

Branch. K.W.-I to File No. 7/15/42-Poll (9)

ROUTINE PAPERS.

19 .

Subject.

Letter from Mr P.C. Joshi of the Communist Party of India forwarding memoranda about the activities of the Communist-Party in the Provinces.

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147

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K.W./to 7-7/15/42-Poll

(1) - Receipt

I send herewith the papers received from P.C. Joshi which I mentioned to Additional Secretary this morning together with the copy of my interim reply. I should be glad if Additional Secretary would have these papers examined in the meanwhile.

x (2) - Invoice

Amh

22. 3. 43

Addl. Secy.

I have read Mr. Joshi's main letter and some of the Provincial reports. They are of such enormous length that it would be impossible to examine them here in any detail; and I think that, if we are to pursue the matter, as I recommend we should, we shall have to send the reports to the Provinces concerned for their remarks. In doing so, we should also send a summary of Mr. Joshi's thesis, which is also of portentous length.

2. From a brief survey, it would appear that most of the Provincial reports are in the same <sup>strain</sup> ~~style~~, and many of them are, I imagine, written up by Mr. Joshi himself. In each case, there is a grandiloquent account of the Party's achievements, coupled with an even more damning indictment of the Government attitude. In practically every Province, it seems, Government and their servants have gone out of their way to arrest all the wrong people — thereby leaving the field <sup>open</sup> for the mysterious fifth column, of whose existence Government and their officers are presumed to have been completely unaware. The nearest approach to a definition of the fifth column is the constant <sup>allusion</sup> ~~evallution~~ to the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc (with a party of Trotskyite communists in Assam!). There is, of course,

no reason whatever to believe that any Government went out of its way to leave these people alone.

3) On the other hand, it may be true that a certain number of genuine communists have been unnecessarily, or even maliciously, arrested by the Police and it would do no harm to send the reports round to the Provinces, if only because of the repeated assurances they contain of the Party's desire to counter sabotage. These assurances do, to some extent, commit the Party to cooperation with Government, however much they may ~~be~~ <sup>hate</sup> the sound of those words. The fact, ~~I think~~ <sup>however</sup>, is that the communists are the sort of people who must always be "anti" something rather than "pro" anything (except, perhaps, themselves and a shadowy entity called "the people"). It would be something gained if we could at least drive them into the position of ~~inclining~~ <sup>proclaiming</sup> themselves openly as anti-C.S.P. and Forward Bloc — or, in other words, anti-left wing Congress.

4). It is interesting to note that the CPI have established personal contacts with Chief Secretaries or Advisers in most Provinces.

R. Stanton  
24.. 3. 43.

He will not be able to deal with his work after the session. Mean while he might look through the PP and add any comments he may have to make. He might also show to D.B.

R. Stanton

24/3

DS (11)

LS (11)

With D.B. please see and return with his comments.

24/3/43 - Poll (1) 24/3/43

M. M. 24/3

Index 24/3  
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26/3/43

P.C. Joshi's memorandum is full of exaggerated claims and denunciations and the Provincial notes much more so. It is not possible from information available in the Bureau (which does not ordinarily concern itself with details of local importance) to comment adequately on the memorandum, still less on the voluminous notes that accompany it. As regards the general aspects of communist activity, the Communist Survey for the months of January-March, 1943 - copy sent to H.D. on 6-4-43 - provides the best answer to P.C. Joshi. Care was taken in that Survey to provide a comprehensive review from the all-India standpoint of recent communist activity to enable H.D. to see how the communist leaders were in practice reacting to Government's present policy towards them.

2. A few comments on certain specific points raised in Joshi's memorandum may be made:-

(a) "Our legality" (Page 1). While we have no figures of arrests and detentions of communists made in Provinces before and after August, 1942, it is known that there have been a number of arrests in Madras and U.P. (mostly in connexion with Independence Day demonstrations). There is, however, no reason to suppose that the Provincial authorities are anywhere carrying on a drive against the communists. The extent to which Provinces have given effect to the policy of gradual release of detenus has varied; the real difficulty has been to distinguish communists from pure revolutionaries or criminals, the C.P.I. being always ready to claim all and sundry (e.g. the Kayyur murderers and the Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners) as communists. In certain areas, where there were disturbances during the Congress rebellion or where stringent security measures have been undertaken (e.g. U.P., Eastern Bengal, Andhra, Orissa, C.P. and Bihar), bans have been imposed by the local authorities on the holding of public meetings and it is apparently these areas to which Joshi refers. As regards the "People's War", it is correct that U.P. Special Branch have strongly (and often justifiably) protested against its tone and there have been cases of copies being withheld in post.

(b) "Government attitude towards us" (Page 2). The confusion caused by the C.P.I.'s changed policy early in 1942 in regard to its attitude towards the war led some of the Party members to join the N.W.F. but later, on the issue of specific instructions by the Central Committee, N.W.F. was boycotted.

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 (c) "Our attitude to the Government" (Page 5). The strike in Ahmedabad Textile Mills (which had the backing of the Textile Labour Association, a

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predominantly Congress-controlled body) lasted from 9-8-42 to 23-11-42. The Mill Kamdar (Red Flag) Union's influence on workers was very limited; this influence was used in trying to persuade the weavers to demand work or wages for the period of stoppage. The Union did not recommend to the workers that a demand for the restarting of the Mills should be made, presumably because the communist leaders did not want to be classed as less "revolutionary" than the Majur Mahajan (Congress-controlled). The Royists, on the other hand, made an attempt to collect signatures in support of a demand for reopening the Mills. As regards Jamshedpur, our information is that seven labour leaders were externed from Bihar in 1939 and in 1940-41 several others were externed or interned.

Up to July 1940, according to a Bihar report, 8 communists had been detained and 3 interned excluding 2 interned by Central Govt. By March 1942, there were 22 Communists or pseudo-communists under detention (2 Kirti workers, 3 Kisan workers, 3 student workers, 7 terrorists and 3 labour leaders). This action was taken before the legalization of the Party; it may be assumed that the number (35) given by P.C. Joshi is very probably correct and it is true that the Kirti-cum-Communist group in Jamshedpur has been completely disorganized by arrests, internments and externments. But the communists' implied contention that these persons would have averted the Tata Strike, had they been free, is open to doubt. At Cawnpore in the United Provinces, as a result of Congress Socialist efforts, there was a strike in connexion with the arrest of Congress leaders, and some workers in the Elgin and other mills struck work ~~but subsequently returned~~ for a time. Commenting on this strike, a U.P. report stated that although the communists did nothing to end the strike, their general attitude was one of disapproval and probably helped in preventing further trouble. The situation in Cawnpore has ~~undoubtedly~~ apparently deteriorated since; today's "Hindustan Times" reports the arrest of three communist leaders there. Details are being ~~ascertained~~ ascertained.

(d) "Worsening situation" (Page 6). We have no information that any C.I.D. is collecting the names and addresses of communist workers or that Trade Union "agitators" are being arrested "on a fairly large scale". The "People's War" has, however, recently stated that arrests were made in February 1943 (1 in C.P., 10 in Bengal, 1 in Indore and 5 in Jamshedpur); these figures may or may not be correct.

(e) "Our demands" (Page 8 "B and C"). The facts are that to protest against the measures taken by the authorities to put down certain subversive and anti-war activities, meetings and unruly demonstrations were held in various parts of Malabar on 15-9-40 in defiance of a ban imposed on them. One such demonstration was held in Morazha (led by K.P.R. Gopalan and other members of the former Kerala Congress Committee) and resulted in the death (by stoning) of a sub-inspector and injuries to several policemen. Of 34 persons prosecuted in the Morazha Case 11 were office-bearers of various peasant associations and about 15 were members of Aided School Teachers' Associations. The lower court sentenced 14 to various terms of imprisonment (ranging from 2 to 7 years) and acquitted 20: the latter were rearrested immediately under Rule 129

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of the Defence of India Rules and detained under the orders of the Provincial Government. On appeal the Madras High Court acquitted 5 persons, sentenced 1 (K.P.R. Gopalan) to death, and the remaining to transportation for life. K.P.R. Gopalan's death sentence was commuted in March 1942 to transportation for life by H.E. the Governor. A similar demonstration was held in Mattanur on 15-9-40 resulting in serious injuries to some members of the Police party, one of whom subsequently died. Of the 48 persons sent up for trial 36 were members of various peasant organizations and 5 were members of Aided School Teachers' Association.

P.C. Joshi's statement regarding Jan Mohammad (nicknamed Chacha Jan Mohammad) is correct. He advocated armed revolution to expel the British from India at a meeting of strikers of the Victoria Mills, Cawnpore, in September, 1939, and sentenced in January 1940 to transportation for life under Section 121/124-A/153 I.P.C.

(f) As regards Prithvi Singh. He is an ex-Ghadrite with a long history who severed his connexion with the non-Violent Physical Culture Institute, Malad (near Bombay) and joined the C.P.I. in June 1942. He was arrested by the Bhavnagar State Police about 12-10-42 at the instance of the Ahmedabad Police, who suspected him to be connected with some bomb explosions which had taken place there in September 1942 and in which a disciple of his had met his death. Commenting on his arrest the Poona C.I.D. stated that though he outwardly professed to be a communist, he was suspected to be carrying on secret terrorist activities and did not appear to have been loyal to the communist pro-war policy.

3. So much for Joshi's memorandum. No critical examination of the Provincial notes is possible here, owing to the absence of detailed information. The term "Fifth Column" as used by the communists includes everybody - not excluding the bureaucracy! - who does not fall in with the communist line. There is not a very great deal of information in these notes which may be considered valuable from the intelligence point of view and most of it is likely to be already known to Provinces. The general tone of these notes is not likely to commend itself to the Provincial authorities and the notes, in their present form, do not appear to be suitable for circulation to Provinces.

4. The communist attitude towards Congress, a point of considerable importance, has been discussed in the Communist Survey. We shall be interested to see the

He was arrested  
in November 1939

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explanatory memo. which Joshi has offered to prepare on the subject.



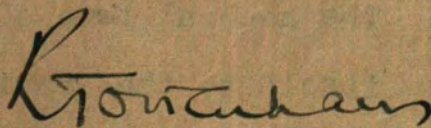
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H.D. (Sir ~~John~~ ~~...~~)

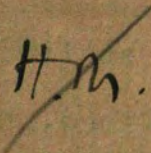
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I mentioned this case to H.M. this morning when Mr. Ahmed was present. In spite of the latter's view that it would be a mistake to send the provincial reports to the provinces concerned, I am still inclined to think that we should do so. We could send them with a covering letter which would explain that we had no doubt that many of the claims made were grossly exaggerated and that ~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> had no intention of questioning the action taken by the Provincial Government. At the same time we considered that the reports did amount to an attempt on the part of the Communist Party to justify themselves in the eyes of Government and, to that extent, to range themselves on the side of Government and definitely against the left wing elements, at any rate, of the Congress party. They could, therefore, be made use of by representatives of Provincial Governments in personal contacts with the local Communist leaders, and if these contacts could be developed, something might be done to restrain the more objectionable activities of the Communist Party and bring them gradually into more direct opposition to the Congress and more openly into the pro-war rather than the anti-Government field.



16. 4. 43.



(from prefile)

These papers may be recorded as K.W. to file 7/15/42 - Poll (9).

2. The question of forwarding Mr Joshi's Provincial reports (referred to in Adl. Secy's note dated 16.4.43 on prefile) was dropped after further consideration, vide para 1 of A.S.'s note dated 13.7.43 in file 7/15/42 - Poll (9).

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SRN  
19.6.44  
at  
19.6.44

*[Signature]*  
8/6

S.F. (1)  
SRN  
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CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

# Communist Party Of India

(Section of The Communist International)

From: PEOPLESWAR  
Phone: 42324 (P.C.Joshi)

190 B, Khetwadi Main Road,  
Bombay 4, March 15, 1943

Ref No.

Personal

(11)

Dear Sir Reginald,

In another cover I am sending you a Memo on behalf of the Party Centre with enclosures, on the situation in the Provinces. I am afraid we are not yet quite used to writing documents for the Government but you will see that we talk straight and are frank.

If any of our statements are involved or need further clarification you have only to send me a note and I will try my best to make our attitude as clear as in humanly possible.

If you think any useful purpose will be served by my visiting you and explaining things, I will be quite willing to do so. I was told by Mr. Mackenzie that our attitude about the Congress arouses suspicion in our bonafides. If it is so I could explain it in a Memo.

The situation in the Provinces is deteriorating very fast. I hope you will be able to intervene successfully and help us to do our bit against the Fifth Column and in saving the country.

I am going to Malabar on the 16th, and will be back on the 29th. inst.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

P.C. Joshi.

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Bombay

15.3.43

On the Legality of the Communist Party

Dear Sir Reginald,

I am sorry for not being able to send you this Memo and the enclosures earlier as I had promised. After I returned and asked for reports from the Provinces, the situation has been rapidly worsening and we have been busy coping with it in practice.

We have recently held a meeting of our Central Committee along with the Secretaries of all Provincial Committees and I am writing to you after careful consideration.

OUR LEGALITY

Full legality to our Party was never restored and to-day our legality has been reduced to a formality.

A large number of our comrades were never released, especially in the Punjab, U.P., and the Southern Provinces. During the last six months a very large number of our comrades have been arrested carrying out the policy of the Party.

We are a legal Party but we are not allowed to carry our policy to the people. Only in a few places are we allowed to hold meetings.

After legality we were allowed to start our journals but soon after August 9 all our journals have been repeatedly warned, security demanded from our Punjabi and Oriya organs. We understand that quite a number of Provincial Governments want the "People's War" closed down. The latest from U.P. is that the C.I.D. in U.P. stops at the Post offices themselves the individual copies sent to the regular subscribers.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS US

How do we ourselves understand Government policy and practice towards us?

Taking a review of the last 6 months, we don't think the Central and Provincial Governments had achieved a unified and agreed understanding on what attitude to adopt towards us. The Central Government was convinced about our being a political force in the country and our anti-fascist bonafides and legalised us. The implementing of the policy was left to the Provinces (e.g. releases, permission for meetings, etc). The Provincial Governments, for taking concrete steps, asked for reports from local authorities, i.e. the local C.I.D. and to them the legalisation of the Communist Party was the strangest and a calamitous thing to have happened. They prevented the application of the policy even as recommended by the Central Government through their reports and circumvented it in practice.

After August 9, the entire initiative has been left to the local authorities and we have suffered under them as most of the Indian patriots have.

We are a centralised Party but the Government to-day is decentralised machine. The lower down one goes in the Government machine, the more of the spirit of the old regime prevails.

We know that a large number of Government circles think we have a "changed front" after August 9. According to us they never understood our policy, i.e. they understood our policy with their digits of thought and not ours. They are those whose general outlook can be characterised as "You are either with us or ~~xx~~ against us", i.e. they expected us to become a loyalist organisation and cease being a patriotic party if we took our anti-Fascism seriously. Before August 9 they wanted us to join

the National War Front which I had refused to do in my telegram to you. They tried to cajole and even bully our local and Provincial leaders, into joining the National War Front which they, of course, refused without exception. Similarly they tried to bribe us centrally, provincially, and locally and could not believe that we would carry out our anti-fascist patriotic declarations by relying on our people alone. For them only words had changed, not their ideas, an anti-fascist meant the good old loyalist and at worst a liberal, <sup>the</sup> pro-Fascist was every patriot. (The Police Commissioner of Calcutta in a meeting to the Special Constables (Europeans) actually went to the extent of putting Fifth Columnists and Communists together and of the two classed Communists as being more dangerous).

The utmost to which the most liberal-minded among Government circles have gone is "Use the Communists but not let them go strong". Here is the actual contradiction; if Communist policy is in the interests of the people and the Communists work among the people who can prevent them from going strong? This is how our legalisation gets reduced ~~fr~~ to a formality.

#### OUR POLICY AND ORGANISATION

There is no contradiction between our policy and practice, it won't be Marxism if ~~there were~~ it were so, we could not have become a political force in the life of our nation if we were guilty of it. The honest endeavour of every Communist Party is to see that ~~it~~ <sup>the above contradiction</sup> does not creep in through ignorance or lack of experience. We never "change front", our enemies and critics charge us of this. Our front has been the same and that is of the peoples of the world. We don't change sides, but we change our policy and practice as the situation changes, but the purpose remains the same, strengthening the people's front and our aim remains the same, freedom for ourselves and all. If we were opportunists, we would have ceased to exist under persecution, while we have grown stronger as years have gone by. If we were opportunist we would not have won ground among our own people despite the ideological and practical opposition of other classes and organisations in our national life.

The only determining factor for our policy is the interests of our people, as we understand it and learn through our own experience. Our Party alone decides its policy. We accept no dictation from any outside agency. We think our policy is the simplest to understand if one looks at it from the point of view of the people.

Our Party as an organisation is a political organisation of a new type. It can never be understood by applying to it the norms or standards of other or orthodox political organisations. Discipline like ours exists in no other organisation, selflessness like that of our comrades is found in no other Party. Failure to grasp this does no harm to our Party but only to those who have to deal with us either as friends or as foes.

Members of our Party are only moved through the Party. We never deal with other organisations, official or unofficial, as individuals, but only as a Party. To deal with us otherwise is only to waste time.

I am not being boastful but only trying to show that to think that there is a contradiction between our policy and practice is neither to understand our policy politically nor to judge us objectively. We have struggled between two fires for the last six months. The Government has dealt with us virtually as the "Congress Fifth Column", our fellow patriots have slandered us as the British Fifth-Column, and yet we have won greater political influence over the people than we ever had, we are stronger as an organisation than ever before.

To evaluate us wrongly does not hit us really but leads to adopting a policy which helps the Fifth Column effectively.

OUR ATTITUDE TO THE GOVERNMENT

Our attitude to the Government is determined by the fact that a war is on which depends the fate of our country and of the world, the issue of freedom or fascism for ourselves and the world.

Unlike the loyalists we do not believe that just because a war is on, all that we have to do is to line up with the Government or lose our country. According to us this is abjuring patriotism and handing over the people to the Fifth Column.

Unlike the majority of the patriots we do not believe that the war is no concern of ours because we are not free. According to us just because the Government is foreign and not national, it is the task of the patriots above all to rouse the people, not to let them remain apathetic, not throw them against the war for that is losing our country to the Fascists and not winning our freedom.

The fundamental issue before us is the successful defence of our nation which is only possible under a National Government. According to us whatever is destructive of national defence, is anti-national and whatever strengthens national defence is true patriotism and also takes us nearer National Government.

This particular situation arises because we are not free, there is no unity between the existing Government and the people.

But just because the Government is foreign we don't adopt the position of ~~mere~~ neutrality, for that is reducing ourselves to helplessness, refusing to do our own patriotic duty. We offer our co-operation to the Government in every measure of National defence. Even where the Government because of its political policy or age-old prejudices does not want people's cooperation we go out to rally the people on our own.

The crux of our policy is:

- nothing against defence
- Everything for defence
- With the Government wherever possible (that <sup>we</sup> saves our own <sup>people</sup> <sup>through</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Government</sup>) *on explanation to our fellow patriots*
- On our own always

No major political organisation except ours has declared for unconditional support to war as our war, as a people's war for our people as for all peoples.

No major political organisation, for political reasons, has dared to go beyond the position of neutrality. After the Congress and the League we are the third Party in the country and we have openly declared for qualified cooperation even with the existing Government, with no bargaining spirit but with the sole desire to fight the fascist aggressors and save our own people from the horrors of war and its effects.

Irrespective of the attitude of the Government or of our fellow patriots, we have popularised and implemented our policy.

We seek no favours from the Government, all that we demand that there should be no discrimination against us. Our legality should not be reduced to a formality and we be allowed the normal facilities of a legal party.

OUR POLICY IN ACTION

Last six months have been terrible.

Repression has not made the people war-minded but only provoked them to destructive acts which ~~arise~~ automatically became acts of sabotage, sit-

uated as our country is. Repression has only succeeded in destroying people's morale, spreading defeatism, which is fertile soil for Fifth Columnism. We stood between the police and the people, persuading honest patriots not to get provoked, fighting Fifth Columnists on the spot, taking police lathis on our shoulders, being sent to jail for speaking against repression. How effective our propaganda and work was can be seen that a week to one month after August 9, differing from Province to Province, the Congress Socialist and Forward Bloc elements who had grabbed the Congress machine after the arrest of the leaders, began, in all ~~the~~ illegal handbills throughout the country, their main concentration of fire against us, held us responsible for the collapse of the "struggle".

We fought sabotage both politically and practically whether organised by misguided patriots or open Fifth Columnists. We went all-out to convince the honest patriots through every available means, that sabotage was not the way to freedom but fascism and thus helped to isolate the Fifth Columnist who was using them as dupes and who was being fed by repression. Our propaganda was so effective that after the first month of the "struggle", the main slogan of the Fifth Column for Congress and student workers became "Don't listen to the Communists". As a Party of the people we knew more than the police can ever know what is being done in the people's ranks and our main practical activity has been to ~~show~~ sabotage the sabotage campaign. Provincial reports chronicle only what we did in broad daylight among the ~~lower~~ masses. Our work was feared by the Fifth Column so much that it did not stop at slander but went further, ~~then~~ forged documents, stabbed and beat up our comrades, broke our meetings, bombed our Press. If we have not paid a heavier price that is not because of police protection (our Party headquarters have been refused even license for firearms) but because of our own vigilance, and better organisation.

The police and the local officials classed our anti-repression <sup>campaign</sup> as being pro-struggle and have arrested our agitators and detained our organisers. The local C.I.Ds. are now collecting names of all our members and sympathisers to arrest us if and when we are declared illegal again. The local Fifth Column too is collecting our names to deal with us when the Japs come, they ~~show~~ shadow our local leaders to stab them if they can get the chance even before the Japs come.

The same patriotic urge that moves us to denounce repression inspires us with strength to fight the campaign of sabotage and its organisers. Even The Statesman and The Times of India have not written so consistently and strongly against sabotage as our weekly organs which are brought out in eleven languages. If they did, they won't sell among their Indian readers and lose their value as newspapers for their advertisers. We do so because we are not dependent upon advertisers, (in fact, we publish no advertisements), but because we have earned the right by serving our nation to talk in the name of patriotism, we carry conviction because we present a composite objective picture of the situation as a whole. If our Party had not conducted its propaganda drive, the country after the arrest of Congress leaders and workers would have got split into 2 sections - the Government and the Fifth Column and the Japs wanted nothing more. Through our political propaganda we saw that repression does not stabilise as a free gift of leaderless, honest but misguided patriots to the Fifth Column. Repression could only demoralise the patriot make him feel utterly frustrated but never disillusion him from Fifth Column slogans. Through our propaganda we have been able to isolate ~~the~~ to a large extent the honest patriot from the real Fifth Column and make him see that the only two alternatives

before him are not <sup>either</sup> line up with the Government (which he can never do) or join the Fifth Column (from whose clutches we have got thousands out and are bent on isolating it completely till no honest patriot remains as its dupe).

The biggest job we have been able to do is to keep production going. The only two exceptions are Ahmedabad where we are a minority and the local authorities refused us facilities to work unless we accepted the loyalist Royist position which we refused to do and did all that we could to get the mills opened under the slogan "work or wages", and thereby move the Majur Mahajan workers as well. The other exception is Jamshedpur from where the Government had externed or arrested 35 of our comrades (all local leaders) during the early phase of the war and never withdrew their detention, externment or internment orders. At Cawnpore we were not allowed to hold meetings and yet we sent the workers of the mills where individual strikes broke out back to work within 4 days. The lessons to be drawn are two. First, wherever our Party units exist, and <sup>we</sup> were allowed to work there were no strikes. Secondly, if there were no Communist Party of India which the working class recognised as its political leader, the history of India, during the last six months would have been different.

