Viet-Nam is very critical and only India which spear-headed the defence of the colonial peoples at UNO in its last session, can do this very important task.

BEHIND the attack on the Viet-Nam Republic are two major international conspiracies.

FIRST are the French colonists who dream of re-establishing the glorious Empire that meant so much suffering for the millions of Viet-Namese. They are backing the old loyalist Dong Party.

American Game

SECOND—but still in the background—are the American imperialists. They are working through their satellite Government in China, the Kuomintang, and in the name of restoring Indo-China to China, are intriguing to overthrow Ho-Chi-Minh and put in his place the renegade ex-Foreign Minister of the Republic.

ALL, however, are against Ho-Chi-Minh, true leader of the democratic movement of the Viet-Namese people; and in line with them are the Labour-imperialists of Britain; these men though they resent American intrigues in what they feel is their sphere of influence, hate the Viet-Nam movement bitterly as they fear the victory of Viet-Nam will encourage the democratic movements in the nearby British colonies, Malaya, Burma and Siam.

They have, therefore, decided to support fully the French, and British Minister Noel-Baker met high French Foreign

military officials in Saigon, and declared publicly that France intended to "settle the issue militarily."

A special paratroop division was sent to capture Ho-Chi-Minh alive, but it failed.

Communist Campaign

In France itself the Communists are running a big campaign against the Blum policy of surrender to Big Business. Their paper L'Humanite is leading the crusade demanding the end of the Socialist regime and the formation of a left Democratic Government, pledged to stop the war against Viet-Nam and the reopening of negotiations with Ho-Chi-Minh.

The core of the troops being sent are mainly not French; principally they are from the French Foreign Legion and are recruited mainly from Fascists, Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and French, former collaborators with Hitler.

The Hungarian Youth Organisation has publicly protested against such recruitment.

In France itself public feeling is rising against this brutal wanton attack which is dragging France's name in the imperial mire. But the situation is uncertain and at present the reactionaries are on top; that is why it is so necessary that the issue should be raised in UNO by India, providing a focussing-point for the entire world democratic movement.

By Cable
From Ramesh Sanghvi

officials last week and urged them to go ahead with their war against Viet-Nam, promising Britain's full support.

Montet's Volte Face

It is this pressure and pressure from French reaction that was responsible for this sudden volte face of the Colonial Minister Moutet.

This man, a Socialist of the Attlee brand, had promised the big Communist-Socialist bloc in the French Parliament that he would consult Ho-Chi-Minh and make every attempt to settle the dispute by negotiations.

Pressure brought on him in Saigon by the bosses of the Bank of Indo-China who control rice, rubber and coffee plantations and coal and iron mines, combined with pressure from American Big Business, led to his breaking this promise.

In Indo-China, Moutet avoided meeting Ho-Chi-Minh, despite repeated appeals. Instead he consulted the Chinese and U.S.

POLISH DEMOCRACY FORGING AHEAD

(Continued from page 10)
TARGETS FOR 1948

Production per head	215
National Income	125
Heavy Industry	165
Coal Production	230
Steel Production	135

There is grumbling, of course, plenty of it, and life is still very hard but the people know that the Government is doing the right thing and that under Mikolajczyk things would not be better, but worse.

In Poland today there is the thrill of rebirth, the feeling of a new life and with a daily improvement in living conditions, with the "respectable" opposition of Mikolajczyk, and the terrorist opposition of the murder gangs are seeing their hopes of power melt before their eyes.

That is why they are becoming more frantic, violent, and dishonest. That is why the tempo of terrorist activi-

ty has been stepped up, and an increasing number of Communists, Socialists, Jews and even Left-wing elements of the Peasant Party, have been murdered.

That too is why the propaganda drive in the world Press against the Polish Provisional Government has reached depths of dishonesty hardly equalled on any other issue.

Poland today is a powerful State on the side of peace. It stands in the way of the schemers for war.

When the election results are published, and it is seen that Mikolajczyk has failed, it will not be because of dishonest conduct of the elections, as the newspapers will assert. Take it from one who has just spent four months there—it will be because the Polish people have rejected him.