WORSENING SITUATION

The worst in India is not over. A bad situation continues to grow worse.

The political deadlock has not been resolved, therefore the appearance of restoration of peaceful conditions is deceptive. The phase of spontaneous upsurge is over, but the Fifth Column is reorganising itself and training small bands to go into action the first chance it gets. The opportunities for it are opening wide with the extension of the crisis to the economic front.

As a result of the political deadlock, the economic deadlock is getting intensified and leading towards disaster. The profiteer has turned hoarder and passes off his greed as good patriotism, just as the Fifth Column saboteur masked himself as a fiery patriot. The political crisis affected the mass of patriots, but the food crisis draws in the mass of the people. So far it was frustrated patriotism in action, now gnawing hunger will goad the people to food riots. The Fifth Column exploited the political situation and it is out to exploit the Food situation and is concentrating on it.

Production is threatened with disruption. We held the production front so far because of our political policy; a serious strike wave is already on because of economic reasons and is bound to extend. The lag between prices and wages is ~~becoming~~ yawning wider and wider, and the food crisis on top of it makes the conditions unbearable for the workers. The Government does not intervene in time, it moves <sup>after a lot of mass mobilization only in</sup> major centres and for war industries, and seeks to arrest the strike <sup>wave</sup> by another paltry rise in dearness allowance. Unions are not recognised. The crisis is temporarily averted but its causes remain. In mofussil districts, and in minor industries the old policy of smashing stikes and arresting Trade Union workers continues to be pursued.

Unless the Government adopts a bold policy of adequate dearness allowance, fair and just wages, and recognition of Unions, nothing can avert the greatest strike wave the Indian Labour movement has witnessed. The situation is desperate.

We are working against the threatening catastrophe, but we can never sell out nor keep quiet, we are the Party of the working class. We ~~explain~~ explain to the working class that there is no conflict between continuing

production and safeguarding their own interests, that the two are inter-dependent. We show them how it is possible in the conditions of to-day to settle the grievances through negotiations and that strike action must be <sup>absolutely</sup> the last weapon of the working class when there is no alternative left at all

The Government circles don't seem to realise the gravity of the situation but seem to go by the age-old prejudice that we are out to organise trouble. Local C.I.D. is collecting the names and addresses of our worker comrades, our Trade Union agitators are being arrested on a fairly large scale, the Unions led by us are discriminated against; permission is consistently refused to hold Trade Union meetings. This policy does not avert the strike-wave, but only makes its results more disastrous. We have suffered enough in our life not to get provoked. We will always do our best to keep production going while simultaneously safeguarding workers' interests. We have done it so far and despite greater difficulties and a worse situation we will persist in our endeavours, because this way lies the true interest of our class and of our nation.

What we endeavour to explain here is that with our production policy given and our established reputation as being the best and most influential Trade Union workers in the country, the attempt to hinder our Trade Union activities leads unwittingly straight to a blow-up of the production front.

#### OUR PLAN OF WORK

Release Gandhiji and the Congress leaders campaign: we are organising it as the first step towards ending the present tragic state of affairs and pave the path for a settlement between the British and the Indian people.

Food Campaign: we are organising People's Food Committees and on an all-party basis so that the people may get food and spontaneous food riots may not break out. Through these committees we will offer the organised cooperation of the people to the local administration for getting food supplies, for distribution, etc. Through these Committees we unite all sections of the people and isolate the hoarder as trading on people's hunger and thus rally them to track down his hidden stocks. Through these Committees we work to get food and fight food riots.

Production Conferences: in every working class area we will popularise our production policy under the slogan "The battle for Production is the measure of workers' own patriotism" and formulate the immediate demands of the workers which are absolutely essential to enable them to keep up production. We will also offer ~~xxxxx~~ concrete and constructive suggestions that will help to INCREASE production.

Grow More Food Campaign: The Government campaign conducted through the official machine has become a "Hand over more food grains" racket rather than anything else, threats of confiscation of crops are advanced, wild rumours are set afloat, prices are manipulated to cheat the peasant of a fair price. Through the Kisan Sabhas we will conduct an intensive propaganda drive to propagate the necessity for growing more food as the expression of the peasant's best ~~patia~~ patriotism, we will formulate concrete and practical plans for growing more food. We will seek the co-operation of the local authorities to get fallow land, takavi loans, implements and manure, etc., and also in marketing the produce. We have already tried the experiment in a small way in some Andhra and Malabar villages and it has produced very good results. If the local Governments adopt a helpful attitude we could initiate a mighty constructive campaign in the countryside in all the districts where we have Kisan Sabhas.

#### OUR DEMANDS.

1. RELEASE ALL OUR DETENU COMRADES BOTH OF PRE-LEGALITY PERIOD AND POST-

## LEGALITY.

We are politically the most unified and practically the most disciplined Party in the country. Anyone who has dealt with us at all without pre-conceived notions knows and admits it. It is utterly wrong to think that we have Party workers who don't accept and carry out Party policy; if it were so, we won't be a Communist Party at all but like any other political party. There is no sense in keeping them in jail, that can't make us change our policy, it will never cow down our comrades behind bars, it only means one worker less against the Fifth Column, one patriotic mobiliser of the people being wasted.

After August 9, a large number of our comrades have been arrested and detained on the basis of false reports from the police for organising the sabotage campaign. Our case is that the police is politically ignorant and backward and lumps all patriots together and is traditionally our worst enemy. Our demand is that let our comrades suspected of sabotage activities be tried, if they are detained, the legality of our Party becomes a farce.

I would request you to think over this phenomenon. After August 9, the vast majority of patriots thought the final struggle for national freedom ~~has~~ had begun; we alone had the courage and the understanding to expose it as national suicide and go right down to the people to fight for our slogans. Besides us, those who did not agree with "struggle", remained passive, and they did not even dare hold a mass meeting. The whole country was aflame with passions. Out of 4414 members, we lost 29 members, and only a part of them expelled for being pro-struggle. The rest resigned or were expelled for failing to be sufficiently active to retain their Party membership. On the other hand, we gained 4448 new members, i.e. during the last six months we have gained more members than we got in fifteen years. No other Party except a Communist Party can have such unity inside its ranks, no other patriots except the Communists are capable of such achievements against such odds.

To detain our comrades on the ground of following a policy which is not Party policy is patently fantastic.

## 2. RELEASE OUR CONVICTED COMRADES.

In the first communique legalising the Party the Government had promised to take steps in this direction but almost nothing has been done. They fall into three categories.

- A) EX-TERRORISTS who came over to us. The Government seems to think that a terrorist never changes. I would request the following considerations being evaluated.
- A terrorist when he comes to Marxism undergoes within himself an intellectual struggle, it is not cowardice but patriotism that changes his views. We don't accept an ex-terrorist in our ranks without making doubly sure that he has changed his views and agrees with us.
  - They came over to the Party long before the war broke out, inside jails, through their own studies, by association with our comrade
  - The insinuation that they ~~will~~ claim to be Communists just to get released is an unworthy slander.
  - The Forward Bloc gangsters are part of their own old associates and they will be an asset in fighting them and winning over middle class youth from falling into the ~~su~~ clutches of these gangster-traitors.

In Bengal there are a whole group of pre-reform prisoners (13);



and Forward Bloc illegal handbills and journals is "The struggle failed because of Communist treachery".

From the ranks of the people we are the only political party that FIGHTS the Fifth Column. Government repression feeds the Fifth Column, our propaganda and work isolated the Fifth Column from the honest patriots.

We succeed because we agitate on the plane of patriotism and are able to expose the Fifth Column as treacherous agents of Fascist imperialists and not let the Fifth Column get the chance to malign us as agents of the British imperialists. We succeed because we are able to show that our practice strengthens the nation, serves the daily interests of the people and that the Fifth Column's practical slogans mean the destruction of nation's defence, and inflicting sufferings, economic and political, on the shoulders of our own people.

The National War Front line does not touch the Fifth Column while our policy makes it squeal.

In such a situation, to deny free and legal opportunities to our Party only helps the Fifth Column. Our growth can't be restricted because our policy is the embodiment of the best traditions of our great national movement and is in the interest of our people and of all peoples, because our comrades have the intelligence, strength and self-discipline to take it to the people.

Our policy of course does not help the Government but it hits the Fifth Column and helps save the home front from ~~national~~<sup>internal</sup> crack-up and rouses the patriotism of the people against the Fascist aggressor.

It is futile to expect us to toe the loyalist line. We are a patriotic Party and shall remain so whatever policy the Government adopts towards us.

The basis of our approach to the Government is based on the realisation that it is the Government for the time being and pledged to defend the country. Despite our most serious political differences with the Government, we offer our cooperation wherever we think it is fighting the Fascists or rallying the people, in short, strengthening national defence. We have, we think, the right to ask the Government to observe the rule of the road in relations with us. Our policy we realise can never be to the liking of the Government because we talk in terms of flaming patriotism and relate every issue to the freedom of our country but the ~~guiding~~ guiding principle of every one of our practical activities is our desire to defend the country, and they all can be reduced to:

- Strengthen the morale by rousing patriotism
- Strengthen the means of national defence by keeping the people contented and at their jobs. Reduce people's demands to irreducible minimum and work out constructive suggestions for every measure.

The economic crisis has got intertwined with the political crisis, worse and not better days are ahead, the way the situation is drifting. Would the Fifth Column get another chance to exploit the economic situation and create another round of disturbances which because they would be based on people's needs will be more violent and destructive than the earlier ones; OR will the Government give us at least the chance to fight the policy and practice of the Fifth Column in the ranks of the people without expecting us to line up with its policy and with freedom to criticise its activities where in our opinion and experience they hit our people?

Quite a lot in coming months will depend upon what attitude the Central Government takes, what the Provincial Governments actually do in practice, what attitude the local officials adopt towards the people and their daily

they have done their fourteen years and are not being released but detained under the Defence of India Rules.

The statement of the Chittagong Armoury Raid comrades was good enough to be broadcast on a world scale but they are not safe enough to be with their people.

- B) There are <sup>the Malabar</sup> prisoners cases like the Mattanur and Morazha Riot cases convicted for being organisers of Kisan struggles, during the imperialist phase of the war. Most of them are very young and would be of inestimable service in organising the Grow More Food Campaign.
- C) There are individual cases like Jan Mohammed of Cawnpore who was awarded transportation for life for one single speech. The entire Cawnpore working class called him "uncle".
- D) Then there are individual cases after August 9 in which our comrades have been convicted on trumped up charges under the Defence of India Rules. As a general rule the Provincial Governments refuse to intervene or review the cases because of the excitement of the present situation and under the slogan "local authorities must be left to deal with the local situation".

### 3. LET US ENJOY OUR LEGALITY IN PRACTICE, i.e.,

- permission to hold meetings and bring out demonstrations.
- right to carry on with our Press without the threat of closure hanging over our heads all the time.

### WHY DO WE MAKE THESE DEMANDS?

We ask for the above demands not merely on the basis of normal civil liberties due to a legal Party which our Party finds it greatly ~~difficult~~ difficult to win because of old prejudices but primarily on political grounds, on what our Party does in the ranks of the people and against the Fascist aggressors.

What do our activities boil down to during the last six months:

1. We have kept Indian patriotism alive. If we were not there with our policy, the country would have got divided into two camps: the loyalists and the Fifth Column, just like Burma. Just because we stuck to our policy despite the Government and the Fifth Column that honest patriots are finding their way out of the arms of the Fifth Column. Through their own experience, in their own ways, different groups and parties are able to grope their way towards our patriotic policy of National Unity for National Defence and Freedom. If we were not there, <sup>the</sup> honest patriot would have become a fanatical Fifth Columnist or a demoralised creature. Hundreds of Congressmen, inside and outside the jails, are coming towards us.
2. We have saved the country from being enveloped in a wave of food riots through our anti-food riot propaganda and by our constructive work in industrial areas by helping in distribution and looking after the queues. The Forward Bloc and the Congress Socialists had planned to celebrate this year's Independence Day by organising an orgy of one week's food riots. The Police Commissioner of Bombay would ~~have~~ bear witness to how effectively and constructively our food work is.
3. We have kept production going, with the biggest political organisation in the country wanting a general strike for political reasons, with colonial wage and living conditions for the workers, with Workers' Unions not even recognised. We could do it because of the patriotic fervour of our political policy, because we have organised and ~~led~~ led the working class, because we are the Party of the working class.
4. We have fought the Fifth Column politically and practically, and our ~~work~~ has been so effective that the main theme of the Congress Socialist

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190 B, Khetwadi Main Road,  
Bombay 4, 18th Feb., 43

Sir Reginald Maxwell,  
Home Member,  
Government of India.

MEMO ON RELEASE OF SARDAR PRITHVI SINGH  
NOW DETAINED IN THE CENTRAL PRISON, RAJKOT  
-----

Sir,

You are probably aware that Sardar Prithvi Singh was arrested on 11th October, 1942 at Bhavnagar and is now detained in the Rajkot Central Prison.

I am not going to recount the Sardar's past history as you must be having the complete dossier of his case.

What I propose to do is to impress upon you the fact that the Sardar has been arrested on nothing more than false information given by certain persons who have a grudge against him, coupled with his past terrorist associations.

You know that he is a fearless person who goes forward to do what he conceives to be the right thing to do. His long experience in the terrorist movement has also equipped him fully to evade the ~~clutches~~<sup>He</sup> of law if he so desires.

But the man himself has great personal integrity, political convictions and character. This is what impelled him to give up terrorism when he realised its futility as a method of achieving the freedom of his country.

In his search for a political philosophy and a guide for practical action he went over to Gandhism. After evading arrest for 16 years, he, at the instance of Gandhiji, surrendered himself to the police on May 20, 1938 .

Since then Sardar Prithvi Singh lived and worked with Gandhiji honestly endeavouring to assimilate the principles of Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence. During this period, he made no secret of the great admiration he felt for the Communist Party; only he had fancied then that by Gandhiji's methods he could arrive at the same goal.

Following the attack on the Soviet Union and the rapid advance of the Japs to the borders of India, his fearless fighting spirit and his passionate patriotism roused him to the urgent need to defend the Motherland against the Jap brutes.

However, on the question of support to a war based on violence, his patriotism and Gandhiji's pacifism came into conflict and after a great deal of mental struggle he broke from Gandhiji.

With this break and the public statement released by him to the press, you must be familiar.

Having done this, Sardar Prithvi Singh came to the Communist Party of India, the only Party whose passionate patriotism and fearless work could satisfy his urge.

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With full knowledge of what a great struggle the Sardar must have been through to give up a life of fame and lionisation, and realising the strength and intensity of his patriotic conviction, the Party put him to the difficult job of rousing the youth in Gandhiji's stronghold, Gujerat.

You will realise how strong a person's convictions must be to take on a job like that. He was respected and loved as Gandhiji's lieutenant. His break from Gandhiji won him many enemies among the Gandhites. But he did this job in a manner no one else could have done. He toured almost every place in Gujerat during the months of June to October. His passionate calls to the youth contributed a great deal to the mildness of the patriotic storm in Gujerat after August 9.

In Bhavnagar, Sardar Prithvi Singh had arranged to start a Physical Culture Institute and a Rifle Club to teach the youth the art of fighting with the cooperation of the Durbar.

It was while engaged in such a patriotic, urgent job that he was suddenly arrested and detained. My information is, that someone quite influential in Bhavnagar was mainly responsible for this. And if my information is true, and I believe it to be so, the grounds for such action are not political at all but personal jealousy.

It is absurd to say that a person like Sardar Prithvi Singh who had done all this, could at the same time have supported the "struggle." If he had the slightest desire to carry on struggle activity he would never have broken from all those who believe in "struggle." He could have easily gone underground, evaded arrest and guided the movement.

It is also apparent that there were several persons who wished him no good, and could easily have given false information just to get him into trouble.

It is clear that whoever ordered the Sardar's detention <sup>did so</sup> without politically evaluating the man, as a fearless fighter, as a staunch member of the Communist Party of India, as a champion propagandist for Gujerat.

I am quite sure that Sardar Prithvi Singh could do more to restore normal conditions in Gujerat than a whole regiment of soldiers.

I, therefore, request you to order his immediate release.

Sardar Prithvi Singh himself has addressed several petitions to the Bombay Government and to the Central Government. If you read them you will see what a great frustration he is suffering from, ~~being~~ being detained on suspicion of doing things against which his whole patriotic being revolts.

I earnestly request you to release him immediately and unconditionally in the interests of mobilising the youth of Gujerat against sabotage and for unity to defend the Motherland.

Yours truly,

*F. C. John*

GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF INDIA

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LIST OF COMRADES WHO WERE WORKING AT JAMSHEDPUR  
BUT WHO WERE EXTERNEED OR INTERNEED BETWEEN  
1939 and 1940

....

These comrades belong to the Provinces of Punjab, Bengal and Behar and so concern three different Provincial Governments. Some of them have in addition been arrested by their own Provincial Governments. The release of these comrades and the removal of restrictions on them is requested so that they may be able to work in Jamshedpur, and keep production going in this vital Centre of war-industry.

EXTERNEES

PUNJAB

1. NAYNA SINGH, now in Gujrat jail.
2. KARTAR SINGH.
3. MOHAN alias PYARILAL alias DAYA SINGH. Recently arrested.
4. TARA SINGH alias DURSHAN SINGH. Worker in Tinsplate.
5. BUJA SINGH. Arrested at Jamshedpur and now in Gujrat jail.
6. KARTAR SINGH. " " " " " " " " " "
7. BHAWAL SINGH. Worker, Cable Company.
8. SARWANT SINGH
9. HARCHARAN SINGH
10. GANDHAVA SEN.

BENGAL

11. ABANI SEN, Secretary, Wire Products Workers' Union.
12. Md. ISMAIL.
13. PRAMATH GHOSH
14. SUBODH SARKAR
15. SAILEN LAHIRI
16. CHANDU BABU. Full name is not known.

GOA

17. DHARAMBIR SINGH

INTERNEES

BEHAR

18. CHANDRIKA SINGH, Chhapra
19. SHYAMDEONARAYAN, "
20. KALYANI DEBI (Wife of Chandrika Singh) Chhapra.

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MEMO ON OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES SINCE  
AUGUST 9 SUBMITTED BY THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND  
BERAR PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF INDIA

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THE MAIN STRENGTH OF OUR PARTY IN THIS PROVINCE IS AMONG THE WORKING CLASS OF NAGPUR AND JUBBULPORE, AMONG THE STUDENTS TO A LESSER EXTENT AND AMONG THE KISANS (PEASANTRY) IN SOME OF THE DISTRICTS OF BERAR. It is, therefore, among these sections that we have been able to do most effective work during the crisis period.

We have had to work against tremendous odds. Congress influence in this province is considerable. THE ATTITUDE OF THE POLICE TOO IN CITIES LIKE NAGPUR, SPECIALLY IN THE EARLIER MONTHS OF THE STRUGGLE, WAS MOST PROVOCATIVE. INCIDENTS LIKE THE WELL-KNOWN CHIMUR ONE WERE EXPLOITED TO A POWERFUL EXTENT BY PRO-STRUGGLE AND FORWARD BLOC ELEMENTS TO ROUSE THE ANGER OF THE PEOPLE AND DRIVE THEM TO SABOTAGE, STRIKES AND ANARCHY.

ON THE TOP OF ALL THESE FACTORS THE GOVERNMENT CAUGHT HOLD OF SOME OF OUR MOST WELL-KNOWN LEADERS, COMRADES WHO ARE INFLUENTIAL MASS LEADERS AND AGITATORS AND THREW THEM INTO JAIL ON THE ABSURD PLEA THAT THEY ARE CONNECTED WITH THE STRUGGLE. Our best-known Kisan leaders (who are Party Members of considerable standing) like COMRADE MARATHE, were arrested and thrown into detention without even being given a chance to disprove the evidence brought forward against them by the police; COMRADE B. N. MUKHERJEE, THE SECRETARY OF OUR PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE, WAS ARRESTED AND IMPLICATED IN SOME OLD CASE. His distant terroristic past is brought forward against him now, despite the clearly-known fact that Comrade Mukherjee is left off terrorism long ago and is one of the leaders of the Party in our province.

Despite all these odds, the achievements of our Party among the working class and the students have been considerable, as the following report will show.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE

On the 15th August our Provincial Committee came out with a leaflet in Marathi, warning people how sabotage and "struggle" will lead only to national ruin and Fascist slavery. This leaflet was extensively distributed at Amraoti, Akola, Ellichpur, Badnera and Nagpur as also at all the Kisan centres.

About 27th August, ~~next~~ another booklet was issued in Marathi on the Communist Party's policy explaining where sabotage and this "struggle" will lead our nation. This was also extensively distributed at all the centres of the province and ~~in~~ discussions were carried on everywhere on its basis.

We will now take up in detail our work in the various centres, one by one.

N A G P U R

AMONG THE STUDENTS

Nagpur is a big college centre and the events of August 9 brought up a terrific upsurge among the students of all the colleges. A powerful strike wave spread everywhere.

On the 10th itself when the students en masse wanted to go on strike, our comrades at the general meeting explained our policy clearly opposing the "struggle" and sabotage. On the 11th, we carried on a continuous explanatory campaign among the students and at night group meetings were taken in almost all the hostels. On the 12th morning, we conducted gate meetings at every college gate. OUR SPEAKERS GOT 25 TO 45 MINUTES' HEARING AT LAW, SCIENCE, MORRIS, MEDICAL AND ENGINEERING COLLEGES.

Continuously, day after day, our comrades were on their legs, going out to the student masses and explaining to them what strikes and sabotage mean in to-day's situation to our nation. SINCE AUGUST 20 TO THE MIDDLE OF SEPTEMBER, WE CONDUCTED DISCUSSION GROUPS OF, ON AN AVERAGE, TWO EVERY DAY. THE DISCUSSIONS USED TO BE CONTINUED EVEN THREE TO FOUR TIMES IN EACH GROUP. ON AN AVERAGE THE ATTENDANCE WAS 15 TO 20. THIS WAS THE ONLY FORM OF AGITATION AVAILABLE TO US. In every one of these discussions, the main subject thrashed out was "to join the struggle or not," and our comrades put forward sharply the disastrous consequences of this

"struggle." Congress workers also used to come and argue against us, but we stuck to our jobs and stressed upon students leaving off sabotage and coming back into the institutions.

The leaflet which we issued to the students on September 25 condemning sabotage and explaining our policy had a considerable effect on the student masses.

AS A RESULT OF THIS CONTINUOUS WORK OF OURS, ATTENDANCE IN THE VARIOUS COLLEGES BEGAN TO INCREASE STEADILY. ACTIVITIES LIKE ACID-THROWING IN THE COLLEGES AND HOSTELS STOPPED. GIRL STUDENTS TAKING THE LEAD AND OFFERING BANGLES TO MALE STUDENTS AS A MEANS OF SHAMING THEM INTO JOINING THE STRIKES STOPPED, MAINLY AS A RESULT OF A MEETING ORGANISED BY OUR COMRADES WHERE 40 OF THESE GIRL STUDENTS ATTENDED TO KNOW OUR LINE. IN SOME COLLEGES LIKE THE SCIENCE COLLEGE AND THE NATIONAL COLLEGE, WE WERE ABLE TO PERSUADE THE MEMBERS OF THE STRIKE COMMITTEE (~~FORNED~~ FROM LEADING PRO-STRUGGLE BOYS) THEMSELVES TO CALL OFF THE STRIKE.