PEOPLE OF EUROPE ON THE MARCH

Progressive Democracy Replacing Old Concepts

(From New Times dated December 1, 1946)

The peoples of Europe are giving ever more manifest and convincing proof of their desire for a progressive form of democracy. The results of the general elections and referendums which have been held since the end of the war are a demonstration of this.

Of the countries that were occupied by Nazi Germany during the war, we find the most impressive growth of the forces of democracy in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland and France. In these countries the masses clearly reject their old enemies in the parties and leaders that in the days of national and liberation struggle they supported and the old changes of the liberty of their people.

Election Victories

In the elections to the People's Skopshina (Parliament) in Yugoslavia held in November 1945, the candidates of the people's front received 875,000 votes, or 90.3 per cent of the total.

In the elections to the Legislative National Assembly in Czechoslovakia in May of this year, the Communist Party received 2,796,000 votes (14 seats out of a total of 396), the People's Party 1,111,000 votes, the Slovak Democratic Party 600,000 votes, and the Social-Democratic Party 153,000 votes.

In Poland the parliamentary elections held in January 1947, but the democratic forces that are now guiding the new Poland have already scored a decisive victory over the forces of reaction in the referendum of June 26, 1946.

In this referendum, 7,668,100, or 88.1 per cent of the voters approved a seven-chamber parliament, 1,094,038, or 77.2 per cent of the voters approved the approval of the land reform and the nationalization of the major branches of industry, and 18,394,000 votes, or 91.4 per cent of the total, approved Poland's new borders in the West.

In France, where in October this year a popular referendum confirmed the new democratic constitution, the elections to the National Assembly on November 19 resulted in a big success for the Communist Party, which received 4,626,000 votes, or 31.6 per cent of the total, and secured 153 seats. The Communist Party is now the largest party in the French Parliament.

In Old Nazi Satellites

A similar trend is to be observed in those European countries which during the war were satellites of Nazi Germany, but which in 1944, thanks to the successes of Soviet arms, disposed of their fascist regimes and took the path of democratic reform.

In Bulgaria, the elections to the Grand National Assembly on October 27, 1946 resulted in a convincing victory for the parties of the Patriotic Front. They received nearly three million votes, over 76 per cent of the total. The Bulgarian Workers' Party (Communist) secured 2,248,000 votes and an absolute majority of seats in the Assembly.

No less decisive was the victory of the bloc of democratic parties in the recent parliamentary elections in Rumania, on November 19. The bloc, which has been in power since the spring of 1946, received 4,307,000 votes, or 71.8 per cent of all the votes cast.

In addition, the Hungarian People's Oath, which although not belonging to the bloc of democratic parties, supports the bloc, secured 801,000 votes. In the Hungarian National Assembly the majority of the seats is held by the Independ-

entist parliamentary institutions of the last century.

Under present conditions when the press, radio and other means of bright communication have attained such an immense development and the level of political understanding of the working people is steadily rising, to follow the outworn traditions of earlier times and allow the masses to take a certain part in political activities only at election times is no longer good enough.

It has become a vital necessity to modern states that democracy shall be given a wider meaning and its forms extended.

The forces of democracy in a number of European countries are accordingly introducing or striving to introduce progressive constitutional reforms with the object of enlarging the power of the people. In some countries, in France, for instance, these constitutional reforms have gone with strong resistance and have been halted half-way. In other countries they have much more successfully.

But genuine democracy in our times is not merely a technical conception. It is a broad, democratic, political ideal. Like everything else on earth, democracy is subject to change. The formal democracy of the parliamentary type characteristic of the nineteenth century little accords with the progressive demands of our day.

Twentieth century democracy is striving forward, and not for the mere restoration of the con-

stitutional forms of the nineteenth century. It is a progressive, democratic, political ideal. Like everything else on earth, democracy is subject to change. The formal democracy of the parliamentary type characteristic of the nineteenth century little accords with the progressive demands of our day.

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VIZAGAPATAM ARMEN STRIKE AND WIN AGAINST BRITISH OFFICER'S BRUTALITY

From Our Correspondent Vizagapatam, Jan. 8.

After a hunger strike lasting five days, Indian airman of Station Headquarters, R.A.F. Station, Vizagapatam, have forced their tyrannical White officers to yield to their demands.