THE TREK BACK TO THE COLLEGES OF THE STUDENTS STARTED AS A RESULT OF OUR CAMPAIGN AGAINST SABOTAGE AND THE SUCCESS OF THIS CAMPAIGN AMONG THE STUDENT MASSES.

#### AMONG THE WORKING CLASS

Among the TEXTILE WORKERS, immediately after August 9, the Forward Blocist Labour leader, Ruikar, got busy with preparations to call the workers out. ON THE 11TH RUIKAR GAVE THE CALL FOR A STRIKE, BUT OUR COMRADES WERE ABLE TO HOLD THE WORKERS AND PREVENT STOPPAGE OF PRODUCTION. A week after, ON THE 18TH, taking advantage of certain just pressing grievances the workers had, Ruikar incited them to a strike. This time, Ruikar did not call for direct political action as he did on the 11th, he knew that the workers under our lead would reject that. His trick was to get the workers out under cover of their pressing grievances (discontent which had been accumulating for a considerable time) and through this end, drag them into stoppage of production. Immediately, we went into action to expose Ruikar's game. We held at least 6 to 8 big moholla meetings and many more group meetings (average attendance between 200 and 300). Ruikar started making plans for satyagraha as a way of forcing the workers to keep out. OUR PROPAGANDA FORCED HIM TO ABANDON THIS PLAN. RUIKAR'S PLAN WAS TO KEEP THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS VAGUELY PITCHED HIGH, EVADE SETTLEMENT AND THUS PROLONG THE STRIKE INDEFINITELY. THROUGH OUR WORK, WE BLEW UP THIS PLAN TOO. We succeeded in making the workers come to the Union Office in large numbers (10,000 to 15,000) at each meeting of the Representative Council and demand settlement. Our comrades through their speeches and through their handbills forced Ruikar to reduce the demands to reasonable ones and to clearly put them in a definite form. A Representative Committee for all mohallas jointly consisting of Mahars, Hindus and Muslims went and held meetings in all mohallas demanding of the Union leadership to determine the workers' demands definitely and settle the issue. Ruikar's men got it hot from the workers themselves. WITHIN 2 DAYS, 2,000 - 2,500 SIGNATURES WERE COLLECTED FROM THE WORKERS FOR A DEMAND CALLING UPON THE UNION LEADERSHIP TO FORMULATE THE WORKERS' DEMANDS DEFINITELY AND SEEK SETTLEMENT.

By the 25th, the strike was settled and Ruikar's game completely smashed.

On the 25th September, we issued a handbill warning the workers against sabotage and hooliganism and explaining to them that all this would lead not to freedom but Fascist slavery. We succeeded in preventing a strike on that day.

On the 30th October, the All-India Trade Union Congress Day, we distributed a handbill en masse to the workers, where we explained the production policy of the Party, that it was the patriotic duty of the working-class to keep production going and to get their just demands satisfied through the path of unity and negotiations.

On 7th November, Russian Revolution Day, once again we issued handbills in Marathi and Urdu against sabotage and for unity. In all our speeches, on meetings that day, our main stress once again was for unity and against sabotage.

On 12th, Balwaik, the pro-Congress Labour leader, precipitated a strike, seizing upon some just demands ~~hixtka~~ of the workers. We, while supporting the workers' demands, warned them against Balwaik's game. Similarly, our Berar Unions too condemned this game of provocation.

Among the Beedi workers, we had to advise the workers several times to withdraw strike to facilitate settlement. It is only the utter callousness of the owners and their failure to implement the terms agreed upon that forced strikes upon the workers at all.

#### SOME EXAMPLES OF OUR SUCCESSES

An idea of the extent to which the influence of our Party's policy had grown after the crisis is shown by the fact that THE SALES OF PEOPLE'S WAR (OUR PARTY ORGAN) INCREASED FROM 180 IN SEPTEMBER TO NEARLY 600 IN NOVEMBER.

We are selling 35 to 40 copies of the People's War in Itwari itself, which is a strong Congress pro-struggle area.

We have completely won over some old veteran Congress leaders and convinced them that sabotage leads only to Fascist slavery. They are now prepared to cooperate with us in constructive work on the food issue (preventing food riots and foiling the game of the Fifth Column and of the pro-struggle elements of using the issue of food scarcity to incite people to anarchy and rioting.)

#### A K O L A

##### IN THE WORKING CLASS

Immediately after August 9, our leading comrades, COMS. PARANJPYE, B. N. MUKHERJEE AND BUKHARI FROM BOMBAY called a meeting of the worker militants (attendance 150) and explained our Party policy to them. The workers were clearly warned of the dangers of provocation, acts of sabotage and hold-up of production. As a direct result of our taking the initiative in this respect, we were able to prevent strikes in both the mills at Akola, the game of pro-Struggle and Fifth Column elements was nipped in the bud.

After a few days the provocateurs spread the rumour in Savatram Mills that if the workers remain away from work, they will receive wages. The management of the Mills too took a hand, in making the workers keep out and get provoked. He actually paid the workers 18 days' wages after the semblance of a stay-in-strike. Against such odds, our comrades got going among the workers and explained to them the trap into which they were being led. After a vigorous campaign of explanation and agitation against sabotage and against stoppage of production, we forced the Savatram Mills to open after 18 days and were able to get the workers to resume work.

Trouble did not stop here. After a few days, some people once again tried to provoke the workers to strike and acts of sabotage by spreading the mischievous rumour that Tukdoji ~~SAHARAJ~~ (very well known among the workers) was going to be hanged. Our comrades immediately came out with a handbill exposing the game and saved the situation.

More recently a statement exposing the provocateurs' game of Balwaik (the pro-Congress Labour leader who was trying to bring the workers out on a strike taking advantage of certain pressing grievances of theirs) was issued. Nearly 5,000 copies of it were printed and were very well received by the workers.

##### IN THE STUDENTS

Among the students on the very first day our Comrade Mangle exhorted the students not to fall a prey to provocation and indulge in sabotage. The Government came down upon Com. Mangle despite the fact that he was standing between the student masses and sabotage and arrested him. The students were all anger and wanted to smash windows, etc. The leaders of the pro-struggle elements were frantically trying to incite them to it. But in the meeting, our Comrade Kapre again argued with the students and prevented them from being thrown into the arms of the pro-struggle elements.

Since then the Party has been carrying on a continuous explanatory campaign among the student masses. We held a large number of study circles, in all about 50 to 60, and some half a dozen picnics with attendance of 15 to 20 each. In all these, our line against sabotage and indefinite strikes and for strengthening national defence and building national unity was incessantly explained.



ELlichPUR AND BADNERA

Immediately after the arrests of the Congress leaders, our comrades came out clearly among the workers and warned them against sabotage and hold-up of production. Through this explanatory work and through our sales of "People's War," we were able to prevent acts of sabotage at these centres very effectively.

Any number of strikes would have broken out at these centres but for our prompt intervention. We prevented these and settled the issues every time through negotiations.

Besides all this, it was due entirely to our work that Food Riots were prevented at these centres. At Ellichpur, some 2 months back, the food situation became very grave, even jowar was not available. The Mill Canteen shop refused to give stock. The workers were being driven to dangerous desperation and anything might have happened. It is only due to our prompt initiative that public pressure was mobilised and some hoarded grains were unearthed. This ~~enabled~~ enabled us to prevent food riots which were actually impending, with all the disastrous consequences that would follow in their wake.

The situation was saved in Badnera too in exactly the same way by our intervention.

AMRAOTI

We issued a political statement immediately after August 9, explaining to people the disastrous consequences of the "struggle" and of sabotage. This statement produced considerable affect among the local Congress circles. As a result, the Editor of the well-known paper "Udaya" actually came out and opposed sabotage, in a speech. All this had a considerable effect on local public opinion.

Soon we were able to form a Nagarik Samiti (Citizen's Committee) in which we were even able to enlist the co-operation of some Congressmen for national defence propaganda. Public meetings were not allowed; so we had to do our campaign against sabotage and for unity from house to house. Almost every mohalla was visited. Through this campaign, we were able to check sabotage very effectively.

Among the students, in spite of our intense campaign of explanation, in the initial stages we were unable to prevent strike, but we were able to prevent clashes with the police and persuade the students to remain peaceful. Had such clashes come about, then as in other cities, it would have inflamed the student masses more and the situation would have gone out of hand, leading to sabotage and what not. After a week or so, we were able to carry home our point of view against indefinite strikes to larger and larger sections of students. As a result, the schools and colleges started running without even a single incident.

Two or three study circles were held by us (attendance 20 to 25 of the student leaders) where we stressed the suicidal consequences that would follow sabotage.

The Nagarik Samiti organised a set of meetings against sabotage and for unity. These meetings had very visible effect on public opinion in keeping people away from acts of sabotage and incendiarianism.

JUBBULPORE

Here too, in spite of the fact that in the initial stages ~~were~~ were not able to prevent students from coming out on strike, as a result of our persistent explanatory campaign, we succeeded gradually <sup>in</sup> persuading the students to come back to the institutions. As a result, normal institution life was restored after the first hectic spell.

IN KATOL & CHANDUR

We conducted a big campaign of meetings among the Kisans (peasantry) at the different centres (Katol, Chandur, Tiwsa, Shendurjana, Par Pingalai and so on) Everywhere we explained to the Kisans that sabotage will not lead to freedom, but to Fascist slavery.

SOME EXAMPLES OF OUR PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES IN  
PREVENTING ANARCHY AND SABOTAGE :

Here we give a few examples where at very explosive moments our intervention alone ~~xxxx~~ saved the situation.

NAGPUR

1. On the 11th August, the pro-struggle elements wanted to lead the students to the district court and thus incite them on. Our comrades succeeding in diverting them to Monday Park where after a peaceful meeting, they dispersed.
2. On the 12th, at the district court when firing was being threatened, our comrades faced the danger, ~~xxxxxx~~ walked straight to the police and tried to prevent firing and at the same time tried to persuade the students to disperse peacefully. They partially succeeded in spite of the extremely provocative attitude of the District Commissioner.
3. Our comrades received information that the National College was going to be burnt. We mobilised the students against this plan, kept watch and isolated the saboteurs. The result was that the plan miscarried; only the saboteurs concerned increased their venom against our comrades.
4. In the Science College, the using of Hydrogen Sulphide by students to get the classes emptied was discontinued as a result of our campaign against such activities.
5. In the Morris College, as a result of our discussions with them, the girl students gave up the practice of forcing bangles on to the hands of the male students as a means of shaming them into coming out on strike.
6. On Gandhi Jayanti Day, a national flag was hoisted on the Medical School Hostel. The Superintendent asked the students to remove it. The students refused. He threatened to call the police. A very explosive situation was the result. Our comrades intervened and explained to the students: "It is our flag, we don't want to get it insulted. Let us sing the national song, salute our flag and then remove it ourselves. After a lot of explanation, the students agreed ~~xxxxxi~~ and the situation was saved.
7. In a Girl's School (Bharat Mahila Vidyalaya), some male students used to go and throw stones in order to force the school to close. The situation would have led to the calling of the police and dangerous clashes. Our comrades intervened, asked the girls to remain in spite of the stones and thus completely isolated the saboteurs and shamed him into packing off. Thus the situation was saved.

Many more instances like this could be given. Similar things happened at other centres too.

At AKOLA we prevented a dangerous outburst of the students after Com. Mangle's arrest, as ~~xx~~ already mentioned previously.

At JUBBULPORE, on the 10th a procession was taken out and a meeting was called in the evening. One of our comrades was addressing the meeting. The Police wanted to disperse the meeting. They arrested our comrade, even though he was trying to combat sabotage and anarchy. The situation would have led to a clash had not our comrade kept his presence of mind despite the police provocation and advised the people to disperse peacefully.

ON THE WORKERS' FRONT, THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PARTY HAVE BEEN EVEN MORE CONSIDERABLE AND HAVE ALREADY BEEN GIVEN ABOVE.

-19-

RE: OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN  
THE CENTRAL PROVINCES

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Memo from the C.P. Committee of the Communist Party of India

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The relations between our Party and the Government in the Central Provinces can be best presented by classifying it under the heads: i) General ii) Specific iii) List of Arrests and Detentions and iv) Our Demands.

GENERAL

Under this head come all those features of the relations between our Party and the Provincial Government which the Central Provinces share in common with other provinces. They can be further subdivided into:-

1. FORMAL LEGALITY; BUT REAL ILLEGALITY

Though under the orders of the Central Government, the ban on the C.P.I. has been lifted, the Provincial Governments do not allow the Party members to implement our political line. The result is that every kind of agitation is banned, even anti-Jap conferences and anti-Jap propaganda ~~is~~ <sup>are</sup> not permitted. This makes Party functioning almost impossible, prevents our Party, the only patriotic Party, from mobilising the people for national defence and a National Government.

Examples:

(i) The District Magistrate banned the Unity Week Campaign by the Party in Amraoti.

(ii) At Nagpur, our Unity Week posters were removed and the sympathiser in whose shop it was exhibited was arrested. He was let off later.

(iii) Arrests of Comrades Sudam Deshmukh, Raghoji Dabake, W.N. Deshpande, Trade Union workers of Elichpur and Sawarkar, of Badnera. They have been doing vigorous work calling upon workers not to fall a prey to provocation and but for Comrades Sudam and Savarkar there would have been food riots in Elichpur and Badnera.

2. CHANGE OF REASONS, NOT CHANGE OF PRACTICE

The C.P. Government in common with other provincial governments interprets the order of the Central Government legalising the C.P.I. as calling for only a change of reasons for the old practice, not as necessitating a change in practice. This can be further subdivided into:

a) Arrests of Party Members on mere suspicion

Several Party Members are arrested and detained. No reasons are assigned. The Provincial authorities say that these comrades have been arrested as INDIVIDUALS not as MEMBERS OF THE C.P. I. As you will see, this distinction is without a difference. This results out of a failure on the part of the provincial authorities to politically evaluate things. They carry on in the same old manner, the fact that the C.P.I. has changed its line, that the Central Government has changed its attitude, etc. means nothing to them. They arrest Communists as they used to do in the Imperialist War days, they assign no reasons, do not state what grounds of suspicion, there are if any, and thus prevent even organisational functioning.

The arrests of Comrades P. D. Marathe, Secretary of the Nagpur District Committee of the C.P.I. and C. P. Mehta are cases in point.

b) Detention of Party Comrades because of their past histories

Several Party Members have been arrested, on no other ground except that in the distant past, they have been associated with terrorist activities or that they were members of ~~the~~ Congress Committees.

One of the most important results of our Party functioning has been to wean away several of our patriots from other paths to the Communist path. This

obviously means that terrorists, Gandhites and several such persons come over to the Communist Party as the result of their experience, with the firm conviction that only the C.P.I. has the most patriotic practical policy.

### 1) Terrorist associations

The Provincial Government refuses to evaluate things on this basis. It detains persons because of their terrorist past and refuses to accept the Party guarantee, refuses to believe that before the person could enter the Party, the break with the old must already have taken place.

The two most glaring instances of this in the Central Provinces are that of Coms. B. N. Mukherji and Kundanlal Gupta. As you will see from the list annexed hereto, they have broken with their past long ago, have been taken into the C.P.I. after being tested and tried and have been working for several years as members of the C.P.I.

Com. B. N. Mukherji: He was associated before 1932 with terrorist activities, was convicted in the Nagpur Conspiracy Case and sentenced to five years. In jail he thoroughly re-educated himself, came out, gave up all terrorist connections, made a complete break with the past, and came to Communism in 1939. He is a trusted and loyal Party Member and at the time of arrest was Secretary of the ~~Comm~~ Provincial Committee of the C.P.I.

He has been arrested for alleged connection with what is known as the Raipur Conspiracy Case. The evidence against him is:

- a) he had written a letter to Sudhir Mukherjee, one of the accused in the case;
- b) in the letter, the following are objected to: i) Lal salams (which means, Red Salute and (ii) "yours is a new experience in working in a revolutionary and organised manner." (This is a portion from a Provincial Committee's Circular calling upon Sudhir Mukherjee to shoulder his responsibility when the motherland is in danger. This had reference to the fact that an auxiliary committee of the Party had been formed in Raipur).

The whole case of conspiracy rests on nothing more than a confession. In spite of this the case is being dragged on. Bail has been rejected. He is not even allowed to correspond with his friends and relations.

Com. Kundanlal Gupta: The only reason for his arrest and detention is that in the past he was connected with the Lahore Conspiracy Case. He became a Party Member in 1938, after effecting a complete break with his old ideas. He was wholeheartedly implementing the Party line when he was arrested.

### 2. Farra Congress Connections

There are some other Party Members who have been arrested merely because they held some office in the District or Provincial Congress Committees. Of such kind were the arrests of Balwantrao Deshpande, Secretary, Taluka Congress Committee and Punje.

Com. D. G. Deshpande was appealing to a crowd of students who had come face to face with a posse of police. A riot was averted through Com. Deshpande's intervention, still he was arrested.

Com. P. D. Marathe's house was searched on the ground that the police was looking for Congress bulletins. An old tried member of the Party and Secretary of the District Committee of the Party, he was treated in this manner.

### SPECIFIC

The relations in the Central Provinces between Government and the Party have been further complicated due to a peculiar circumstance.

Mr. P. Y. Deshpande, a professor and a fairly well-known Marathi writer, professed radical sympathies. He was for quite sometime a sympathiser of the C.P.I. He was, of course, never a Party Member, had no sound ideological training nor had been subject to Party discipline.

But under conditions of illegality, and with all our important Party Members either in jail or in hiding, he was the only person who could speak to the Provincial Government on the Party's behalf, much as Mr. N. M. Joshi

did with respect to the Central Government. But unfortunately, Mr. P. Y. Deshpande turned out to be a person of very little personal integrity and less political clarity.

It appears that at the time of the Anti-Fascist Conference, he, on his own, and without consulting or informing the Party about it, received financial aid from the C.P. Provincial Government. ~~After~~ <sup>And</sup> after going to this extreme, he swung to the exact opposite as soon as the Working Committee Resolution foreshadowed a struggle. He became all at once a struggle-walla.

This action of Mr. P. Y. Deshpande resulted in creating suspicion on the whole Provincial Party. No amount of explanation has induced the Provincial Government to see things as they are and understand the peculiar situation. You will realise that the C.P.I. could not have foreseen this unfortunate circumstance.

It appears that the Governor of the Central Provinces was also carried away by the prejudice that this action of Mr. P. Y. Deshpande has created and it seems that he, the Governor, directly interfered in the matter of Com. B. N. Mukherji to see that bail was rejected.

I may assure you, that no Party Member, no Provincial or District Committee could possibly say one thing and do another. As you are aware, the Communist Party disdains to conceal its views.

But the Provincial Government refuses to understand this with the result that it does not allow the Party to function at all. No meetings whatsoever are allowed, the Party press was seized from the house of Com. Gulab Chandra Agrawal and has not been returned.

#### OUR DEMANDS

We request you to concede the following demands so that the C.P.I. in the Central Provinces may carry on its political and practical jobs to fight sabotage and Fifth Columnism and so that it may work to establish unity of all sections of the people so as to strengthen the defence of the country and usher in a National Government by such means as go to strengthen national defence. Ours is the only patriotic party doing this job and that is why we hope you will arrange to see that the C. P. Government is persuaded to do the following things:

- a) Release all those Party Members who are detained on mere suspicion.
- b) Try those Party Members against whom the Provincial Government professes to have evidence.
- c) Allow under-trial Party Members to be on bail so that they may continue their Party work uninterrupted.
- d) Give permission for holding meetings at Nagpur, Amraoti, Akola, Jubbulpore, Katol, i.e. wherever the Party carries on work or desires to carry on work.\*
- e) Permission for moholla meetings in all these centres, especially in the working-class districts.
- f) Return of the Party handpress.
- g) Permission for "People's War" and other Party literature to be sent to those in jail, not only to Party Members but also to others, so that we might succeed in weaning away the patriots who are in jail.

I hope that after this clear statement of our relations with the C.P. Government, you will kindly endeavour to establish better relations between the C. P. Government and ~~the~~ our Provincial Party there, so that the C.P.I. may continue to implement its political line by practical activity of mobilising and rousing our people to defend the country against the Japs, to fight Fifth Column and work for patriotic unity of all the people.

List of Comrades Arrested & Detained

I am giving names of only those comrades who are still under arrest or under-trial. Sometimes comrades were released some days after their arrest; their names I am not giving. If you need their names too please write to us.

\* \* \* \* \*

1. B. N. MUKHERJEE

Arrested on 21st August under what is known as "Raipur Conspiracy Case". He is being tried at Raipur. Bail was refused.

2. O. P. MEHTA

Arrested on 18th August. Detained at present.

3. P. D. MARATHE

Arrested on 19th August. Detained at present.

4. KUNDANLAL GUPTA

Arrested on 8th September. Detained at present.

The above are being detained under suspicion. Government does not give any reason ~~for~~ or justification for their arrest.

5. SUDAM DESHMUKH

Arrested on 20th November. Being tried.

6. RAGHOJI DAHAKE

Arrested on 22nd November. Being tried.

7. W. N. DESHPANDE

Arrested sometime in December. Being tried.

The above three have been arrested under the charge of a dacoity case. They are being tried at Ellichpur. Case will start on this 16th.

8. GULAB CHAND AGRAWAL

Arrested on 11th August. Detained. Police contend that he took part in cutting wire.

9. Dr. DIWANJI (Candidate Member)

Arrested in November. Released on bail. Sentenced for 6 months for a speech. At first the police tried him for speech in which he had read out and explained the editorial "Lithgow must go" from the P.W. But when he was set free in that case they put another case on the basis of one of his previous speeches. Ultimately he was sentenced for 6 months and is now in Jail (since 19th of January)

MEMO ON OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES SINCE AUGUST 9  
SUBMITTED BY THE BOMBAY COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

GENERAL FEATURES

The main strength of the Communist Party in Bombay is among the working class, specially, the Textile and Railway working class. For years, the Party and the Girni Kamgar Union (under Party influence) have through thick and thin stood by the working class and served them faithfully and well. The Party to-day has got nearly 2,000 working-class militants working under its banner.

The Textile and Railway working class together hold the key position in the city. There are nearly 225,000 textile workers and 30,000 Railway workers. Together they constitute over 50% of the Bombay working class and about 15% of the city's population. These are the two sections of the working class too who are most organised and politically conscious. To hold them is to hold the Bombay working class and to get a firm base from which one can work up ~~axnax~~ towards other sections of the city's population.

Important war work is being carried out in the Railway workshops of Bombay. The working class here, therefore, occupies a key role in the country's war-effort.

Bombay is one of the cities in India to which the whole of the rest of the country looks. It is one of the key centres of the National movement. If the working class in Bombay takes to sabotage and stoppage of production, then it becomes a big call to the entire country.

PRODUCTION SAVED

The work of the Party in holding the Bombay working class from sabotage and in keeping production going is one of the Party's outstanding achievements in saving the entire nation from disaster. No other Party or group could have done this. Minus the Communist Party, Bombay would have gone up in smoke.