On January 1st the airman had to make their minds and decided to go on hunger-strike. As soon as the news reached the C.O. he called the men on parade. He ordered those who wanted to go on hunger-strike to fall in separately. The 100 men stood together. The officer was furious and threatened the parade.

Next day, the hunger-strike continued, but the men carried out their normal duties. The tyrannical C.O. was determined to teach them a lesson. At 10:30 in the afternoon, the men were made to fall-in on the parade ground. For three hours they stood in the hot sun. The British officer was furious and threatened the parade.

The airman tried to explain that they could not stand the strike and that they had to return to work. The officer refused. They refused to stand the strike and that they had to return to work.

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THRILL OF REBIRTH IN POLAND

Land Reform Revolutionises Peasants' Life; Industrial Workers Roll Up Their Sleeves

By Walter Stern

For the first time in history, the peasant has become aware of enough land to support himself and his family. The main aim of the peasants is to have schools for peasant children, an agricultural college, or hospital.

The mills, sawmills, machine-works, brickworks and ironworks have been taken over by the State. The main aim of the peasants is to have schools for peasant children, an agricultural college, or hospital.

Industrial workers too have rolled up their sleeves and are taking part in the reconstruction of the country. The main aim of the peasants is to have schools for peasant children, an agricultural college, or hospital.

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ALSO SPLIT--RESULT OF LACK OF POSITIVE POLICY

Students Uniting in Action, Organisations Must Also Unite

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40,000 Warlis Continue Fight Against Inhuman Conditions

Face Repression Unparalleled Under Any Congress Ministry

by P. B. Ingnekar

Bombay bureaucracy persisted in its terror campaign in the Warli area in Thana district.

So far over 60 Warlis are still in detention. Eight leaders of the Kisan Sabha are interned, even the pleaders not escaping the whip-hand.

Criminal cases are pending against over 150 Warlis, in one case alone 53 being involved. Warrants are pending against 100 more.

There have been two firings in the course of just one week. The first at Nandivli which killed five and wounded 13. The second at Koshad which killed two (though Government is silent about it) and wounded over 10.

In the first week of January military was moved into the area. Later it had to be withdrawn to a few miles in Kalyan. But there has been no assurance that it will not be used. During its stay of just two days six of its soldiers raped a woman near Koshad.

Over 600 armed policemen are stationed in the area, headed by two D.S.P.s, one Sharif Khan who had fired on the Warlis in October 1945 under the bureaucrats, the other is S. M. Moore-Gilbert who has had a special record of service in suppressing the "Patri Sarkar" of Satara during the 1942 struggle.

Terror Worse Than Ever

A number of villages have been deserted by the Warlis. But whenever these policemen come across any male Warli they force him into jungle operations.

As for sarkar's terror, it is worse than ever. Their goondas have razed an entire village—Waki—to the ground. They have murdered at least one Warli at Wangaon in Dahann taluka. Any number of women have been beaten. The beating is so vicious that at Koshad a Warli boy's eye came out of the socket as a result of it.

The Fauzdars (under sarkar's influence) threaten to further beat up the women if their men do not turn up within a definite period.

Practically every village has a police party stationed in the sarkar's awar (compound) fed by the sarkars at the cost of the Warlis.

That is the grim story of the terror against the Warlis, which they have been facing ever since their peaceful strike for wage for timber-cutting ended.

In self-defence they have resumed their strike and despite all the terror even the sarkars, as confirmed by the

Times of India report, admit that the strike is most complete.

The jungle operations are entirely at a standstill. So are the other trades of the sarkars, hay-cutting, charcoal kilns, rice, etc.

Has the Ministry done anything to curb this savagery? Far from it. Instead, daily the sarkars are flooding a 'kept' Press (Dalmia's Times of India, Goenka's National Standard) with stories and even photos of atrocities committed by the Warlis.