STUDENTS BEING WON BACK

Among the students, the Party has been able to check sabotage and indefinite strikes to a considerable extent in South Bombay, where most of the Colleges are situated. Due to our work, almost all the colleges in South Bombay are running regularly. The Forward Bloc and Congress Socialist boys have been isolated from the honest Congress boys. In fact, we have made a section of the latter themselves come out sharply against sabotage and Fifth Column activity. While the Forward Bloc and the ~~axs~~ Congress Socialist Party would welcome food riots, some of the leading honest Congress boys in South Bombay are working with our own boys in maintaining order at food queues, ~~axnax~~ assisting distribution, etc.

All this has been achieved despite the fact that in the beginning at the outbreak of the crisis our Party's strength among the students was comparatively weak. Also despite the vigorously hostile attitude of the Principals and Staff of certain colleges (like St. Xavier College) who have expelled our Party boys, and who have taken drastic measures against any kind of anti-Fascist activity we carry on inside the institutions. Our boys are not even allowed to sell the "Student" (Organ of the All-India Students' Federation, which stands for National Defence and against sabotage) inside the St. Xaviers College.

The remarkable work which the Red Guards formed by the Party have done and <sup>are</sup> doing among the food queues and at Government grain shops has been recognised by the Government itself. But for this work of the Party, food riots would have broken out in Bombay City long ago, with disastrous consequences.

RECORD OF OUR ACTIVITIES

On the very eve of the Bombay Session of the All-India Congress Committee, and even before, we had warned the people that to launch the "struggle" when the Fascist enemy was knocking at the gates of our country would only lead our people to Fascist slavery. We pointed out that the only path to freedom is the unity of our people for National Defence and National Government.

Immediately after the arrest of the Congress leaders, we gave a call for PEACEFUL protest meetings and no strikes or hartals. On the 10th and 11th we

held 2 rallies attended by over 7,000 workers each. Street-corner meetings for agitation and chawl meetings for explanation accompanied these rallies. "Keep production going" and "no clashes with the police" were the two slogans we gave at the time.

But the attack on the Congress had worked up feelings to white-heat among the working class. Influential pro-struggle elements were frantically at work among them. Several of the nationalist millowners were, of course, pro-Congress. The result was that directly after August 9, with a few exceptions, all the mills were closed.

It was a most dangerous situation.

#### COMBAT/ING FIFTH COLUMN AMONG WORKING-CLASS

In a meeting attended by about 8,000 workers, through a handbill (12,000 copies of which were distributed), we exhorted the workers to remain peaceful, not to fall victims to provocation and to the exhortations of the Fifth Columnists, and misguided patriots and to resume work as soon as the mill-gates were opened.

Our comrades working on the Railways were continuously on their legs, explaining the position of the Red Flag and asking them not to cease work. Our worker comrades inside the G. I. P. Workshops at Matunga and Parel were in the midst of the workers all the time, smashing the ring of the pro-struggle elements.

As a result of our agitation and work, the textile and Railway workers remained en masse aloof from acts of sabotage.

Within a week, almost all the mills began to work, over 50 of them having resumed work within 4 days.

The Railway workers in the Parel workshop did not strike at all. Those at Matunga came out with only a half-day's protest action. The wanton firing by the troops outside the shops forced the workers to hold up work for another day. In the B.B. & C.I. Railway, there was only one-day's protest strike in the Lower Parel workshops.

Contrast Bombay with Jamshedpur to see what might have happened to Bombay but for the Communist Party. In Jamshedpur, production came to a standstill for 2 months, in Bombay the tale would have <sup>been</sup> 100 times more disastrous. The Bombay working class is one of the most advanced and politically-conscious in the ~~whole~~ whole of India and once stoppage of production starts in Bombay, the flames would spread all over India and there would be no stopping it.

After this, the pro-struggle elements tried their level best to bring about a complete stoppage of the Textile mills on no less than 4 occasions, namely, 30.8.42, 11.9.42, 2.10.42 and 19.10.42. The result was poor every time and was respectively as follows: 1) 7 mills on strike; 2) only 1 mill on strike 3) 6 mills closed fully and 2 partially; 4) 8 mills on strike.

And even these strikes, it must be noted, were invariably a kind of lock-outs. All the officials combined to send the workers out.

It is very useful to examine the first round of slogans under which the workers were being asked to stop production completely. Here are those slogans:

1. For freedom, for Congress, for Gandhiji and Jawahar, stop work and run to your native places.

This was the obvious appeal to the devotion of the workers to the Congress and to the National Movement.

2. The Japs are coming; you are unprotected; save yourself from Jap bombs by evacuation.

Here we see how the utter lack of adequate A.R.P. shelters for the workers is taken full advantage of to create panic among them and make them leave the factories and the city.

3. Throw out the Communists from amongst you; they have sold themselves to



the Government. Comrade Dange did not and so he is in jail.

The Government is keeping behind ~~Comrade Dange~~ <sup>Comrade Dange</sup> in jail without any justification whatsoever. And the pro-struggle and Fifth Column elements use this very fact to discredit the Communist Party among the workers and provoke them to go on strike.

Huge funds were ~~xxx~~ spent on the popularisation of these slogans among the workers. Handbills were distributed in lacs. The entire nationalist press with the lone exception of the "Bombay Chronicle" poured venom on the Communists. Patriotic & pro-struggle elements, Fifth Columnists, notorious strike-breakers of former days, all these joined together for the task of crushing the Communists. Never before in the history of the Bombay working-class movement had we to deal with such a united opposition.

We countered these frantic efforts by our own non-stop agitation. We refused to be silenced. On September 6, certain adventurist elements made bold to break up our meeting. The result was grievous for them. It was the last time they ever tried to break up a working-class meeting held by the Communist Party in Bombay.

Having failed in their direct political appeal, the Fifth Column and the misguided patriots resorted to a new slogan: The millowners are exploiting you; strike and secure adequate dearness allowance, wage-increase and bonus.

Discontent among the workers on all these grounds was rising dangerously fast and pro-struggle elements were only lighting the fuse. The Girni Kamgar Union, under the lead of the Party, had to intervene in this situation and see that a reasonable demands of the workers were settled in a peaceful manner by negotiations without hold-up of production. The Union promptly took up these reasonable demands and ran intensive campaign calling upon the workers to unite for their demands under the flag of the Union and not to resort to hasty ill-considered strikes which would mean stoppage of production. 4 mass rallies each attended by between 2,000 and 6,000 workers; 70 sectional maidan meetings each attended by between 300 and 600 workers; 300 street-corner and chawl meetings each attended by between 100 and 150 workers; this is how we conducted the campaign.

Through this hurricane campaign of agitation, we rallied the workers for the path of united negotiations against the path of strike and hold-up of production. But discontent among the workers was so great and the attitude of the employers and the Government so unsatisfactory that spontaneous strikes began to break out here and there. In every one of these cases, we intervened, localised the strike and tried to get the matter settled quickly and amicably. Such strikes took place in 13 mills. With the exception of 3, in every other case, we succeeded in isolating the pro-struggle elements. In two of them, Toyo Poddar and Western India, we succeeded in winning the demands partially.

In the first week of November, we led a vigorous campaign for national unity. All throughout this campaign, we explained to people how disastrous this "struggle" is, how strengthening of national defence alone can take us to National Government. During this campaign, we held 13 sectional maidan meetings and 250 street-corner meetings, issued 40,000 copies of leaflets. During this campaign, we succeeded in making the middle-classes of the city listen to us and think.

#### PREVENTION OF FOOD RIOTS AND STRIKES

Over a month ago, the food situation in the city became acute. The pro-struggle elements saw in it new life coming to sustain the ebbing struggle. The Congress Socialist Party and Forward Bloc leaflets began to appear talking of the "coming second revolution." The Fifth Column were giving the slogan of food riots and looting. The queues were getting longer and longer, people angrier and more desperate. Reports of food riots began to appear in the newspapers.

Had food riots begun to spread, the situation would have gone out of hand and the Fifth Column would have run away with it. The flames would have spread from Bombay City ~~to~~ and enveloped the whole country.

It was the intervention of our Party alone which saved Bombay City in a very explosive situation. We ran an intensive campaign against rioting and lootings. We pointed out how this course would help nobody but the Fifth Column

and their foreign masters. We called upon citizens of all Communities and political parties to come together, unite and seek a peaceful way out of the food crisis. We approached all political organisations and various trading organisations. Everywhere, we explained to people what food riots mean to our country in to-day's situation.

We distributed 32,000 copies of leaflets, held about 400 street-corner meetings with an average attendance of 150 each, 12 sectional maidan meetings each attended by between 500 and 5,000 workers. The campaign culminated in a huge Food Rally attended by nearly 30,000 people.

To some extent as a consequence of our agitation, the grains supplied to the Government Grain Shops and the shops managed by the mills was increased by about 40%. But the problem of distribution persisted. The workers were getting far less than what they were promised. Spontaneous strikes began to break out. In every one of these strikes (in 7 mills such strikes broke out) our comrades intervened, foiled the Fifth Column and pro-struggle elements and got the strikes settled amicably and quickly.

Among the Railway workers too, a very explosive situation was arising due to food shortage. This came on the top of the already existing acute discontent due to their demand for additional dearness allowance not being granted. Here our timely intervention once again cut the ground from under the feet of the Fifth Column and pro-struggle elements. We united the workers, led deputations to the administrations, got assurances from them regarding the workers' demands and on this basis made the workers resume work. The result was that the mischief-makers who had come forward at the beginning were utterly routed.

How important our Party's intervention in these cases of the Railway workers was can be gauged from the fact that the Railway workshops in Bombay ~~are~~ are engaged in producing valuable war materials. Strikes here would be disastrous for the country's war-effort.

#### OUR RED GUARDS

So much about one point of distribution. Another very important one was the Government Grain Shops. This was the softest spot for the penetration of the Fifth Columnists. Here our intervention came out at the nick of time. We just prevented the fuse from touching the powder. We rushed our Red Guards to the queues before the Government Grain Shops. Our Red Guards kept order at the queues, assisted orderly distribution, combated the Fifth Column and in general acted as liaison between the people on the one hand and the shop administration and Government on the other by bringing the complaints of the former before the latter and getting them remedied. It is exactly such complaints that Fifth Columnist inciters of riots rely to do their job.

The work which our Red Guards have done, and are doing, is well-known to the Bombay Government and has won recognition from it.

During the period under review, we distributed in all over 200,000 copies of leaflets; we held about 1,500 street-corner ~~meetings~~ and chawl meetings with an average attendance of about 125; we held about 150 sectional maidan meetings with an average attendance of about 1,000; we held 12 mass rallies with an average ~~attendance~~ attendance of about 6,000. The extent of our campaign is shown by these figures.

An idea of the extent to which the influence of the Party and its national defence policy has ~~grown~~ grown among the working class since the crisis can be got from the fact that the union collections of the Girni Kamgar Union (from the workers) which fell from Rs.280 in August to Rs.70 in September (directly after the August 9 Crisis) have been steadily rising since then and have reached the peak figure of over Rs.2,000 in January.

#### PREVENTION OF SABOTAGE

The strength and influence of the Party over the Bombay working class is so great that right from the beginning we were able to prevent sabotage. Barring 2 or 3 cases, no acts of sabotage of industrial plant have taken place.

Both in the Matunga and Parel workshops of the G.I.P. Railway, our Party comrades had to be ever on the alert. Fifth Columnist leaflets used to

flood the shops. There were men who were all the while provoking the workers into arson and other kinds of sabotage. But for the ceaseless work of our comrades there would have been disasters of the first order, with ~~xxx~~ serious consequences for the country's war effort.

In the Chola Power House, some fellows had put dust and other rubbish in the engines and attempted a huge break-down of the plant. It was, however, detected in time. One of our comrades had happened to come across a bunch of workers who were planning to do something. It was he who brought home to the workers the significance of their ~~the~~ completed crime. He read to them "Lokayuddha", the Marathi edition of the "People's War," and convinced them that these are not patriotic but treacherous acts.

The Fifth Columnist elements, again, have been all the while egging on the workers to strike. But it is our comrades who are holding the line firm. Come what may, they are determined not to allow the workers to be caught in the snares of the Fifth Columnists.

An incident which took place at the Parel Workshops is worth mentioning. One sweetmeat seller, it seems, had supplied bad stuff, as a result of which nearly a dozen workers were laid in bed. The next day the cry went round the workers that the hawker in question must be punished. Some provocative elements manhandled him and looted his shop. Looting did not stop there. It went on spreading. The police appeared on the scene and lathi-charged the crowds of workers. Our comrades intervened, asked the police to stop and persuaded the workers to return home.

The Standard Mill (popularly known as the Akhandbari Mill) has always been the stronghold of the Red Flag. The workers of this mill, when the crisis of August 9, overtook the country, got carried away by the mass indignation. Occasional strikes too used to take place. Our comrades, however, stuck to the workers all the time and argued with them patiently and incessantly. After months of such explanation, we have won over the vast majority of the workers entirely to our line. When ~~the~~ a bomb was thrown on the Party Press, a good number of workers came forward themselves with the proposal that they would bring out a leaflet over their own signatures condemning this bomb attack and appealing to their brothers of all other mills to rise in defence of the Party. There is one whole section of the weaving department manned almost fully by Hindu Mahasabaites, pro-struggle elements and Fifth Columnists. But for the dogged work of our comrades, these fellows would definitely have put the entire mill out of commission and spread out to other mills.

#### AMONG THE STUDENTS

The crisis of August 9 affected the students of Bombay most deeply because the influence of the Congress over the student masses here is very high. Almost all the colleges and High Schools emptied out and the slogan given by the pro-struggle elements was for indefinite strike. There is an active ~~Rif~~ Forward Bloc, and Congress Socialist Party, Fifth Columnist group which was busy working up the student masses for sabotage.

Our Communist students from the very first day stuck to the student masses, braving unpopularity, personal insults and slander, arguing with them patiently against sabotage and indefinite strikes. The attitude of the police and of the educational authorities was most unhelpful. Police entering school and college compounds arbitrarily lathi-charging the students; the college authorities victimising masses of active student workers; such actions invariably were taken full advantage of by the pro-struggle and by the Forward Bloc and Congress Socialist Party boys to incite the student masses. And on the top of this all, came the action of certain college authorities against Communist students. In St. Xavier's College such action reached fantastic proportions. Our student boys were not even allowed to sell "Student" (organ of the All-India Students' Federation ~~for~~ which stands for the policy of national defence) inside the College. The Principal of the St. Xavier's College even went to the extent of slandering our student comrades as Government agents amongst nationalist students! Our active student workers, who were the only group working among the student masses against sabotage and indefinite strikes against overwhelming odds, were picked out and expelled from the institutions. (In St. Xavier's College and in the Royal Institute of Science).

Nothing could suit the pro-struggle and the Fifth Column elements better.

In the face of such ~~ex~~ heavy odds, the achievements of our student comrades in South Bombay (where most of the colleges are situated) are remarkable. It is they alone who have won the student masses away from indefinite strikes back into the institutions. Normal institution life has been restored in all the colleges of South Bombay and the slogan of indefinite strike is definitely dead among the student masses.

The fact that this is ~~due~~<sup>due</sup> in the main to the work of the Communist students comes out clearly when we contrast South Bombay with North Bombay. On North Bombay our strength is very little and ~~hava~~ here the disturbances and the indefinite strikes have continued months after they stopped in South Bombay.

The effectiveness of our campaign for national defence and against "struggle" can be seen from the fact that at one time the main slogan of the pro-struggle and the Fifth Column elements to the student masses used to be: "Don't go to the Communist boys at any cost. They will succeed in convincing you"!

The next attempt of the pro-struggle element was to oust the Communist students from the leadership of the student ~~movement~~ organisation in the city and to create rival disruptive student organisations. In South Bombay they failed miserably in this too, due to the work and influence of our own comrades.

### WINNING OVER CONGRESS BOYS

The most important achievement of our student comrades in South Bombay has been that they have been able to cause a split in the ranks of the pro-struggle elements themselves. An influential group has come to be formed among them which is vigorously fighting all disruptive attempts to throw out our comrades from the Bombay Students' Union. This group is also co-operating with our comrades on such important work as the food problem, working along with our volunteer boys in the food queues, combatting the Fifth Column slogan of food riots and looting. This group is vigorously combatting all pro-Jap propaganda of the Forward Bloc and Congress Socialist Party boys. After the failure of the slogan of permanent strike, the Fifth Column sought to catch in their snares individual students for preaching the gospel of the bomb and terrorism. Planting bombs inside the institutions was the new job set by the Fifth Column. Here too, our comrades firmly supported by the group mentioned above, succeeded in convincing the student masses how despicable and criminal such acts were.

To win over an influential section of honest Congress student leaders firmly away from sabotage and permanent strike, to get their cooperation in combatting Fifth Column propaganda and in constructive work on the food issue, is an achievement of tremendous importance in South Bombay. The Communist Party alone, on the basis of its patriotic policy, can achieve this. On what basis can deluded patriotism be countered except on that of genuine patriotism?

The extent to which our campaign against the "struggle" and for national defence and national unity has succeeded among the student masses in South Bombay can be seen from the fact that in every college there our comrades have formed five groups of party members and militants. The sales of "Student" (the organ of the All-India Students' Federation) have gone up to over 300 copies in the city, over a thousand copies of the "People's War" are sold among the students. Our student comrades were asked to collect a thousand rupees for the Party Fund and they have collected Rs.2,500/-.

\* BOMBAY

BEFORE AUGUST 9

When the Central Government lifted the ban on the Communist Party of India, the Bombay Government released all the Communist detenus in the province. No restrictions or internments were imposed. Only 2 comrades, Comrades Dange and Batliwala continued and still continue, under detention, but they are Central Government detenus and to the best of our knowledge, the Bombay Government does not object to their release. *Comrade Batliwala has now been released.*

There was no interference on the part of the Government with the running of "People's War", our Central Organ, upto August 9.

AFTER AUGUST 9

a) BOMBAY CITY

There were no arrests of Communists in Bombay City. Permission for meetings in working-class areas was granted on August 9 ~~but~~ itself, BUT NO PERMISSION HAS STILL BEEN GRANTED FOR MEETINGS IN NON-WORKING-CLASS AREAS.

The strong criticism of Government's repressive policy in "People's War" as one which drives honest embittered patriots into the arms of the Fifth Column and weakens the cause of national defence was resented by the Bombay Government and warnings have been given to the People's War to "tone down" its articles.

BUT THOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN NO ARRESTS OF COMMUNISTS IN BOMBAY CITY, THE GOVERNMENT BY ITS INDIFFERENT POLICY TOWARDS URGENT AND PRESSING WORKING-CLASS DEMANDS AND TOWARDS THEIR TRADE UNIONS CREATES A SITUATION WHEN SPONTANEOUS STRIKES BREAK OUT IN THE FACTORIES, CAUSING INTERRUPTION OF PRODUCTION. A number of such strikes have broken out in Bombay City recently. The lower officials are entirely unmindful of the serious consequences such accumulated grievances of the working class may produce. The Bombay working class is one of the politically most advanced and most strongly organised sections in the whole country. To consistently ignore the working-class organisations, to refuse to interfere under the powers vested in the Government under the Defence of India Act and satisfy the most reasonable demands of the working-class is to play with production.

Especially to-day when the cloth shortage has become so acute in the country, the Bombay working class has to play a key role in increasing production. They can and are prepared to play this key role. What stands in the way is the consistent way in which their Trade Union organisation is ignored in settling such issues and their pressing and urgent demands go unheeded for months together.

THE SITUATION URGENTLY CALLS FOR A POSITIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARDS WORKING CLASS DEMANDS AND TOWARDS THEIR TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS.

b) MAHARASHTRA

1. Arrests

Indiscriminate arrests of Party Members and sympathisers have been carried out in the districts of Maharashtra. The grounds alleged for such arrests are (i) the terrorist political past of some of our comrades; (ii) past association with the Congress and the holding of offices in the local Congress Committees and (3) Trade Union activity.

COMRADE MAHAJAN was arrested because of his past terrorist<sup>9</sup> connections, connections which he has avowedly given up when he joined our Party.

COMRADES RANADE AND SOMAN were arrested in Satara District, the first for organising the workers of the Cooper Workshops (when the workshop superintendent even began employing hooligans to smash the Union office furniture and snatch away the Union signboard) and the second for organising the G.I.P. Railway workers in Dhond.

2. Political Explanatory Campaign

PERMISSION FOR MEETINGS IS NOT GIVEN AT ALL so that a mass political campaign by the Party against sabotage is rendered impossible.

Even sales of "People's War" are interfered with. Comrade Soman was fined Rs.25 for selling "People's War" in what is called a "prohibited area". Some pamphlets published by the Party's official Publishing House were seized from him and not returned.

Even the P.V.B. (Civil Defence Brigade) in Poona, which obviously has been formed for the purpose of strengthening Civil defence, finds a lot of difficulty in obtaining permission for its meetings.

3. Police Methods in Satara Dist.

All the known Party Members except Comrade Chitale have been arrested in Satara. The police use the crudest and most intolerable methods against Comrade Chitale. They go to the extent of threatening bus drivers and forcing them not to allow Comrade Chitale to travel in their buses.

4. Censorship of our correspondence

Our district dak is being systematically tampered with. We have instances of letters not being delivered to us at all and of other letters taking 8 days to reach Amalner from Poona.

5. Written Statements from Arrested Party Members.

Some of the District Magistrates have adopted the practice of demanding written statements in the nature of an undertaking from our comrades. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that such methods are impermissible in dealing with a responsible Party whose policy is known and which enjoins the strictest discipline on all its members.

The Party cannot allow individual dealings between the local authorities and Party Members. Such practice leads to the policy and functioning of the Party being reduced to nullity. The policy of the Party is well-known to the Government. The fact that this policy is binding on all Party Members is equally well-known to the Government.

THE PRACTICE OF DISTRICT MAGISTRATES IN ASKING FOR SUCH INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS FROM PARTY MEMBERS AMOUNTS TO A REFUSAL TO DEAL WITH THE PARTY AS A RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL ORGANISATION. WE cannot allow this practice. To demand such undertakings in future is tantamount to refusal to release the Party Member concerned.

6. Working-Class Demands

Examples have occurred where workers have put forward legitimate demands and when we endeavoured to bring about a settlement and prevent a strike, the authorities flatly refused to co-operate. Such an example is the case of the AMBERNATH FACTORY STRIKE.

c) GUJERAT

From the very beginning of the 9th August crisis, Government placed heavy restrictions on our work and began to arrest and place bans on several of our Comrades.

Reasons for arrest given are : (i) terrorist past 2) association with the Congress organisation; (iii) police reports of connection with sabotage activities.

But in no case are such reasons tenable. Some of our leading comrades in several provinces have terrorist past. They came over to Communism out of disillusionment with the ideology of terrorism. Similarly, in Gujerat, some of our comrades did hold positions in the Congress organisation but to deduce from it that they support the "struggle" is absurd.

An appendix is added at the end of this Memo giving the list of names of comrades who have been arrested or on whom bans have been imposed.

COMRADES JASWANT CHAWHAN AND THAKHOREBHAI PATEL have sent to the Government, on the instructions of the Gujerat Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India, a written statement reaffirming the policy of the Party. Comrade Dinker-Mehta, the Secretary of the Gujerat Provincial Committee, has seen the District Magistrate of Surat about these 2 comrades, but the comrades have not been released yet.

The arrest of COMRADE PRITHVI SINGH is a glaring instance of ~~the~~ Government reliance on absurd police reports. THIS COMRADE WAS ARRESTED WHILE HE WAS ENGAGED IN A PROPAGANDA TOUR CAMPAIGNING FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE. PRIOR TO AUGUST COMRADE PRITHVI SINGH HAD TOURED ALL OVER GUJERAT, DOING PROPAGANDA FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE AND HIS WORK HAD BEEN VERY EFFECTIVE IN THIS PROVINCE WHICH IS A CONGRESS STRONGHOLD. AND YET SOME VERY DISTANT ~~RE~~ CONNECTIONS HE HAD WITH TERRORISM YEARS AGO ARE RAKED UP AND HE IS ARRESTED.

All the comrades who have been arrested and have not been released are very popular mass leaders in their localities and by their continued incarceration the Government is only removing from Gujerat comrades who can most effectively counter sabotage and anarchy and rally the people for defence.

#### Political Explanatory Campaign

Meetings are banned all over Gujerat. EXCEPT AT THASRA AND DAKORE, NO PERMISSIONS HAVE BEEN GIVEN TO THE PARTY FOR MEETINGS.

The Party, however, holds chawl meetings among the Ahmedabad working class and inspite of the utmost difficulties carries on its work of rallying the working class for national defence and against hold-up of production.

#### Government Policy

In Bombay City, where the Party is strongest, there have been no arrests, but in Gujerat and in Maharashtra Districts where we are weaker, arrests have been many and permission to hold meetings are invariably refused.

In Gujerat, a stronghold of the Congress, the local authorities work in a constant state of panic and in their panic they arrest everybody willy-nilly, totally oblivious to the needs of defence and of seeking the co-operation of the people.

In Gujerat and Maharashtra, the local authorities seem to be working on the basis that to-day there are only two parties in the country, namely, the Government and the Fifth Column and that anyone who is not with the government is with the Fifth Column. They expect us to modify our policy and cease criticising the ~~RE~~ Government.

The Provincial Government refuses to interfere as a general rule and leaves things to the local authorities.

Such a ~~thing~~ policy would not make us change our line. The Communist Party is an independent party with its independent patriotic policy, on the strength of which it won its legality. It cannot allow its policy to be influenced by the attitude of the Government. The only thing Government would achieve by this policy would be to hamstring the work of the only Party in the Province which on the basis of its own past patriotic work among the people and its independent influence, rallies the people against sabotage and anarchy and for strengthening national defence.

#### OUR WORK

In spite of all these difficulties, the unhelpful and often obstructive attitude of the local officials, the Party has carried on its policy on the three fronts:

1. PRODUCTION: Here the Party has awakened masses of workers to the need to produce ~~for~~ for the defence of the country and the needs of the people. The profiteering spirit that animates the owners and the reluctance of the Provincial Government to interfere in these matters has however made this task extremely difficult.

Powers which were in the Provincial Government under the Defence of India Act are not used in order to satisfy the urgent demands of the workers. HOWEVER THE WORK OF THE PARTY HAS KEPT PRODUCTION GOING, WITHOUT INTERRUPTION, in spite of the most frantic attempts made by several elements to bring about a deadlock.

## 2. FOOD

On the food front, the Party has achieved remarkable results. IN BOMBAY ON THE 5TH AND 8TH JANUARY, FOOD RIOTS WERE AVERTED. IN NANDGAON, SERIOUS RIOTS WERE PREVENTED by the courageous lead given by some Party sympathisers who implemented the Party line. But while in Bombay, the authorities in charge of law and order recognise this achievement and co-operate with us (to some extent), IN THE DISTRICTS THE LOCAL OFFICIALS ARE HARASSING THE PARTY MEMBERS AND SYMPATHISERS, REFUSE ALL CO-OPERATION AND THUS CONTRIBUTE TO THE BREAKING OUT OF FOOD RIOTS.

## 3. GENERAL POLITICAL EXPLANATORY CAMPAIGN

The Party has carried on its political explanatory campaign. Through sales of "People's War", in five editions (Gujerati, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu and English) it is carrying conviction to people whose number is ever-increasing, that the "struggle" is suicidal. It weans them away from such activities to patriotic unity as the only way to secure a National Government. This work has been particularly fruitful in Gujerat and among the students. THE GUJERATI EDITION OF "PEOPLE'S WAR" HAS INCREASED ITS SALES FROM A FEW HUNDREDS IN OCTOBER TO 2,500 TODAY. FURTHER INCREASE HAS BEEN STOPPED DUE ONLY TO LACK OF PAPER.

### STUDENTS:

Amongst the students of Bombay, this explanatory campaign has been very effective.

In the first phase, the Communist students by working among the mass of students kept groups of them away from rioting. In the second phase, it struggled to keep them off from sabotage and thus saw that the actual Fifth Column groups did not get ~~near~~ <sup>has</sup> all the patriotic youth to become its dupes. In the third phase, the work ~~is~~ <sup>has</sup> gone on to fighting the Fifth Column both politically and practically. An incident that happened only the other day illustrates this vividly. The students with "struggle" sympathies were mobilised by our Communist students to jointly work on the food front. BUT ON 25TH JANUARY, ABOUT A 100 STUDENTS UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE UNDERGROUND FIFTH COLUMN BOSSES PLANNED TO RAID A BANK IN BOMBAY. THESE STUDENTS MET SOME OF OUR COMMUNIST STUDENT LEADERS. OUR STUDENT LEADERS ARGUED PATIENTLY WITH THEM, MADE THEM CLEARLY SEE THAT THE FIFTH COLUMN WAS ONLY PLAYING WITH PEOPLE'S LIVES IN ORDER TO CREATE CONDITIONS OF ANARCHY, WHICH WOULD NOT HELP ANYBODY EXCEPT THE JAP INVADERS. THE EXPLANATORY CAMPAIGN SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING THE STUDENTS AND THE FIFTH COLUMN PLAN OF BANK RAID WAS FOILED.

### PRESENT POSITION

The present position can be summed up thus. We are tolerated in Bombay City because we are strong and some of the officials have been political enough to see that we cannot be intimidated into modifying our policy and that our line is the only line that a serious patriotic political party can take to-day.

But the situation in the districts is worsening. The local officials act on the reports of ignorant and prejudicial <sup>ed</sup> police officials and the Government does not want to interfere.

We place the following demands before the Government in the interests of our being able to carry on our work more effectively among the people. These demands are urged purely on the strength of the policy of our Party to-day, which, the Government knows, is to rally the people for national defence and to fight sabotage and anarchy on every front.



1. Permission for meetings to be given in general, particularly, in non-working-class areas;
2. Permission for processions of workers and citizens. This would have a devastating effect on the Fifth Column and enthuse the vast mass of people against it.
3. Release of all party members and sympathisers of the Party mentioned in the lists annexed.
4. Paper facilities for the People's War, to further increase its circulation, particularly, in view of the Gujerati edition that we have added;
5. In general, a greater political interference by the Provincial Government in the decisions of the local authorities.

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## Bans and arrests of comrades:

- |    |  |                      |
|----|--|----------------------|
| 1. | Jashwant Chawhan   | Surat (10th August)  |
| 2. | Thakorebhai Patel  | Balsar "             |
| 3. | Laxmishankar Pandya  | Dakore "             |
| 4. | Nanubhai Desai   | Surat (10th Novr. )  |
| 5. | Sardar Prithvi Singh   | - ( August)          |
| 6. | Warrant against Ismail Hirani within<br>10 days of withdrawal of previous<br>warrant | Rajkot (12th August) |
| 7. | Externment order on Hariprasad<br>Desai for 1 year                                   | Rajkot State ( " )   |
| 8. | Externment order on Rajani<br>Patel from Ahmedabad                                   | - August             |

(Efforts were made by Ahmedabad police to stop Chandrabhai Bhatt from going to Rajkot for Mahagai Conference, 13th January. Rajani Patel arrested and released after 2 hours - Thasra (Kaira District) 26th January.

Sympathisers in Jail

- |    |               |                       |
|----|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | Babu Patel    | Ahmedabad (September) |
| 2. | Ramesh Bhagat | Surat (August)        |
- Four comrades arrested in Jamnagar State in September.

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MAHARASHTRA

A list of comrades detained under the Defence of India Rules .

- |     |                          |                           |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1.  | Vasant Gopal Kulkarni    | Arrested at Ambli Jalgaon |
| 2.  | Ramchandra Nagare        | Sangamner                 |
| 3.  | Bajirao Patil            | Belapur Road              |
| 4.  | R. M. Devare             | Koregaon                  |
| 5.  | Dinkarrao Nikam          | Indoli                    |
| 6.  | Baburao Narewadikar      | "                         |
| 7.  | Vishnu Balwant Purandare | Purander                  |
| 8.  | A. A. Patil              | Kolhapur                  |
| 9.  | Madhukar Ranade          | Satara Road               |
| 10. | Snankar Soman            | Dhond                     |

MEMO ON OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL WORK SINCE  
9TH AUGUST, 1942

(Prepared by the Bengal Committee of the Communist Party)

The policy of the Communist Party in today's crisis is very clear and definite. We are opposed to all acts of sabotage of national defence. In the situation in which our country is placed today, such acts will lead our people not to freedom but to fascist slavery.

For the same reason, we condemn the repressive policy of the present Government. Such a policy only provokes the people to more desperate acts of sabotage and destroys their morale. It means the Government trying to fight the people and the Japs at the same time, a disastrous attempt that will lead only to Jap domination over our land and our people.

We work for a truly National Government with power of effective defence in its hands as only such a Government commanding the trust and affection of the people can rally and mobilise them as one man behind the cause of national defence.

We hold that National Unity behind National Defence is the only weapon today for our people for achieving National Government. Sabotage leads our people not to National Government, but to national destruction. To rally the people against sabotage, for national unity and national defence, is according to us the supreme duty of all Indian patriots and our Party has taken the initiative to put such a policy before our people.

While the general policy of repression of the Government hits the people's morale and plays into the hands of the Fifth Column, their policy of arrests, bans and internments against Communists hamstringing the work of the one influential Party in the country today which is trying to rally the people against sabotage.

The repressive attitude of the Government towards Communists in this province, despite the legalisation of the Party, means weakening the defence of this province. Government's failure to withdraw the order of arrests and prosecution against Panchu Bahduri and Nripen Chakravarty is a glaring example of this policy.

OUR DEMAND FOR THE RELEASE OF COMMUNIST LEADERS AND ORGANISERS IS BASED ON THE NEEDS OF PATRIOTIC DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF OUR PROVINCE. ITS JUSTIFICATION IS OUR RECORD OF WORK DURING THIS CRISIS IN STOPPING SABOTAGE IN OF PRODUCTION AND DEFENCE. We give below a few facts regarding this.

After the 9th August, JUTE WORKERS OF BUDGE BUDGE were excited, troublemakers were there to goad them to stoppage of production. Organisers of Fifth Column groups tried to excite the workers, even money was being distributed. Communist organisers went to the workers at once and explained that acts of sabotage, including stoppage of production, are unpatriotic acts, that such acts only help our enemies including the Jap invaders. As a result our systematic attempt through numerous group meetings we could win over the leading workers and thus the strike was prevented.

Similar situation prevailed at MATIABURUZ. Management of the Kesoram Cotton Mills voluntarily gave leave to the workers in order to demonstrate that there is a strike and then refused to reopen the mills even though the workers insisted. Communist leaders intervened and compelled them to reopen the mills and thus a lock-out was stopped.

DOCK WORKERS OF I.G.N. AND R.S.N. CO. at Matiaburuz were instigated by a pro-struggle group upto the breaking point, a strike was almost certain. Communists saw that such a strike will lead to paralysis of water transport and bring immense hardship to our own people, they also understood that such an action will only give an opportunity to police to break up workers' organisations. So Communist leaders intervened and explained to the workers that their demands as well as organisations of workers were to be realised through unity but not through anarchic and sabotage activities. The attempt was successful. Strike was prevented.

There was a short-lived strike in HUKUMCHAND IRON & STEEL WORKS AT BALLYGUNGE. The workers had legitimate demands but the owners refused to give them any concessions. Communists intervened, persuaded the Labour Commissioner to help the workers to get their just demands satisfied. Workers were sent back to work on Labour Commissioner's assurance.

IN ALL THE IRON AND STEEL FACTORIES IN AND AROUND CALCUTTA PERSISTENT ATTEMPTS WERE MADE BY PRO-STRUGGLE GROUPS IN ORDER TO PARALYSE AN IMPORTANT BRANCH OF THE PRODUCTION. IN SOME OF THEM WERE SHORT-LIVED STRIKES, e.g. IN BERGICK-COCHINS. IS THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISTS THAT WORKERS WERE MADE TO REALISE THE UN-PATRIOTIC NATURE OF SUCH ACTIONS AND WERE PERSUADED TO RESUME WORK AND UNDERTAKE THE TASK OF UNITING AND ORGANISING THE WORKERS FOR INCREASING PRODUCTION AND FOR WINNING THEIR OWN DEMANDS FOR THE SAME OBJECTIVE.

There were 3 successive strikes among the TRAM WORKERS OF CALCUTTA. They were provoked by the incidents of police repression as well as the stern refusal of the Tramway Company to consider any of their pressing demands, the workers were also instigated by various groups to resort to strike actions so that City communications become paralysed. In each of these strikes Communist leaders of the Tramway Workers' Union intervened effectively and tried on the one hand to persuade the workers to give up any idea of a prolonged strike and on the other hand, to compel the owners to satisfy their just demands to root out the cause of the strike. We persuaded the Labour Commissioner to exert his influence with the owners which he did and on his assurance the workers were sent back to work. But even now the legitimate demands of the workers - even some of those that were supported by the Government -- are not yet conceded. While the Communists persuade the workers to remain peaceful and solve their problems through arbitration and settlement, the owners make settlement impossible by sternly rejecting whatever the workers demand until the situation gets out of control.

IN BALLY JUTE MILLS and in the NATIONAL IRON & STEEL FACTORY AT BELLORE, pro-struggle groups tried their best to goad the workers to stoppage of work and it is due to the intervention of our comrades that strike was prevented. But two of our comrades, Priti Paban Pathak and Keshab Banerjee who most effectively isolated the pro-struggle groups have been sent to prison as Security Prisoners.

Not

Instances can thus be multiplied. Not only among workers but among all classes of people, Communists have courageously stood between the police and the people in order to stop the people doing mad acts of destruction and to stop the police from beating our people. We Communists do so because we realise the salvation of our people lies through winning the war against fascist invaders and through getting National Government by means of national unity.

In Calcutta, during Students' strikes and hostile demonstrations after 9th August, our comrades in the BENGAL PROVINCIAL STUDENTS' FEDERATIONS organised meetings of students in every college to dissuade them from such acts and even went to the scene of "struggles" to prevent frenzied students from burning tram-cars. On the 9th December, the F.B. students of Calcutta organised a mass meeting of students in the University lawn to revive "struggles". Our students went to the meeting and prevented them from passing any such resolution. Ordinary mass of students have refused to follow the lead of F.B. students as a result of the activity of our student comrades.

DACCAs the very seat of the most influential Boseite groups such as the Anusilan, Kx B.V., and Sree Sangha. These people assassinated one of our comrades named Somen Ghanda in connection with anti-fascist conference held in the month of April 1942, after that they went to the extent of employing goondas to break our Party and Union offices. Our comrades have successfully combated them during the national unity week in the first week of November, they have been isolated and cornered. The Forward Blocites' slogans of struggle were openly ridiculed in a mass rally held in connection with the Party Conference.

In the districts of MIDNAPORE AND BIRBHUM our comrades are the only people who openly speak against anarchy and sabotage. But in these two districts, the authorities have been systematically exterminating our Party by arresting or extorting every Communist whoever goes to the masses. In Birbhumi and Midnapore our comrades do not get an opportunity of even going to the people to dissuade them from acts of destruction, here the district authorities do not make any distinction between Communists and struggle-wallas.

In the first week of November, DURING OUR NATIONAL UNITY CAMPAIGN, our Party all over Bengal organised 800 propaganda squads to wean Congressmen and other people away from acts of sabotage and destruction, these 800 squads secured 65,000 signatures and organised 2,500 indoor meetings. Mass meetings were not allowed in most of the districts, including Calcutta, in the few districts where such meetings were allowed we organised 150 mass meetings and preached against sabotage and destruction.

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AIR RAID STARTED IN CALCUTTA on the 30th December and there was a panicky exodus of all sorts of people, especially the workers. Entire production was in the danger of coming to a standstill. The scavengers were on strike. The Tramway workers at once put forward demands for food and shelter, their demands being rejected in the first hand were determined ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ to go on strike. The disruptors fomented them even to defy the Union. The electric, gas and waterworks workers were ready to pack up and go. It was a very dark prospect before the citizens of Calcutta. The Government was sitting helplessly, the Fifth Columnists began to instigate the workers to cease work and the Company managements took up the attitude of not budging an inch. Our Party then mobilised its entire strength to see that the workers stay and work. The tram workers were persuaded to give up the attitude of strike. They stayed and worked and through peaceful means won some of their demands. The electric, gas and waterworks workers were successfully prevented from going on strike. We boldly told the workers that to leave the city or to go on strike at this stage is to invite the Japs, to throw the entire people into a disaster. We organised squads to find out shelters for the workers, and also to cleanse the streets in the absence of scavengers who have left the city. It is because of our Party that the Essential Services did not collapse in Calcutta during the air raids in the last week of December.

We have organised a CORPS OF 12,000 VOLUNTEERS all over Bengal in order to organise evacuation and food supply and to prevent sabotage and looting. In the district of Chittagong our volunteers are watching railway lines and the villages, they are assisting the Defence Committees to organise food-shops and co-operative stores. In Kuttali area, a co-operative handloom producers' society has been established. In the district of Dinajpur, our volunteers prevented looting at Balurhat. But our volunteers are not allowed openly to parade or to run schools. The District Magistrate of Rangpur has issued warning notices against our comrades who joined a volunteer training school held indoors.

In spite of obstruction from the authorities our Party is active on all fronts against sabotage and destruction, against Fifth Column activities, against Bose's political propaganda. WE HAVE 32,000 MEMBERS IN OUR PROVINCIAL KISSAN SABHA, 6,000 STUDENTS IN THE STUDENT FEDERATION AND 20,000 WORKERS ORGANISED IN UNIONS LED BY OUR PARTY. They ceaselessly work for the policy of our Party, against sabotage and destruction, against Fifth Column activities, for winning the war against Fascist aggressors.

18th January, 1943.

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REPORT ON OUR RELATION WITH GOVERNMENT

(From the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Party)

In the month of September 1942, about 300 leaders were set free after much persuasion and pressure from the Party. It seems that the releases were the effect of direct intervention from the Central Government but for which it is doubtful how far the Provincial Government would have moved.

But after that the policy of release remains suspended. 13 comrades have been made Security Prisoners afresh. Besides, 13 pre-reform prisoners have been arrested inside the jail after they served their full term and detained as Security Prisoners.

In the districts of Midnapore and Birbhum, the district authorities are ~~pass~~ pursuing the same old policy as in the Imperialist War period. Negotiations with the District authorities have been in vain. The District Magistrate of Midnapore told our Party representative (Nripen Sen, Provincial Organiser) that he cannot do anything in ~~xx~~ this respect and gave the hint that he is doing everything according to the direction of the Provincial authorities. Our District Party leaders in Midnapore are made security prisoners. The usual practice is to arrest our comrades on a charge of doing sabotage work and then to put them in prison as security prisoners. In Birbhum all our important comrades are externed and are forced to work underground.

Meetings and processions are not allowed in majority of the districts. In certain districts they are allowed with too many restrictions. Every district authority has of late been more strict and is obstructing even indoor conferences and volunteer training class, e.g. Rangpur where warning notices have been served.

In the district of Chittagong, Tippierrah and Noakhali even propaganda squads are interfered with.

A new feature of the practice of district authorities is to deny Provincial leaders to address meetings. Chittagong police externed Com. Biswanath Mukherji when he went there in the month of November in connection with the Party Conference. Rangpur authorities refused to permit Comrades Ranen Sen and Manikuntala Sen to speak in a mass rally held in connection with the Party Conference in the beginning of December 1942. 24 Parganas district authorities refused Comrade Bankim Mukherjee to speak in a mass rally held in connection with Party Conference in the month of December.

Provincial authorities refuse to withdraw the order against Panchu Gopal Bahduri and Nripen Chakravarty. They refuse to intervene in the affair of the district authorities. Mr. Porter of the Home Department says: "We have done what we can do, we have passed orders to release on a large number of your organisers, we have instructed the district authorities similarly, but we can't take away from ~~xxxx~~ them their discretionary power". The Home Department wants a definite agreement for co-operation if they are to do anything further for our Party.

Mr. Porter says: "Your Party has done something useful and fruitful, there is a common ground between your Party and the Government. Now submit something in writing which gives us reason to revise our policy more in favour of your Party." We submitted the memo on Panchu and Nripen's release but there is no reply.

The relation between the Government and our Party is in a stalemate. The Home Department is guided by the Police authorities who are determined to crush the Communist Party whenever an opportunity arises. The district authorities are guided by the advice of the Intelligence Branch.

It seems that the Provincial and the District authorities are more and more being influenced by the policy of the Police. Highest authorities of the Police, e.g. Gordon says, "the Communists attack the Government, the Communists want to cut us out, don't trust the Communists."

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LIST OF COMRADES WHOSE RELEASE IS VERY URGENT

(Supplementary list being sent later)

( P.M.: Party Member D.C.M.: District Committee Member )

1. Panchu Gopal Bahdury : Security Prisoner  
2. Nripen Chakravarty

DINAJPUR

3. Basanta Chaterji (PM) : Under Sec. 38 etc. (under bail)  
4. Khoka Roy (PM) : -do-  
5. Krishnahari Roy (PM) : -do-  
6. Madhab Sarkar (PM) : -do-  
7 to 10 : 4 other ordinary peasant contacts : -do-  
11. Baroda Chakravarty : Under Sec. 129  
12. Sachin Chakravarty (DCM) : -do-  
13. Sasanka Banerji : -do-  
14. Indra Kanta Roy : -do-

RAJSHAHI

15. Dinesh Chakravarty : Under Sec. 129  
16. Gopal Sarkhel : Restricted: can't speak in any meeting  
17. Bijon Roy : -do-  
18. Subhrangshu Moitra : -do-

PABNA

19. Hemendra Chakravarty : Externed from Behar and interned in Bengal.

BERHAMPORE

20. Santosh Bhattacharya (DCM) : Security Prisoner  
21. Gouri Bhattacharya (DCM) : -do-

MIDNAPORE

Date of Arrest

- |   |   |                       |          |
|---|---|-----------------------|----------|
| 22. Bhupal Panda (D.G. Secretary)       | : | Security Prisoner     | 28.10.42 |
| 23. Jyotish Ghose (Sympathiser)         | : | -do-                  | 30.10.42 |
| 24. Harekrishna Samanta (PM)            | : | Under Trial           | 9.12.42  |
| 25. Bishnu Pada Jana (PM)               | : | -do-                  | 27.11.42 |
| 26. Tarapada Chakravarty (PM)           | : | -do-                  | 6.12.42  |
| 27. Kanai Bhowmik (PM)                  | : | -do-                  | 9.11.42  |
| 28. Balai Bhowmik (Activist)            | : | -do-                  | 9.11.42  |
| 29. Jatindra Mohan Kundu (Kisan Worker) | : | -do-                  | ..       |
| 30. Abinash Bhowmik (-do-)              | : | -do-                  | 9.1.43   |
| 31. Banamali Bhowmik (-do-)             | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 32. Nut Bhear Bhowmik (-do-)            | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 33. Haradhan Bhowmik (-do-)             | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 34. Aswini Bhowmik (-do-)               | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 35. Phani Bhowmik (son of Dharani) -do- | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 36. Phani Bhowmik (son of Bipin) -do-   | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 37. Phani Bhowmik (son of Beni) -do-    | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 38. Tarani Maity -do-                   | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 39. Laxmi Kanta Bhowmik -do-            | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 40. Bepin Dutt (Sympathiser)            | : | Security Prisoner     | Apr. 42  |
| 41. Sailen Dutt (-do-)                  | : | -do-                  | "        |
| 42. Deben Das (PM)                      | : | -do- in Pres. Jail    |          |
| 43. Namda Dulal Singh (PM)              | : | -do- in Rajshahi Jail |          |

CALCUTTA

44. Hrishi Bannerji (PM) : Restricted in Calcutta  
45. Miss Suhasini Ganguly (Active Supporter) Security Prisoner, Alipore Pres. Jail.