Ministry's Line

And the Ministry too is following a similar line. In December, for example, Premier Kher (along with other Ministers and a number of sarkars) addressed a Warli conference at Maswan in Palghar taluka. The Premier's speech (as also of his colleagues) only abused the Communists, blamed the Warlis for their plight and pleaded helplessness before the sarkars. He even threatened the Warlis with arrests, should they "break the

ing at Mahalaxmi that the Fauzdars would in future force them to answer a daily roll-call in the villages, i.e., treat them as criminals—"Failure to answer the roll would be treated very severely though I won't now tell you how," he said.

Against these shocking practices under a Congress Ministry popular resentment is growing. Already Syt. N. M. Joshi (M.L.A., Central) and Prof. P. A. Wadia, eminent nationalist economist, have condemned the Ministry's policy.

On January 3, the Bombay Civil Liberties Union—a non-party organization with Congressmen, Congress Socialists, non-party leaders and Communists—joined its voice of protest against it.

The Marathi Press too has come out in condemnation though everyone of the dailies which have written on it is a confirmed anti-Communist journal.

Says Navashakti:

"The sarkars and zemindars are two wild beasts of prey which have entered the Warli's life. Putting Gandhi caps on their heads cannot transform these savages into gentle milch cattle.... The Communists have achieved a necessary task in giving these



Armed police march off Warlis under arrest.

sarkars' heads."

After the conference Kher was presented with a purse of Rs. 5,185 by the local sarkars!

Following the conference the blood and iron rule has been intensified. Parliamentary Secretary Wandrekar and Deputy Collector Save are touring the area hurling abuses at Communist "goondaism." There is not one word of condemnation of the sarkars and their doings.

Instead, Wandrekar has now threatened the Warlis in a meet-

Adibasis the consciousness to resist."

Zamindars Go Free

Condemning the bureaucracy for its use of the Goonda Act against the Communists, Chitra expresses 'wonder that while Government officials could promptly hunt out five or six Communist provocateurs (!) not one of the zemindars who fatten like leeches on the blood of the Adibasis could be caught.'

"The people would have been better impressed if (the

FACTS ABOUT THE WARLIS

Extracts From Official Report

HOW came about the shocking poverty of the Warlis? D. Symington, I.C.S., quotes the following instances regarding the Warli indebtedness:

"(a) An old man borrowed Rs. 100 from his landlord for his son's marriage three years ago. Interest, one anna per rupee per month, i.e., 12 per cent (this is a very common rate in this district). He has repaid Rs. 100 and does not know the balance due. Presumably it is Rs. 225.

"(b) A Bhodia boy this year borrowed Rs. 100 from his landlord for his marriage. Interest, one anna per rupee per month. The loan is to be worked off by carrying work every fair season.

"On these terms he will still be carrying for his landlord at the time of his death and will then owe about Rs. 1,500!

"It usually happens that the debts of deceased persons are, as in Kandesh, forcibly saddled on their heirs by taking fresh promissory notes, and families become hereditary slaves.

"If a debtor is slow or recalcitrant in making payment or rendering services, he is threatened, assaulted or beaten by the sarkar's agents who are often Pathans or Bhayyas. A man refusing to give his work, for which he has taken a loan, is sometimes improperly prosecuted for cheating; and I regret to say that Magistrates have sometimes taken a strangely perverted view of such prosecutions."

These were the Warli's 'vices' that sent their land into the clutches of the sarkars!

Wretched Conditions

To quote the hard-boiled bureaucrat again:

"The conditions under which the jungle tribes work and live are wretched in the extreme and the abuses to which they are subject constitute a blot on the administration.

"(a) All jungle tract tenants who cultivate by 'khand' are liable to be called upon to work for their landlords.

"(b) If they refuse or procrastinate they are liable to assaults or beatings. These are of common occurrence and are usually carried out by the landlords' local agent. I was told on credible authority of men being tied up to posts and whipped. Such occurrences I can vouch for. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed.

"(c) Veth (forced labour) is demanded for as many days as are necessary for the landlords' requirements.

"(d) If the landlord is also a forest contractor, he will use his tenants' labour by veth for working his coupes.

"(e) The maximum remuneration for forced labour that I could discover is one anna per diem."

"(f) Landlords will not scruple to use their power in fulfillment of other purposes, for instance the use of their tenants' womenfolk for the gratification of their lust."