DAGGA

46. Gurudas Roy (PM) : Under-trial at Manikgunge

BALLY (HOWRAH)

47. Patit Paban Pathak (PM) : Security Prisoner - Dum Dum jail



BARISAL

- 48. Anil Das (PM) : Interned at Kamarhati after 9th August
- 49. Sushil Das Gupta (DCM) : Made Special Constable

PRE-REFORM SECURITY PRISONERS

(Those who were pre-Reform prisoners and were arrested as Security Prisoners inside jail after the term of conviction finished).

- |     |                            |                        |                      |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1.  | Satyen Mazumdar of Jessore | <del>(Midnapore)</del> | Midnapore            |
| 2.  | Bimal Bhattacharya         | (Mymensingh)           |                      |
| 3.  | Provat Mitra               | (Hugly)                |                      |
| 4.  | Jiban Dhupi                | (Faridpore)            |                      |
| 5.  | Niranjan Ghosal            | ( do )                 |                      |
| 6.  | Jotindra Chakravarty       | (Comphilla)            |                      |
| 7.  | Surendra Chowdhury         |                        | Dum Dum Central Jail |
| 8.  | Satya Chakravarty          | (Dinajpur)             | -do-                 |
| 9.  | Saroj Bose                 | ( -do- )               | -do-                 |
| 10. | Dwijen Talpatra            | (Chittagong)           | -do-                 |
| 11. | Kalikinkar De              | ( -do- )               | -do-                 |
| 12. | Profulla Sanyal            |                        | -do-                 |
| 13. | Moni Dutt                  | (Chittagong)           | -do-                 |

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MEMO ON OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITY IN  
ASSAM VALLEY SINCE AUG. 9

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Assam is the most threatened province in the whole of India. It is the province most exposed to Jap air raids, infiltration of Jap agents, Fascist methods of undermining the morale of the people. However strong the military defences of the province be, as long as these factors operate, there is always the danger of strong military defence being completely undone by the collapse of the morale of the people. To rally the people for defence, to combat the work of the Fifth Column among them, ~~xxix~~ to win their support and co-operation, is, therefore, an urgent need.

THERE IS A COMPARATIVELY STRONG AND WELL-ORGANISED FIFTH COLUMNIST GROUP OPERATING IN THE PROVINCE. They call themselves "Communists" to mislead the people and to divert Government attack from themselves, but they are really a Trotskyist group which has close connections with the Forward Bloc.

Our Party unit here is one of the youngest in the whole of India. Our cadre were comparatively few prior to August 9. The attitude of the Government was unhelpful in the extreme as will be clear from the other Memo. Their policy of indiscriminate mass collective fines, whipping, etc. has been systematically exploited by the Fifth Column to further their own foul work.

It is under such circumstances that we were faced with August 9 and the disastrous events following upon it.

A. POLITICAL

Congress influence over the people in Assam Valley is very strong. So when the wave of the struggle reached Assam, they plunged into it on a mass scale. But soon almost all the local influential Congress leaders too were arrested by the Government. THIS MEANT THAT THE FIELD WAS NOW LEFT CLEAR ENTIRELY TO THE TROTSKYIST FIFTH-COLUMNIST AGENTS WHO ENCOURAGED SABOTAGE AND INCENDIARISM. BARRING OUR PARTY AND THE FIFTH COLUMN, THERE WAS NO OTHER PARTY OR GROUP LEFT.

TO MEET THIS SITUATION, WE BROUGHT COMRADE PROSANTA SANYAL FROM CALCUTTA AND COMRADES PRANESH BISWAS AND SATYABRATA DATTA FROM SURMA VALLEY. These were Communist leaders best known in Assam Valley.

WHAT WE DID

With the help of these experienced comrades, our comrades in all the localities bunched themselves into groups and launched a non-stop campaign to wean away the people from the hands of the Fifth-Columnists and from sabotage. 5,000 signatures were collected from the people TO A STATEMENT EXPLAINING THAT SABOTAGE AND INCENDIARISM LEAD NOT TO FREEDOM BUT TO AN EASY VICTORY FOR THE JAPS OVER OUR PEOPLE. This was done by every one of our comrades going out into the towns and villages, going from house to house, explaining the statement to every individual and then getting his signature after thoroughly convincing him. This work meant 5,000 victims snatched from the hands of the Fifth Column and won over for national defence work. We held closed-door meetings (the only other form of getting in contact with people accessible to us in Assam Valley, everything else being banned) both in towns and in villages, ~~where~~ where we explained how sabotage means disaster for our people.

WHAT WE ACHIEVED?

As a result of this work of ours, the saboteurs in most places could not mobilise the people on a mass scale for attacking police-stations, public offices, etc. This was the line they were trying everywhere. IN GOLAGHAT, DIBRUGARH AND JORHAT WHERE OUR PARTY IS COMPARATIVELY STRONG, THE SABOTEURS HAD PRACTICALLY NO SUCCESS IN MISLEADING THE PEOPLE. IN OTHER PLACES, SUCH AS NOWGAON, TEJPUR AND SIBSAGAR WHICH WERE THE HOTBEDS OF THE MOVEMENT, WE SUCCEEDED IN ISOLATING THE ACTUAL FIFTH COLUMNISTS FROM MISGUIDED PATRIOTS AND IN SHOWING UP THE FORMER BEFORE THE PEOPLE AS ENEMIES OF THE NATION. But in these places, we found that the Government policy of indiscriminate levying of collective fines on a mass scale had demoralised and terrorised the village people to such an extent that they would not even listen to us, much less give their signature to our anti-sabotage movement

METHODS WE USED

No mass meetings were allowed by the Government. THAT CUT OUT THE MOST EFFECTIVE APPROACH WE COULD MAKE TO PEOPLE. SO WE HAD TO CONFINE OURSELVES TO

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SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN, INDIVIDUAL APPROACH FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE, CLOSED DOOR GROUP MEETINGS (WHICH MEANT TALKING TO NOT MORE THAN 20 OR 30 AT A TIME), POSTERS IN OUR OFFICES, PUBLICATION OF LEAFLETS (WE PUBLISHED 5 OF THESE), APPROACHING AND ARGUING WITH THE FEW CONGRESS LEADERS WHO WERE LEFT OUTSIDE TO SHOW THEM WHAT FOUL WORK THE FIFTH-COLUMNIST WERE DOING UNDER THE NAME OF THE CONGRESS.

RESPONSE WE GOT

DUE TO OUR WORK, THE STUDENTS SAW THE FUTILITY OF CONTINUOUS STRIKE AND JOINED CLASSES IN ALL THE PLACES. IN JORHAT THE CONGRESS STUDENTS WHO HAD BEEN SUPPORTING CONTINUOUS STRIKE THEMSELVES ISSUED A LEAFLET ASKING THE STUDENTS TO RETURN TO THEIR INSTITUTIONS WHEN THEY SAW THAT AS THE RESULT OF OUR WORK THE MAJORITY OF THE STUDENTS HAD STARTED ATTENDING THE CLASSES.

A measure of the extent to which our policy and work against sabotage was getting response is the sale of "People's War" and "Janayuddha", the organs of the Central Committee and of the Bengal Provincial Committee respectively of our Party. IN 3 MONTHS, UPTO DECEMBER, THE SALES OF "PEOPLE'S WAR" HAD GONE UP TO 146 AND OF "JANAYUDDHA" TO 223 WEEKLY.

ON AN AVERAGE WE HELD 75 SMALL GROUP MEETINGS PER WEEK. ONLY ONE MASS MEETING WAS HELD, THAT IN DHUBRI. BOTH IN DIBRUGARH AND JORHAT, WE SOUGHT PERMISSION REPEATEDLY TO HOLD MASS MEETINGS, BUT WERE REFUSED EVERY TIME.

B. PRACTICAL

AMONG THE PEOPLE

In Jorhat, a big crowd of people, under the lead of the students, were heading towards the police station in order to attack it. Our comrades INTERVENED, APPEALED TO THE CROWD IN X PASSIONATE SPEECHES AND SUCCEEDED IN DIVERTING THEM INTO A PEACEFUL PROCESSION IN ANOTHER DIRECTION. THEY ALSO SUCCEEDED IN VERY NARROWLY AVERTING THE COMMUNAL TROUBLE THAT WAS BEING ENGINEERED ON THAT ISSUE BY FIFTH COLUMNIST ELEMENTS.

In Golaghat, Comrade Dhiren Dutta, our most popular and influential leader of the district was on the move all the time in the rural areas combatting sabotage. THE SUCCESS OF HIS WORK CAN BE GAUGED FROM THE FACT THAT THE SABOTEURS CAME TO LOOK UPON HIM AS THEIR MOST DANGEROUS ENEMY AND PERSONALLY ASSAULTED HIM.

AMONG THE RAILWAY WORKERS

The Railway working-class of Assam Valley occupies a key strategic place in anti-Jap defence. Though the B & A Railway workers are State Railway employees now (the B & A Railway having been taken under State control recently), they have not been given all the facilities which are their due under their new status. DISCONTINENT ON THIS ISSUE WAS BEING WORKED UP BY FIFTH-COLUMN AGENTS AND A STRIKE WAS ABOUT TO BREAK OUT THERE. HAD THIS COME OFF, IT WOULD HAVE HAD DISASTROUS REPERCUSSIONS. WE SAW THE DANGER AND PROMPTLY INTERVENED. DUE TO OUR EXPLANATORY WORK, AMONG THE RAILWAY WORKERS, WE WERE ABLE TO AVER T THIS STRIKE.

AMONG THE STUDENTS

In all the towns we have been able to win back the students to the institutions and they are attending classes everywhere. In the midst of this situation came the DPI's circular threatening rigorous punishment to the students who participated in the struggle. This gave the Fifth Columnists their chance to inflame the passions of the students and to call them out on strike once again. THEY TRIED THEIR HARDEST AND IT IS ONLY DUE TO OUR INTENSIVE SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN AMONG THE STUDENTS THAT SUCH A TURN IN THE SITUATION WAS STOPPED. On this occasion, we tried to impress upon the authorities too how such steps at a time when the students had started attending the institutions, are the exact things the Fifth Columnists want to once again start the students on the path of strikes and sabotage.

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MEMO ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT IN ASSAM VALLEY

The attitude of the Assam Government has been unhelpful in the extreme towards our work. No change in their policy has been observed corresponding to the declared policy of the Central Government in legalising our Party.

GENERAL ATTITUDE OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY, MR. DENNEHY, IS ONE OF VERY BLUNT DISTRUST AND HOSTILITY. On our part, recognising the extreme gravity of the danger to our Province, we have tried our best to put forward minimum concrete practical proposals which will enable us to rally the people against sabotage and behind defence. The Chief Secretary, whenever our deputation interviewed him, gave the invariable evasive answer that he "would see the files and do the needful". But we regret to have to point out that till to-day not a single case brought forward by us has been disposed of nor have we been given concrete criticisms or counter-proposals.

The policy of our Party - that it is the staunchest anti-Fascist Party going in the country - is well-known to all. BARRING US AND THE TROTSKYIST FIFTH COLUMNISTS GROUP, THERE IS NO OTHER PARTY WORKING TO-DAY AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THIS PROVINCE. YET, THE CHIEF SECRETARY, IN ANSWER TO ONE OF OUR DEPUTATIONS, MADE A STRANGE REMARK: "EVERYBODY IS GOING UNDER THE NAME OF ANTI-FASCISM. WHO KNOWS WHETHER SO MANY GOEBELLES ARE NOT MOVING IN THIS WAY AND IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO DISTINGUISH A FASCIST FROM AN ANTI-FASCIST!"

It is difficult to square such an attitude with the policy of the Central Government. The Central Government lifted the 8-year old ban on our Party only because it recognised our anti-Fascist credentials. Our work all over the country since August 9 is the best proof of our genuine anti-Fascism. We have been the only Party in the country which had to carry out its policy facing fire from both sides (from the Government and from our fellow patriots); and yet we stuck to our posts and rallied our people against sabotage and for defence. We have been called Government agents by our fellow-patriots; one of our own well-known leaders in Assam, Comrade Dhiren Dutta, was severely assaulted by the Fifth-Columnists (and he was afterwards arrested by the Government!) as their most dangerous enemy.

YET THE CHIEF SECRETARY SAYS HE CAN NOT DISTINGUISH BETWEEN US AND THE FORWARD BLOCISTS!

In October last, when Comrade Prosanta Sanyal had an interview with the Chief Secretary on this question, he evaded the issue altogether. The only thing the Chief Secretary could say was to give Comrade Sanyal a warning - not to have anything to do with the problems of the tea-labourers, who, according to him, were quite peaceful and well-off.

The same spirit of curt hostility was shown by the Chief Secretary when a deputation of the All-Assam Students' Federation under the lead of our comrades met him to discuss the policy of the D.P.I. towards the students. We pointed out how this policy of threatening students en masse with dire punishment if they took any part in politics - and this at a time when we had succeeded in winning back the students away from strike into the institutions - would only drive the students further into the arms of the Fifth Columnist. We pointed out how the masses of the students would find very little to choose between such a policy and the Fascist policy of regimenting education and culture in their countries. TO THIS THE CHIEF SECRETARY POINT-BLANK REPLIED: "THEN I AM A FASCIST".

Three months ago the Premier told our representative that he would call for the files regarding arrests, bans, etc., on our comrades and consider the individual cases separately. Comrade Prosanta Sanyal has seen him several times, but nothing has been done yet. What ~~has~~ happened is that matters have been left in the hands of the local Police who have arrested still more of our comrades, without the slightest vestige of justification.

FAR FROM RELEASING THE ALREADY IMPRISONED COMRADES OR WITHDRAWING RESTRICTIONS ON OTHERS, THE GOVERNMENT HAS ARRESTED OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT AND USEFUL PARTY COMRADES, JAGAT BHATTACHARJEE, DHIREN DUTTA, AND BHADRAKRISHNA GOSWAMI, AND WARNED COMRADES BISHNU BASU AND DADHI MOHANTA NOT TO CONTINUE CARRYING OUT OUR POLICY

THEY WERE DOING.

SUCH A POLICY CARRIED OUT ON A YOUNG PARTY LIKE OURS WOULD ONLY MEAN THAT APART FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FIFTH-COLUMNISTS (A STRONGLY ORGANISED GROUP IN ASSAM), THERE WOULD BE NO OTHER PARTY LEFT IN THE PROVINCE. ONE CAN IMAGINE WHICH OF THESE TWO COULD WIN THE PEOPLE IN TO-DAY'S POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY AND WHAT THE RESULTS WOULD BE.

#### REFUSAL OF ALL FACILITIES

Not the slightest facilities have been given to us to carry on our work, even the most elementary and most urgent jobs of civil defence. MEETINGS AND PROCESSIONS ARE BANNED IN ALL PLACES. EVEN WHERE WE SOUGHT PERMISSION TO HOLD MEETINGS FOR OPPOSING SABOTAGE, IT HAS NEVER BEEN GRANTED. IN DIBRUGARH, WE HAVE BEEN CONTINUALLY REFUSED PERMISSION TO HOLD MEETINGS TO MAKE THE PEOPLE A.R.P.-MINDED AND KEEPING UP THEIR MORALE. THE ANSWER GIVEN TO US WAS THAT IF WE SUBMITTED A COPY OF THE PROPOSED SPEECHES, OUR CASE MIGHT BE CONSIDERED. As A Party with an independent policy (on the basis of which we secured our legality) we cannot do this. We can no more allow our policy to be modified by the Government than we can allow it to be changed by our own fellow-patriots. And in any case for us to comply with this demand would be frustrating our own purpose of convincing the people. IN JORHAT, PERMISSION TO FORM A CITIZENS' DEFENCE COMMITTEE HAD BEEN REFUSED. PERMISSION WAS LIKEWISE REFUSED TO OUR PROPAGANDA SQUADS TO DO THEIR WORK OF ANTI-FASCIST AND ANTI-SABOTAGE PROPAGANDA.

The consequence of all this has been that a clear field is being left to the active Fifth-Column ~~and~~ to work upon the people's sullen anger and demoralisation. The Government policy of mass collective fines, arrests and appointment of special constables on a mass scale to guard ~~the~~ specified areas and Railway lines produces this anger and demoralisation, the Fifth Columnist works upon it, we are hamstrung and paralysed.

#### RELEASES AFTER LEGALITY

AFTER THE PARTY HAS BEEN LEGALISED, NOT A SINGLE CASE OF RELEASE OR REMOVAL OF ORDERS HAS OCCURRED AS REGARDS OUR COMRADES. WHEN COMRADE NILMANI BARTHAKUR IN A STATEMENT DEMANDED HIS RELEASE AS A COMMUNIST AT THE SAME TIME DECLARING THAT HE WOULD STRICTLY FOLLOW THE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA, HE WAS GIVEN THE ANSWER THAT THE GOVERNMENT DO NOT KNOW THAT HE IS A COMMUNIST. WHEN COMRADE RAMESH SARMA, A MEMBER OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE ALL INDIA STUDENTS' FEDERATION DEMANDED THE WITHDRAWAL OF INTERNMENT ORDERS, HE WAS INFORMED THAT HIS CASE MAY BE CONSIDERED ONLY WHEN HE GAVE AN UNDERTAKING THAT HE WOULD OPPOSE THE CONGRESS STRUGGLE. This despite the fact that the policy of the ALL India Students' Federation is well-known to all the Provincial Governments and on the strength of this policy students adhering to it have been released in every other Province.

#### ARRESTS OF OUR COMRADES AFTER AUGUST 9

Our best and most useful comrades, those who had been doing most active campaigning against sabotage, have been arrested ~~since~~ after August 9.

1. COMRADE DHIREN DUTTA WAS ARRESTED ON THE CHARGE OF INCENDIARISM WHILE IN FACT HE WAS ON A TOUR IN THE HOTBEDS OF STRUGGLE IN GOLAGHAT CARRYING ON ANTI-SABOTAGE AGITATION. HE HAD PERSONALLY BEEN ASSAULTED BY THE SABOTEURS FOR HIS WORK. HE IS NOW DETAINED AS A SECURITY PRISONER.
2. COMRADE JAGAT BHATTACHARJEE, A MEMBER OF THE ASSAM VALLEY PARTY COMMITTEE, WAS ARRESTED IN DIBRUGARH. HIS ONLY CRIME WAS THAT HE WAS CARRYING WITH HIM SOME PAPERS AND LEAFLETS OF THE STUDENTS' FEDERATION. HE WAS AFTERWARDS RELEASED ON BAIL. OBVIOUSLY NO EVIDENCE AGAINST HIM COULD BE PROCURED, AND THE POLICE COULD MAKE OUT NO CASE AGAINST HIM. SO THEY ARRESTED THE COMRADE ONCE AGAIN, AND THIS TIME DETAINED HIM AS SECURITY PRISONER IN JORHAT JAIL - THUS OBTAINING THE UNCOMFORTABLE NECESSITY OF BRINGING ANY EVIDENCE AT ALL!
3. COMRADE BHADRAKRISHNA GOSWAMI, PRESIDENT OF THE SIBSAGAR DISTRICT STUDENTS' FEDERATION, WAS ARRESTED WHILE COLLECTING SIGNATURES FOR A MEMORANDUM REGARDING THE DEMAND FOR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, AND CONVICTED. THE PLEA OF THE POLICE WAS THAT HE SUPPORTS THE STRUGGLE! If to ask for National Government is to be construed as

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supporting sabotage, then even the Viceroy's Executive Councillors can be called "saboteurs"!

ATTITUDE OF POLICE AND DISTRICT MAGISTRATES

The 3 cases above show the manner in which the local police deal with our comrades. From the Appendix submitted at the end, one can see the Party standing of these 3 comrades and the entirely inexplicable attitude of the police in charging them with supporting sabotage.

The fact that as a Party we stand for National Defence and against sabotage has not made the slightest difference in their attitude.

IN GAUHATI, THE POLICE RAIDED THE PARTY OFFICE, SEIZED ALL THE POSTERS AND ARRESTED COMRADE GOURISHANKER BHATTACHARJEE AND NANDESWAR TALUKDAR. IN THIS CASE, HOWEVER, THE POLICE COULD FIND SO LITTLE EVIDENCE THAT THEY HAD TO RELEASE THESE 2 COMRADES AFTER 5 DAYS.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATES IN THE DISTRICTS IS THAT IN MOST CASES THEY GO ENTIRELY BY THE REPORTS OF THE LOCAL POLICE. IN LAKSHMIPUR, THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE IS VIOLENTLY ANTAGONISTIC TOWARDS US. REFUSALS OF PERMISSION FOR MEETINGS, SEARCHES OF STUDENT FEDERATION OFFICE, ARRESTS OF STUDENT FEDERATION WORKERS - THIS IS ALL THAT WE GET.

Further details will be sent in a supplementary report.

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OUR DEMANDS

We are submitting the following concrete practical demands on the basis of which we shall be able to rally the people far more effectively for defence and combat the Fifth-Columnist than we are able to do to-day. The task of rallying the people's morale in this Province becomes extremely important when we bear in mind that the people of this Province are the most threatened and the most exposed to air-raids and Fifth-Column infiltration and propaganda. It is in this Province too that the maximum amount of good feeling and co-operation should be there between the army and the people.

We are prepared to discuss these demands with Government representatives with a view to further clarification.

1. RELEASE OF ALL IMPRISONED COMRADES INCLUDING COMRADES JAGAT BHATTACHARJEE, DHIREN DUTTA, AND B.GOSWAMI AND WITHDRAWAL OF RESTRICTION ORDERS FROM ALL CONCERNED PARTICULARLY FROM RAMESH SARMA, NILMAI BARTHAKUR, PABITRA ROY, BENOY CHAKRAVARTY, SREEMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI, SADHU SINGH (NALBURI). A full list is given in Appendix 'B'.

All these are comrades who are responsible Party members. The first 3 comrades are particularly influential among the people and their arrest has crippled our young Party and its work considerably. Their arrests have only meant that the biggest enemies of the Fifth Columnists in this Province have been removed from the midst of the people.

2. Total cancellation of all special measures imposed upon our comrades for alleged complicity in sabotage.

3. THE RIGHT TO HOLD PUBLIC MEETINGS GUARDED BY STUDENT FEDERATION AND PARTY VOLUNTEERS FOR POPULARISING OUR PARTY POLICY.

Our Party in Assam Valley is comparatively young and it is difficult for us to reach out to the people effectively without the right to hold public meetings. We have won enough influence among the people to-day to be able to guarantee that our public meetings will not be broken up or lead to disorders. As it is to-day, our cadres have to do all their agitation from house to house which is a tremendous handicap to us.

4. RIGHT TO FORM DEFENCE COMMITTEES UNHAMPERED FOR TACKLING THE PROBLEMS OF FOOD, A.R.P., FIRST AID, ETC.

The most effective way to-day to rally the people for defence and combat the Fifth-Column is through enlisting people's co-operation in matters like A.R.P. and First Aid. If we make the people of Assam Valley A.R.P.-minded and enlist their co-operation (which they are prepared to give to-day since the Jap bombings began), the Fifth Column loses its biggest battle. IT IS ON BOMBINGS AND ON FOOD SHORTAGE THAT THE FIFTH COLUMN WOULD BANK MOST IN CREATING PANIC AND DISAFFECTION AMONG THE PEOPLE. THE DEFENCE COMMITTEES WOULD DEAL WITH ALL PROBLEMS OF PEOPLE'S DEFENCE. IT MAY BE NOTED HERE THAT SUCH PEOPLE'S DEFENCE COMMITTEES HAVE BEEN SET UP IN MANY DISTRICTS OF BENGAL AND ARE DOING VERY USEFUL WORK IN RALLYING THE PEOPLE FOR DEFENCE.

5. FREEDOM TO WORK IN THE TEA GARDEN AREAS TO KEEP UP THE MORALE OF THE PLANTATION LABOUR.

We raise this point because the problems of food, and panic due to bombings, etc., have become acute among the garden labourers. Not even the most elementary anti-Fascist propaganda is being done among them. Should Jap bombings increase, and panic and disaffection get into their ranks, then it would be a disaster for our Province. Panic and discontent among the garden labourers could easily lead under such ~~xxxx~~ conditions to riots and the effect of these on the other sections of the people would be serious. Cordoning off the tea-garden labourers from all outside contact would also

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give a free hand to the Fifth Column panic mongers and rumour-mongers. The Labour Member of the Central Government has announced that legislation is being planned for the plantation labourers. Such legislation is coming for the first time in the history of plantation labour. This is a recognition of the importance to-day to the cause of defence of the morale of the Assam plantation labour.

GRANT TO US THE MOST ELEMENTARY RIGHTS OF DOING ANTI-FASCIST PROPAGANDA AMONG THE LABOURERS WOULD IN ITSELF CONSTITUTE A VERY VALUABLE STEP.

#### 6. RIGHT OF MOVEMENT AMONGST THE RAILWAY WORKERS

In the other Memo on Political-Practical activity, we have drawn attention to the serious strike situation which was about to break out among the Railway workers on account of certain grievances of theirs. Our intervention alone averted this disaster. Keeping up the morale of the Railway workers is of first rate importance. They are the backbone of the Army at the Front. Such situations as the one mentioned above will recur again and again unless the Railway workers are tackled seriously and rallied to stick firmly to their posts. This job can be done only by leaders in whom the workers have confidence. Should Jap bombings increase, that would once again give an opportunity to the Fifth Columnist to spread panic and discontent among the Railway workers. The Railway workers are just the section on which the Fifth Columnist would try to concentrate in this Province.

THE FACTORS CAUSING PANIC AND DISCONTENT ARE ALREADY THERE. WE ARE DEMANDING NOTHING MORE THAN FACILITIES TO COUNTERACT THESE.

#### 7. RIGHT OF MEETING WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONS.

Without this it is impossible for us to combat the Fifth Column, effectively among the student masses.

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APPENDIX 'B'

LIST OF COMRADES IN JAIL OR KEPT UNDER RESTRICTIONS

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IN JAIL:

1. JAGAT BHATTACHARJEE (Sibsagar). Arrested under Section 129 in October 1942. He is one of the important members of the Assam Valley Committee of the Party and a very good organiser.
2. DHIREN DUTTA (Golaghat) Arrested under Section 129 in November, 1942. He is our best agitator in the Party. Very popular among the peasants. The places where he toured and formed Kisan Samities are just the places <sup>from</sup> where sabotage was completely kept off.
3. BHADRAKRISHNA GOSWAMI. Convicted under Defence of India Rules ~~and~~ for alleged possession of prejudicial literature. He is President of the Sibsagar District Student Federation. He, single-handed kept a considerable section of the students away from sabotage. The Fifth Columnist influence (Trotskyists) is very strong in Sibsagar and this comrade was our leading worker in the Student Federation.
4. MAHENDRA HAZARIKA ) Detained under Defence of India Rules in Dec-
5. KAMAL GOGAI ) ember 1942

UNDER TRIAL:

6. RAMESH SARMA. For alleged possession of prejudicial literature. Member, Working Committee of the All Assam Students' Federation. He was interned in June in his village home in Tejpur while he was touring the whole valley propogandising the National Defence policy of the All India Students' Federation just after the Delhi Conference of the A.I.S.F. Arrested in January 1943.

He is a very popular leader among the students. It is due to his inability to move among the people that sabotage in the district of Tejpur was so acute. Even from his place of internment, he was able to influence Congress leaders so much that when one of the Tagorite leaders (Trotskyist group) tried to use the Congress name for his Fifth Column work, a Congress leader over whom Comrade Ramesh Sarma had influence kicked out the Tagorite and burned all the Fifth Column ~~leaflets~~ leaflets. If this comrade is released and all restrictions removed, he could, single-handed, rally the entire people of Tejpur actively behind defence.

7. TARA BARTHAHAKUR. For alleged complicity in sabotage. Re-arrested in January 1943 while being release after finishing his previous term of imprisonment.

INTERNMENT

8. SRIMAN PRAFULLA GOSWAMI. Interned in 1940. Passed one year's imprisonment in the meanwhile.

EXTERNMENT:

9. DR. BENOY CHAKRAVARTY )
10. PABITRA ROY ) Externed from the Province under Defence of
11. AMIYA DAS GUPTA ) India Rules in 1940
12. SUSHIL DAS GUPTA )
13. NILMANI BARTHAHAKUR ) Externed from all Districts of Assam Valley except
14. SADHU SINGH ) Goalpura.

(Supplementary)

ATTITUDE OF POLICE AND DISTRICT MAGISTRATES

It has already been made clear that the attitude of the local Police towards our comrades is most unjustifiable and does not bear any relation to our policy or to our activities. One more example of this has come to hand. In the case of Comrade Mahendra Hazarika of Sibsagar, the police tried to put him up for conviction in the court, but they could produce no evidence whatsoever. When they failed in getting him convicted legally, they put him into detention under Section 26 of the Defence of India Rules!

A more blatant case of abuse of authority could hardly be imagined.

So far has this policy  $\forall$  against Communists gone that a special levy has been imposed on our comrades (for example Comrade Bishnu Basu, J. Saikia and others) for alleged sabotage activity! And not only this, as punishment for alleged complicity in sabotage work, Comrades Sarat Datta of Jorhat, Robi Roy of Dhubri, and Tara Barthakur of Sibsagar have been asked to function as special Police officers.

To round this up, "People's War", our Central Party organ, and "Janayuddha", the organ of the Bengal Provincial Committee, have been refused entry into Jorhat Jail while other nationalist journals are allowed entrance!

Everybody in Assam knows the policy and activities of the Communists. It is well-known to everybody that in Golaghat where our comrades were most successful in checking sabotage activities, pro-struggle elements incited by the Fifth Column attacked our comrades while in study class with dangerous weapons and wounded 4 comrades including our Secretary and Comrade Prasanta Sanyal. In Jorhat, too, they threatened Comrade Bishnu Basu, D. Mahanta, and others with assault for propagating our Party line.

And yet after all this, our comrades are singled out for "special" treatment for alleged complicity in sabotage activities! Which is truer evidence of our comrades' activities: the word of the Police or the actual fury of the pro-struggle and Fifth Column elements against us?

Why is it that the local Police take up such an attitude towards our comrades? We think 3 reasons can be adduced. Firstly, we suspect that in the Police Department, itself, there is some Fifth Column influence. In fact, in one of his interviews with the Premier Saadullah during Assembly Session, our comrade Misra put this forward and gave all his arguments. The Premier in the end had to agree with our contention that there are Fifth Column elements within the Police Department. The second reason is that in most places there is a ~~general~~ concealed sympathy for the "struggle" in the officers' ranks which could easily be turned into connivance at repression against us; and thirdly, there seems to be a tendency within the police ranks to save themselves the bother of following our comrades and watching their activities by arresting them and removing them from the field altogether. On no other ground can we explain Comrade Jagat Bhattacharjee's first arrest in Dilbrugarh for carrying ~~some~~ blank receipt books of the Students' Federation and some legal printed leaflets.

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MEMO ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT SUBMITTED BY THE  
SURMA VALLEY DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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(Upto first week of February)  
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In the Memos submitted by our comrades of Assam Valley the strategic importance of Assam from the point of view of national defence as well as the general attitude of the Assam Government towards our Party have been described. It has also been pointed out that there is a relatively strong Fifth Column group working in Assam, namely, the Tagorites (Trotskyites). In fact, Assam Valley is the Headquarters of the Tagorite Group.

IN SURMA VALLEY, PARTICULARLY IN THE DISTRICTS OF SYLHET AND CACHAR, OUR PARTY HAS VERY STRONG INFLUENCE AMONG THE CONGRESS MASSES. OUR STRENGTH INSIDE THE CONGRESS ORGANISATION ITSELF WAS VERY GREAT AND IT WAS ON THE BASIS OF THIS STRENGTH THAT WE MOVED INTO ACTION VERY SUCCESSFULLY AGAINST SABOTAGE AND ANARCHY AMONG CONGRESS PATRIOTS AND THE MASSES.

Our Party is far stronger in Surma Valley than it is in Assam Valley. Our ~~xxx~~ strength inside the Congress organisation too is far stronger. Paradoxically enough, it is this latter fact which has made the Government come down upon us in Surma Valley even more heavily than in Assam Valley. Overlooking the fact that we work among Congressmen and among the people as an independent Party with an independent policy, that we alone, on the basis of our past patriotic work inside the Congress organisation, can to-day successfully wean away Congress patriots from the path of "struggle" and lead them on to the path of national defence - THE GOVERNMENT HAS TAKEN UP THE ATTITUDE OF LUMPING EVERY POLITICAL WORKER IN ONE CATEGORY, NAMELY: PRO-STRUGGLE CONGRESSMEN.

What the result of such a policy would be for the country in general and for Assam in particular has been indicated in the Memos submitted by our Assam Valley comrades. IN THE CASE OF SURMA VALLEY, HOWEVER, WHERE CONGRESS INFLUENCE IS PARTICULARLY STRONG, REPRESSION DIRECTED AGAINST OUR COMRADES WOULD ONLY MEAN GIVING A FREE FIELD TO PRO-STRUGGLE AND FIFTH COLUMN ELEMENTS. The Fifth Column trades on Congress influence and it works on Congress patriotism. Our Party alone, on the basis of our own influence and prestige acquired among Congressmen in the past by our work inside the Congress organisation, can effectively fight the Fifth Column and rally the Congress patriots to the path of national defence. Repression against us only means leaving the Congress-minded masses face to face with the Fifth Column, with no one to intervene effectively. THE SOIL IS THERE, RIPE FOR FIFTH COLUMN MISCHIEF - CONGRESS INFLUENCE AND PEOPLE'S ANGER; TO HARASS AND HAMSTRING THOSE WHO ALONE CAN CHECK THE FIFTH COLUMN FROM WORKING ON THIS SOIL BY COUNTERING MISGUIDED PATRIOTISM WITH GENUINE PATRIOTISM, MEANS IN EFFECT LEAVING A FREE ~~xxx~~ FIELD TO THE FIFTH COLUMN TRAITORS.

RELEASES, ETC., AFTER LEGALISATION

The legalisation of the Party by the Government of India has not changed the attitude of the Assam Government towards the Communists. THERE WAS ONLY ONE TOKEN RELEASE IN THE PROVINCE, NAMELY, THAT OF COMRADE BIRESH MISRA. FROM SYLHET JAIL.

After the Patna Session of the All India Students' Federation Conference (where the Resolution on the changed attitude towards the war was adopted), and before the Delhi National Defence Convention, the following student comrades were released temporarily.

1. Satyabrata Dutta - Conviction order suspended, but not withdrawn.
2. Pranesh Biswas, Benoy Majumdar, Mahitosh Purkayastha, Mahabbur Rob Choudhury, Robindra Dam Roy of Surma Valley and Bishnu Bora of Assam Valley - internment orders suspended but not withdrawn

ALL THESE WERE ALLOWED TO ATTEND THE DELHI CONVENTION. SINCE THEN HOWEVER THE DETENTION ORDERS, ETC., HAVE NOT BEEN REVIVED.

Some relaxation of permission to hold student meetings was visible. No other political organisation would generally get any permission to hold meetings, but the Students' Federation would get one or two chances to hold them only in urban areas.

#### GOVERNMENT POLICY

But these cases have been only a few rare exceptions. The policy of the Government towards the Communists, as stated in the replies given by the Chief Secretary to a Press Conference just after the legalisation of the Party, seems to be something entirely different. To a query and some supplementary questions if the Government of Assam would release Communist prisoners, and withdraw restrictions on Communist internees and externees, THE CHIEF SECRETARY TOLD THE PRESS REPRESENTATIVES THAT THERE WERE POSSIBLY NO COMMUNISTS IN ASSAM BEFORE LEGALISATION; AND THOSE WHO CALLED THEMSELVES COMMUNISTS AFTER LEGALISATION COULD NOT BE TAKEN AT THEIR WORDS.

THE LIST OF COMRADES ARRESTED, INTERNED, EXTERNED, OR GAGGED SINCE THE WAR BROKE OUT UPTO THE FIRST WEEK OF FEBRUARY IS GIVEN IN THE APPENDIX TO THIS MEMO. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE WORK WE HAVE DONE IN SURMA VALLEY SINCE THE CRISIS OF AUGUST<sup>9</sup> BROKE OUT IS LIKEWISE GIVEN IN THIS MEMO. FROM THESE TWO ITEMS ALONE ONE CAN JUDGE WHETHER THERE ARE COMMUNISTS IN ASSAM OR NOT. THE CHIEF SECRETARY'S STATEMENT AMOUNTS CLEARLY TO A REFUSAL TO APPLY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S CHANGE OF POLICY TOWARDS THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE COMMUNISTS IN THIS PROVINCE.

#### REPRESENTATIONS MADE TO GOVERNMENT AFTER LEGALISATION

We have, on our side, made several representations to Government on the subject and shown our willingness to discuss things concretely.

1. On 4.9.42, Comrade Prasanta Sanyal met Mr. Dennehy, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Assam. The attitude of the Chief Secretary was frankly hostile. An account of this interview is given in the Memo of our Assam Valley comrades.

2. On 13.9.42, Comrade Biresh Misra met Sir. M. Saadullah, Premier of Assam, with a Memorandum. This was formally endorsed by the Secretary, Surma Valley District Committee on 15.9.42

A copy of the relevant parts of this Memo is attached herewith as an Appendix.

3. On 26.11.42, Comrades Karuna Sindhu Roy and Biresh Misra met the Government representative with another Memorandum wherein along with other demands, withdrawal of restrictions on Communist internees and externees, of cases against Communists and unconditional release of Communist Security Prisoners, were made. No direct reply to this has been given as yet.

#### CHIEF SECRETARY'S ANSWER TO OUR REPRESENTATIVES

Despite all these representations, the attitude of the Government remained unchanged. On 25.9.42, the Chief Secretary to the Government gave the following answer to the Surma Valley Committee (as a reply to our representation of 15.9.42):

1. REGARDING RELEASE OF COMMUNIST PRISONERS AND RELAXATION OF RESTRICTIONS, THE GOVERNMENT HAVE BEEN STICKING TO THEIR LETTER DATED 1.9.42 WHEREIN THE GOVERNMENT INSTRUCTED THE D.I.G. OF POLICE, ASSAM, TO DEMAND UNDERTAKINGS FROM THEM, THAT THEY "WILL OPPOSE ANY ACTIVITY IN PURSUANCE OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE PROGRAMME". THE GOVERNMENT ARE "NOT PREPARED TO RELAX THE RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON PERSONS WHO DO NOT BELONG TO THIS PROVINCE

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AGAINST THEIR ENTRY INTO IT SINCE THEY ARE SATISFIED THAT THE LEADERS AND PEOPLE OF ASSAM ARE WELL ABLE TO CONDUCT THEIR AFFAIRS WITHOUT ASSISTANCE FROM OUTSIDE".

2. Ban on "Sanghati" (our Party organ) withdrawn.

3. Regarding relaxation of regulations of meetings and processions, the District authorities were already empowered to "pass such general as well as special orders as they find satisfactory and sufficient to ensure their control". Government "do not find it possible to interfere with the discretion" of the District authorities.

4. Regarding freedom of movement in the Tea Gardens the Government could not "compel the Management to abandon their right to regulate" admission in tea-gardens AS GARDENS WERE NOT "PUBLIC PROPERTY".

5. Regarding Irawat Singh, "he is an inhabitant of the State of Manipur and the Government of Assam cannot intervene on his behalf".

6. "The question of release or relaxation of restrictions on the Communists mentioned in your letter of 15.9.42 will be re-examined on the basis of reports which are being called for".

#### DEMAND FOR INDIVIDUAL UNDERTAKINGS

RE. (1) ABOVE; THE GOVERNMENT'S DEMAND FOR UNDERTAKINGS FROM OUR COMRADES AMOUNTS TO A REFUSAL TO TREAT OUR PARTY AS A SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL PARTY. We are an independent political Party with our own independent policy and with the strictest discipline. IT WAS ON THE BASIS OF THIS POLICY AND THIS DISCIPLINE THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA LEGALISED OUR PARTY. The policy of our Party towards this "struggle", and towards National Defence is well-known to the Government. Our work all over the country and in this Province since the crisis has amply made this clear. The Government also knows that this policy is binding on all our Party members and that the degree of centralisation and discipline enforced within our Party is stronger than in any other political Party. AS A SERIOUS POLITICAL PARTY, WE CANNOT ALLOW OUR COMRADES TO DEAL INDIVIDUALLY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OR WITH ANY OTHER PARTY. TO DEMAND SUCH UNDERTAKINGS FROM OUR COMRADES MEANS THEREFORE, IN EFFECT, REFUSING TO CONSIDER THEIR CASES ON THE STRENGTH OF THE POLICY AND THE WORK OF THE PARTY.

Our internee comrades in Sylhet sent the following reply to the Deputy Commissioner in answer to the demand for an undertaking:

"The policy of the Communist Party of India which is being systematically ventilated through the press and platform, is quite well-known to the Government. As a member of the said Party I have been pursuing and shall pursue the same policy and programme and shall always abide by the decision of my Party. Beyond that I am not prepared to give any undertaking to anybody on any particular point of our programme detached from the whole".

This answer should have made it clear to the Government that these comrades are loyal and steadfast members of the Communist Party and abide by its policy. THE FACT THAT NOTHING HAPPENED AFTER THIS ANSWER SHOWS THAT GOVERNMENT'S DEMAND FOR INDIVIDUAL UNDERTAKINGS MEANS IN EFFECT REFUSING TO CONSIDER THEIR CASES.

#### RESTRICTIONS ON "OUTSIDERS"

Regarding Government's refusal to relax restrictions placed on person "who do not belong to this Province", this is highly unjustifiable. There are numbers of our Bengal comrades who are very influential and well-known among the people in Assam, and who can do invaluable work in weaning people away from sabotage and anarchy. In places where our Party units are rel-

atively weak and our comrades young and not having much experience (like Assam Valley), such experienced comrades are a valuable asset in helping us to work out our policy among the people. Our Assam Valley comrades in their Memo have drawn Government's attention to the fact that they brought Comrade Prasanta Sanyal from Calcutta to assist them immediately after August 9 and that Comrade Sanyal's assistance was very valuable. No other Provincial Government has taken up the attitude that outside Communists cannot be allowed to ~~enter~~ enter their Province, such a policy means cutting across the Central Government's declared change of policy towards the Communist Party. Such a policy only means weakening the forces that can work most effectively to stop sabotage and anarchy and rally the people towards national defence.

Besides, the distinction Government draws between persons "belonging to this Province" and "outsiders" is meaningless and artificial. Our Party units in Surma Valley and Assam Valley have all along been working under the close guidance of the Bengal Provincial Committee and with the help of Bengal comrades. For the Government to draw such a distinction only shows the Government's eagerness to hamstring and restrict effective Communist work to the greatest degree possible. Whom such a policy would help in the present situation, we have indicated at the beginning of this Memo.

#### COMRADE IRAWAT SINGH

Re. Comrade Irawat Singh, Government's answer is unsatisfactory. Manipur State is strategically the most vulnerable part even of our Province. The Jap army is entrenched some tens of miles east of Imphal. Jap agents are busy at work among the Manipuris. Comrade Irawat Singh, the accredited leader of the Manipuris has clearly expressed his views supporting the war and his readiness to mobilise the people's forces for resisting Jap aggression.

To refuse to take steps for the release of this comrade, under pleas of technical formalities, is to gravely endanger the safety of the Province.

#### RE. FACILITIES FOR WORK

Re. meetings and processions, how the present position seriously hampers our work is indicated in the Memorandum of the Surma Valley District Committee of 15.9.42 to the Assam Government. Government's answer evades the point altogether.

Regarding the Tea Gardens, the Government's plea that the Gardens are not "public property" is clearly untenable. Factories and mills are not "public property" either, still the Government has powers to interfere to enforce reasonable ~~leg~~ legislation to safeguard the reasonable interests of the workers and the safety and defence of the land. Our demands in this respect of the Tea Gardens are only minimum demands whereby we can check Fifth Column disruption among the Tea Garden labourers and rally them against panic and for strengthening production and national defence.

THE GOVERNMENT'S PROMISE TO EXAMINE THE CASES OF ARRESTED AND RESTRICTED COMMUNISTS REMAINS LARGELY UNFULFILLED. IN THE APPENDIX, WE GIVE A COMPLETE LIST OF ALL SUCH CASES. THIS LIST IS AN INDICATION OF HOW FAR THE GOVERNMENT HAS FULFILLED ITS PROMISE AND WHAT ITS REAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS COMMUNISTS IS.

#### BAN ON MEETINGS, DEMONSTRATIONS, ETC., AND RESTRICTIONS AGAINST

#### CIVIL PROTECTION COMMITTEES

REPRESSION AGAINST CIVIL PROTECTION COMMITTEES IN THE DISTRICTS OF CACHAR AND SYLHET IS MAKING THEIR FUNCTIONING DIFFICULT. Such Committees

have been formed of all representative parties and citizens in order to rally the people behind Civil Defence. For a short period just after the bombings near Silchar Town, the authorities of Sylhet and Cachar lifted the ban on Civil Defence meetings. But after August 9, despite the fact that the need for the functioning of such committees has increased hundred-fold, the same ban has again been promulgated. To-day it is almost impossible to get any permission for meetings in Cachar District. In Sylhet District, generally meetings are allowed to be held only in towns, not in villages. Even Civil Defence rallies and demonstrations cannot be held - not to speak of mass rallies on other political issues. IN SYLHET TOWN, THE DISTRICT COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY SOUGHT PERMISSION TO HOLD AN A.R.P. DEMONSTRATION IN AUGUST 1942, BUT WAS REFUSED WITHOUT EVEN BEING GIVEN ANY REASON FOR THE REFUSAL.

On January 21, Lenin Day, the Surma Valley District Committee sought permission to hold meetings and demonstrations in 14 areas. Permission was given only in 4 towns in Sylhet District.