That was from the findings of a bureaucrat. But conditions were even far worse than that. And all of it has not seen the light of the day because of the most complete terror of the sarkars.

Symington speaks of it thus:

"They (Warlis) are so afraid of their landlords that they dare not ventilate their grievances of their own accord for fear that the names of the complainers will reach the landlords' ears (one big landlord-sarkar of Unbergaon petha indeed warned some of his Khatris and Warlis to withhold information from me—Symington) and reprisal be taken."

A New Warli Today

That was the life of the Warlis till a bare 18 months ago (May 1945) when the Kisan Sabha entered the area.

In these 18 months it has uprooted serfdom root and branch. No tenant now cultivates his sarkar's land unless for a daily wage of Rs. 12.

Forced labour is also ended. About 1,000 debt-slaves were freed. The tenants stopped payment of illegal exactions in eggs, poultry, vegetables, nothing except the landlord's legal dues.

It was the Kisan Sabha that fixed up rates for cutting hay and for timber-cutting.

Above all, it saved the honour of the Warli woman.

It is against these achievements of the Sabha that the sarkars and local bureaucrats have opened out a vicious offensive. It is a pity that the popular Ministry should have straight played into their hands, particularly when Premier Kher had some experience of the life of these Warlis as President of the Adivasi Seva Mandal.

Government could tell them that) the Adibasis were freed from the (terror of the) tyrannical sarkars and zemindars."

P. V. Gadgil, editor, Lokmanya, spoke before a group of Marathi writers thus (quoted in Navrug, January 5):

"The poor Adibasis were undergoing the most amazing kind of tortures. The task of making them conscious of themselves has been achieved very well and in a short time by the 'wicked' and 'heartless' Communists rather than

by the kind-hearted Gandhites.

"The Warli who was standing on the lowest rung of civilisation, who would not run into fury even when his very wife was taken away by his enemy in his presence, that Warli has today begun to resist. His become well-organized."

The Prabhat says:

"We feel that the truth in this development (Warlis) will not be out and the plans will not be put out unless an independent inquiry committee is appointed."

BRITISH MILITARY CALLED OUT TO SUPPRESS WARLIS

P. C. Joshi's Statement

In the course of a statement on the calling out of the military against the Warlis, P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, said:

FOR the first time under a Popular Ministry, military has been called out, not to deal with communal riots but to suppress a perfectly legitimate and just struggle of the most oppressed and exploited section of our peasantry.

The bureaucracy and the army have been imperialism's weapons to crush every popular struggle against vested interests. A Popular Ministry toing that line will only heap shame on the National Congress, make every democratic movement of our people impossible.

Already the Civil Liberties' Union and other responsible leaders have condemned this repression. But the situation is far too serious. Congressmen and all freedom-loving citizens must demand of the Ministry that they not only withdraw the troops forthwith but positively intervene to put an end to the sarkar-police terror that has made the Warli's life a veritable hell.

It is reported that the military has been temporarily withdrawn to nearby Kalyan. But in the absence of any official assurance, there is no knowing when it may be thrown into action again.

The Kisan Sabha has offered the Ministry its hand of co-operation to help them restore peace and normal conditions in the area. Let the Ministry grasp it and end the present policy of blood and iron.

THESE ARE THE WARLIS

How Morarji Desai Sees Them Today And Saw Them Yesterday

At the Magwan Conference on December 29, 1946, Bombay's Home Minister Morarji Desai (and also Premier Kher) told the Warlis:

"It was your vices, your addiction to liquor that sent your lands into the clutches of the sarkars. How can they be got back so soon?"

OVER seven years ago, the same Morarji Desai (then Revenue Minister) spoke differently in the Bombay Legislative Assembly in the course of a debate on the Bombay Tenancy Bill (September 25, 1939). He said:

"In three weeks, in the same District... some years back all the land was held by these people. But in had times, during famines or

scarcity times, the lands passed from their hands into the hands of the sarkars and other people for trifling amounts.

"There are instances in which land has been parted—some acres of land—for 5 lbs. of grain and in some cases at the rate of Rs. 5 per acre or a rupee per acre or over 8 annas per acre. Lands have passed out of these peoples' hands like this."