The Cachar authorities did not even reply to our application for holding a meeting at Silchar Town on January 30 on the Food Problem.

Refusal to permit meetings of the Civil Protection Committees, and A.R.P. meetings shows the extent to which the Government measures hamper the work of Civil Defence. Such refusals can have no justification whatsoever. THE PROPER FUNCTIONING OF THE CIVIL PROTECTION COMMITTEES WOULD BE THE BIGGEST BLOW TO THE FIFTH COLUMN. ON WHAT GROUNDS CAN THE GOVERNMENT HAMSTRING THE WORK OF THESE COMMITTEES?

#### OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

Despite all this repression and opposition from the Government side, our Party in Surma Valley has considerable achievements to its credit during this crisis period. Without the political intervention of our Party, the face of Assam would have been far different from what it is today. Even the man in the street knows this, particularly in Sylhet and Cachar.

Ask the supporters of the present "struggle" themselves. THEY THEMSELVES ARE NOW SAYING THAT THEIR WHOLE PROGRAMME FAILED IN SURMA VALLEY BECAUSE THE COMMUNISTS KEPT AWAY - NAY, THEY EXERTED THEIR POLITICAL INFLUENCE TO KEEP PATRIOTS AWAY FROM SABOTAGE AND ANARCHY.

1. Communists predominated in the Sylhet and Cachar District Congress Committees. THEY BOLDLY FACED DISCIPLINARY MEASURES FROM CONGRESS AUTHORITIES by accepting the resolution on "National Unity" in the teeth of a bitter ridicule and slander campaign from the supporters of the "struggle". IT IS AN ADMITTED FACT THAT ACTS OF SABOTAGE WERE COMPARATIVELY RARE IN SURMA VALLEY, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THIS IS RELATIVELY AN ADVANCED CONGRESS AREA IN THIS PROVINCE. This is due entirely to the work of our comrades who on the basis of their own hard-won influence and strength inside the Congress organisation, braved disciplinary measures and put forward the independent policy of the Party among Congressmen and the people.

2. Surma Valley Communists organised an emergency group of comrades who stood between the enraged people and the Fifth Column in the hectic days following August 9. COMRADES SATYABRATA DATTA AND SHYAMDHAN SEN GUPTA BOLDLY STOOD BEFORE AN INFURIATED CROWD ON AUGUST 31 while some saboteurs were burning the records of the Income Tax Office in Sylhet Town and inciting the people to go further. Their political appeals and explanations held back the people because the people knew them to be ~~genu~~ genuine patriots. The crowd dispersed to their homes and a disaster was averted.

3. In Cachar District, no group could stage a single act of sabotage because of the vigilance ~~of~~ and alertness of our comrades against the Forward Bloc and R.S.P.(Trotskyists) agents of the Fifth Column.

4. Our work was so effective that the Fifth Column got enraged and began to attack our comrades physically. THE DAY BEFORE THE INCIDENT MENTIONED IN (2) ABOVE, COMRADE SASHIPROVA DEB WAS STABBED BY A FIFTH COLUMN AGENT AT NIGHTFALL. IN ASSAM VALLEY, THE TROTSKYISTS FELL UPON COMRADE PRASANTA SANYAL AT GOLAGHAT LAST OCTOBER.

5. The effectiveness of our work in Surma Valley can be seen from the following figures: we collected NEARLY 10,000 SIGNATURES to our National Unity pledge (against sabotage and anarchy for the strengthening of national defence and national unity) in Surma Valley alone. NEARLY 60% OF THESE SIGNATURES COMPRISES VERY STAUNCH SUPPORTERS OF CONGRESS AND THE PRESENT "STRUGGLE" WHOM WE HAD WON OVER FROM STRUGGLE TO OUR LINE. ON THE ISSUES OF FOOD AND A.R.P. WE HAVE RALLIED PATRIOTS OF ALL ORGANISATIONS AND WE ARE TO-DAY GETTING SUPPORT FROM CONGRESS, MUSLIM LEAGUE AND HINDU MAHASABHA ELEMENTS. THROUGH OUR CIVIL PROTECTION COMMITTEES WE HAVE MOBILISED A VAST VOLUME OF ~~EX~~ PUBLIC OPINION OF ALL PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS BEHIND CIVIL DEFENCE.

In Surma Valley alone, we have enrolled 12,000 KISANS (peasants) in the KISAN SABHA directly on the political ~~ex~~ policy of our Party. This represents a mighty force in the countryside against sabotage and anarchy and for strengthening defence. Among the students we have organised no less than 1,500 STUDENTS IN THE STUDENTS' FEDERATION directly under the banner of our Party. We have more than 2,000 WORKERS ORGANISED IN SEVERAL TRADE UNIONS, the policy of which is to strengthen production and safeguard national defence.

The Party has MORE THAN 100 MEMBERS AND NEARLY 300 MILITANTS (those who work actively and consistently under the lead of the Party), besides we have SEVERAL HUNDREDS OF CLOSE SYMPATHISERS AMONG WELL-PLACED CITIZENS IN ALL WALKS OF LIFE.

#### OUR DEMANDS

It is on the basis of the strength of our policy and our achievements that we place the following demands before the Government. These demands will enable us to carry our policy to the people and to rally them against sabotage and anarchy and towards strengthening national defence, far more effectively than we are able to do to-day.

Our demands are:-

1. UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF ALL COMMUNIST PRISONERS - SECURITY PRISONERS AND CONVICTED COMMUNISTS IN ASSAM. WITHDRAWAL OF ALL CASES AGAINST COMMUNISTS.
2. UNCONDITIONAL WITHDRAWAL OF RESTRICTION ORDERS ON ALL COMMUNIST INTERNEES AND EXTERNEES MENTIONED IN THE LIST GIVEN IN THE APPENDIX.
3. RELAXATION OF BANS ON MEETINGS AND PROCESSIONS ORGANISED BY COMMUNISTS AND ALLIED ORGANISATIONS.
4. WITHDRAWAL OF BANS ON MEETINGS ON CIVIL DEFENCE AND MEETINGS OF CIVIL PROTECTION COMMITTEES THROUGHOUT ASSAM.
5. UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF IRAWAT SINGH, THE ACCREDITED LEADER OF THE MANIPUR PEOPLE AND A STAUNCH ANTI-FASCIST.



COPY

Surma Valley District Committee  
Communist Party of India,  
Sylhet

From,  
Chittaranjan Das,  
Secretary, Surma Valley District Committee,  
Communist Party of India,  
Sylhet

To,  
The Hon'ble Home Minister, Government of Assam, Shillong.

Dated, Sylhet, the 15th September, 1942

Sir,

Comrade Biresh Chandra Misra, representative of our Party met you on the 13th., Sept., 1942, at Shillong and discussed the following items:-

1. Release of Communist prisoners, lifting the ban on internees andexternees and withdrawing of the pending orders on our Party members in the Province of Assam without demanding any assurance - verbal or written.
2. Unconditional release of those party members who have been arrested on the plea of complicity with the so-called Congress 'Struggle'.
3. Unconditional withdrawal of orders demanding security from our Party Organ 'Naya-Dunia' and Sanghati, specially the latter.
4. Relaxation of rules regarding the permit for meetings and processions to be organised on behalf of our Party.
5. In view of the unsteady condition of the tea-garden labour, freedom of movement of the workers of the Sylhet Cachar-Cha-Bagan Mazdur Union, a registered Trade Union, among the tea-garden labourers on the basis of the appeal issued by the aforesaid organisation to all the Garden Managers of the Surma Valley.
6. To facilitate the release of Sj. Irawat Singh, the Manipuri Leader of the Manipur State, now undergoing imprisonment in the Sylhet Jail.

As for the items No. 1,2,3, Comrade Misra left all the necessary papers with you, including the line of action to be followed by our Party under the present situation.

As for item No. 4, the present practice is that, we are to apply at least three days earlier to the Deputy Commissioner for a permit to hold any meeting or procession. In many cases, specially in rural areas, permission for holding meetings has been refused to us. And in many cases where permission was given, the permit for some unknown reasons, reached us just before the hour of holding the meeting, thereby giving us no time to organise it. To remove this difficulty, Comrade Misra suggested to you that meetings and processions might be held on behalf of our Party by notifying the time and place of the meetings and the processions to the Deputy Commissioner and Thana Officer concerned.

As for the item No. 5, the appeal issued by the Sylhet Cachar-Cha-Bagan Mazdur Union and some of the replies thereon from some Tea Garden Managers have been left by Comrade Misra with Hon'ble A. Matin Choudhuri, the Finance Minister, a perusal of which will reveal the real state of affairs.

As for item No. 6, be it noted that Sj. Irawat Singh has applied through His Excellency to His Highness the Maharaja of Manipur, in which he has clearly stated his views regarding the war and his readiness to mobilise people's forces for resisting Jap aggression. The Party hopes that if there is anything which you can do to facilitate his release, it will surely be done.

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Yours faithfully, etc.

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APPENDIX 'B' - LIST OF COMMUNISTS GAGGED

INTERNEES: (Since the outbreak of war):

1. PROBODANANDA KAR, Secretary, Sylhet District Congress Committee, Party member since 1939. Interned in Sylhet town.
2. NIKHIL MITRA, prominent Kisan and Congress worker. Party member since 1939. Interned in Habiganj Town.
3. DIGEN DAS GUPTA, Vice-President, Sylhet-Cachar Cha-Bagan Mazdoor Union. Party member since 1936. Member of the Surma Valley District Committee Interned in Balaganj Thana.
4. NIBARAN DUTTA, Assistant Secretary, Sylhet District Congress Committee. Party member since 1939. Interned in his native village in Jaggannathpur P.S. (Security prisoner after August 9 crisis).
5. RAJENDRA NANDY, Kisan leader. Party member since 1938. Interned in native village Sholaghar, in Sunamganj P.S.

INTERNMENT ORDERS NOT SERVED: (Since the outbreak of war):

1. BARIN DUTTA, Genral Secretary, Sylhet Cachar Cha-Bagan Mazdoor Union. Party member since 1938.
2. MANIK CHOUDHURY, Trade Union leader. Party member since 1938. (The order has been served on him in January, 1943).
3. SASHINDRA DUTTA, prominent student leader of Maulvibazar. Party member since 1939.
4. AJOY BHATTACHARJEE, renowned student leader of Surma Valley. Party member since 1937.
5. ASHUTOSH SEN, previous Student Federation leader, then Kisan worker. Party member since 1939. (The order has been served in October 1942).
6. SUDHANSHU GHOSE: Trade Union worker of Cachar. Party member since 1939.

INTERNEES IN ASSAM VALLEY:

1. RAMESH SHARMA, student leader. Interned in Tezpur Town. Party member.
2. PRAFULLA GOSWAMI, student leader. Joined the Party in 1940. Interned in Nalbari, Assam.

EXTERNEES: (Since the outbreak of war): Orders not withdrawn yet.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| a) Railroad Union Organisers of Chittagong. Party members attached to Surma Valley District Committee of the Communist Party of India | ) | 1. KAMANIYA DASGUPTA - Externed from Assam  |
|   | ) | 2. KALPATARU SENGUPTA - - do -              |
| b) Representatives sent to Assam by the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India                                   | ) | 1. AMIYA DASGUPTA - Externed from Assam.    |
|   | ) | 2. SUSHIL DASGUPTA - -do-                   |
|   | ) | 3. PABITRA ROY - -do-                       |
| c) Trade Union workers of Assam, attached to the Assam valley District Organising Committee of the Communist Party of India)          | ) | 1. NILMANI BARTHAKUR - Externed from Assam. |
|   | ) | 2 .BENOY CHAKRABARTY - - do -               |

BAN ON WEEKLY ORGAN:

"Sanghati", the weekly organ of the Party was banned during the People's War period, and before the legalisation of the Party. The ban, however, has now been waived.

INTERNMENTS AFTER THE LEGALISATION OF THE PARTY:

1. ASHUTOSH SEN, Interned in Sylhet Town.
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2. MANIK CHOUDHURY, Interned in Sylhet Town.

DEFENTION (After legalisation and in connection with the 'struggle'):

1. CHANCHAL SHARMA, Party Member since 1936. Member of the Surma Valley District Committee. Security Prisoner.
2. ACHINTYA BHATTACHARJEE, Party member since 1939, Secretary, Cachar District Congress Committee. Secretary, Cachar Local Committee of the Party. Security Prisoner.
3. NIBARAN DUTTA, Security Prisoner.
4. RADHA RANJAN DEV, Party member since 1940. Security Prisoner.
5. JITEN SHARMA, A Party activist since 1940, Security Prisoner.
6. JAGAT BHATTACHARJEE of Assam Valley ) Party Members - Security
7. DHIREN DUTTA of Assam Valley ) Prisoners.

DEFENTION ORDERS NOTS ERVED (After legalisation in connection with the 'struggle'):

1. MATILAL JAIGIRDER, Party member since 1939. Secretary, Silchar Sub-Divisional Divisional Congress Committee. A leader of the Surma Valley District Committee.

PROSECUTION AFTER LEGALISTION IN CONNECTION WITH THE 'STRUGGLE':

1. HARIDAS BHATTACHARJEE, Party member since 1939. Trade Union worker. Charged under Section 109 Cr. P.C. Orders passed 1 Year's R.I.
2. MRINAL KANTI DAS, Party member since 1939. Renowned Kisan leader of Patharkandi. Charge - exciting people against the projected "Landing Ground" at Parthakandi area. Convicted to 6 months' R.I. Appeal filed before the Sessions Judge, Sylhet.
3. RANENDRA NAG, A party activist since 1940. Student leader of Habiganj. Prosecuted and convicted to 3 months' R.I.
4. DOLGOBINDA DEV, a Party sympathiser since 1938. Charge - alleged to have organised an illegal meeting in connection with the "struggle" at Srimangal. Orders not yet passed.
5. MAHITOSH PURKAYASTHA, alleged to have joined a procession of "struggle-wallas" Orders not passed as yet.

EXTERNMENTS AFTER LEGALISATION:

1. TARAPADA BHATTACHARJEE, Railroad Union worker. Chittagong comrade attached to Surma Valley District Committee. Externed from Assam.
2. MANI ROY, Trade Union worker of Cachar. Party member since 1940. Externed from Cachar District.
3. MAHITOSH PURKAYASTHA, student leader of Surma Valley; working centre, Silchar. Party member since 1938. Externed from Cachar District.
4. TARAPADA BHATTACHARJEE, student leader of Surma Valley. Working centre Silchar. Externed from Cachar District.

ARRESTS ON 'INDEPENDENCE DAY':

1. PRABHASH BHATTACHARJEE; 2. PRASUN ROY; 3. MAHESHWAR SEN; 4. RANENDRA DEV; 5. APURBA DEV.

All Student Federation ~~is~~ workers of Sylhet Town. Party militants since 1940 - 41. Arrested while carrying on squad work for students' unity and National Unity Campaign. Released on personal bail. No prosecution as yet.

6. BENODE BANDHU SEN, Party member of 1943. Trade Union worker. Arr-

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ested while explaining National Unity jobs to workers and ent~~h~~using workers who had been going to some labour jobs in a military project. Released on personal bail Not yet prosecuted.

7. KHIRODE DAS, Party member of 1942
8. SUKESH ROY alias Ialmohan Roy, Party member of 1939
9. AMRITA BHATTACHARJEE, Party member of 1942.
10. NIRENDRA DEV, Party member of 1939. These four were arrested from the office of Dhakadakshin Cell of the Party for hoisting flag on the premises of the Office. Still rotting in Hazat. Bail not yet granted.
11. TRAILOKYA DUTTA, Party member since 1939.
12. SURJYAMANI DEV, Party member since 1942. Arrested at Kulaura for hoisting National Flag inthe premises of a private house. Still rotting in Maulvibazar hazat.

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MEMO ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT SUBMITTED  
BY THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF INDIA

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The Central Government lifted the 8-year old ban on our Party on the basis of the strength of the Party's policy. The fact that a new situation had arisen in our country as the result of the Japanese menace and that in this new situation, the Communist Party is the staunchest anti-Fascist Party in the country, with influence among the people, was alone responsible for the legalisation of our Party.

AS FAR AS THE PROVINCE OF ANDHRA IS CONCERNED, THE POLICY OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT DOES NOT CORRESPONDENT IN THE LEAST TO THE CHANGED ATTITUDE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. THE PARTY WORKS LEGALLY TODAY, IT IS TRUE; BUT MORE COMMUNISTS IN ANDHRA ARE BEHIND PRISON BARS TODAY THAN WERE THERE PRIOR TO LEGALISATION OF THE PARTY. LEGALITY HAS NOT MEANT ANY EXTENSION OF FACILITIES FOR THE PARTY TO CARRY OUT ITS POLICY OF STRENGTHENING NATIONAL DEFENCE.

The age-old prejudices of the Provincial Government are still there operating to the full. In to-day's situation, such PREJUDICES AND THE CONSEQUENT LACK OF CONTACT WITH REAL POLITICAL LIFE AND ITS CURRENTS HAVE LED TO WIPING OUT THE VERY FORCE, THE ONE FORCE IN FACT, THAT IS MOST UNITED AND CONSISTENT AGAINST SABOTAGE. The logic of such a policy, carried over from the past, into to-day's new situation would mean the Government wiping out the Communists. THIS WOULD LEAVE IN THE FIELD ONLY TWO PARTIES -- THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FIFTH COLUMN. THE FIFTH COLUMN WORKS ON PATRIOTISM AND ON THE PATRIOTIC BASE CREATED BY THE CONGRESS; THE GOVERNMENT OPERATES BY MEANS OF FEAR. WHICH OF THESE TWO FORCES COULD WIN OVER THE PEOPLE IN THE PRESENT SITUATION CAN EASILY BE IMAGINED.

Congress leaders like Mr. Rajagopalachari who never used to look upon the Communists with favour formerly to-day look upon us as the most valuable fighters for defence. But not so the Madras Government.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT TRUSTS THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE AND LEAVES THINGS TO HIM; THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE TRUSTS THE LOCAL POLICE AND C.I.D. AND LEAVES THINGS TO HIM. For local police and the local C.I.D., the world has stood still. The job which they have been taught is to hunt, track down and arrest the "Reds". For 2 years since the beginning of the war, the Communists successfully evaded them. Now, they have come out and the local police see in this their golden chance. THEY CATCH US AND PAY OFF OLD SCORES. THEY SEE IN THE LEGALISATION OF THE PARTY GREATER FACILITIES FOR THEMSELVES.

We get arrested en masse; whenever we can, on the strength of our anti-Fascist policy, we take the cases to court and IN A HOST OF CASES IN ANDHRA WE HAVE BEEN ACQUITTED BY THE COURTS, the police could produce no shred of evidence against us.

But what happens to the chain by which Government gets information and formulates its policy? What happens to the District Magistrates and the local police where actions are squashed by the Courts? THEY STILL CONTINUE THEIR JOB AND THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO BASE ITS POLICY ON THEIR REPORTS.

But in Andhra something more happens. PARTY MEMBERS ARE ARRESTED AND DETAINED UNDER THE DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES. This is a new and very clever trick of the police. If the courts will acquit them, well then, detain them, so argues the police. Any number of leading comrades have been detained in this manner in the province. After the first wave of acquittals by the Courts, this wave of detention has started. IT IS THE CLEARST PROOF OF THE FACT THAT THE POLICE CANNOT PRODUCE A SHRED OF EVIDENCE AGAINST OUR COMRADES AND THAT THEIR ONLY OBJECT IN ARRESTING THEM IS TO PAY OFF OLD SCORES.

Comrades have been arrested right while they were carrying on open anti-sabotage work (often at the cost of personal danger to themselves from infuriated crowds) and then conveniently sent away to detention, on the plea that they are connected with the Congress movement. Why detention? BECAUSE NO SANE COURT IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WOULD CONVICT THE MAN.

IN ANDHRA, OUR PARTY HAS ITSELF RISEN OUT OF THE CONGRESS. THE MAJORITY OF THE ACTIVE CONGRESS WORKERS ARE INSIDE THE PARTY. THIS IS IN FACT PRECISELY OUR OWN STRENGTH IN THE PROVINCE and this is why we have been so effective in checking sabotage here. But the police hate the Communists most and having orders to

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arrest the Congressmen come and make a clean sweep of the Communists.

To the police, Communists were the mortal enemies during the first two years of the war. They spent their days and nights trying to track and hunt us down; in most cases they failed. To-day, they think their chance against the Communists has come; this is all that the Jap threat and legalisation of the Party has meant to them in terms of their understanding.

It is unfortunately on the reports of such local police officials that the Madras Government relies for formulating its policy.

If the idea of such a policy is to beat us down into a Royist position, such an idea is very short-sighted indeed. The Central Government knows very well what little ice Royists have cut among the people. Their work everywhere has been a miserable fiasco. The effectiveness of our work <sup>lies</sup> ~~being~~ precisely in the fact that we are a Party of the people. Slanders and threats of our own fellow-patriots have not succeeded in making us alter our policy. Ours is an independent Party with its independent policy. Just as the Government has legalised our Party not in order to oblige us, in the same way we work for our policy of strengthening national defence not in order to please the Government but because of the interests of our own people. The only result of the Government policy would be not making us change our line, but hampering and hamstringing the single considerable force in Andhra today standing between the people and the Fifth Column.

#### GENERAL GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS US

Our statement that little change has come over the policy of the Madras Government corresponding to the declared change in the policy of the Central Government in legalising our Party, is borne out by the following facts:

1. Mass arrests of our comrades have taken place after August 9 under the plea that "they are connected with the Congress movement." The entire leading Party cadre of West Godavary District (about 25 comrades) have been put in jail. More Communists are in jail today in Andhra than were there ~~anywhere~~ prior to legalisation of our Party!
2. The Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, in reply to our Memorandums regarding the question of comrades being detained, curtly declared that "he saw no reason to intervene as we were detained in connection with the Congress Civil Disobedience movement."
3. The Government have in fact gone back on their own promises of release of certain comrades and have re-arrested them.
  - a) V. ANJANEYULU of the Madras Conspiracy Case
  - b) D. SURYANARAYANA RAJU of West Godavary District
  - c) P. V. SIVAYYA of Guntur District

All these 3 comrades had escaped from jail. The Madras Government remitted their sentences and cancelled the detention orders pending against them, but later when they came out openly and started working, they were arrested after a few months. No evidence could be brought against them, so the charge that they had escaped from jail was dug out. It took months for the local offices to find this out.

4. In our interviews with local District Magistrates, they make no effort to conceal their attitude towards us.

The District Magistrate of East Godavary told our comrades: "We do not differentiate much between Communists and Congressmen to-day. You all fellows condemn us like anything. We do not propose to do anything until the Civil Disobedience is withdrawn."

The District Magistrate of Nellore was equally frank.

"The Communists are 90% anti-British and anti-Government and 10% anti-Jap. They are really creating pro-Jap feeling among the people by carrying on anti-Government propaganda." When our comrades showed Prajashakti and People's War, to refute him, he continues: "I do not depend on what these papers say but I have got the reports of my police on the activities of the Communists."

The District Magistrate of East Godavary thus cannot "differentiate much" between those who carry on sabotage activities and those who are the only force working among the people today against sabotage. The District Magistrate of Nellore leaves everything to "his police." According to him, we are creating pro-Jap feeling. By the same standards, to-day, both Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Rajagopalachary (who also condemn the policy of wholesale repression and want National Government) are creating pro-Jap feeling among the people and ought to be behind prison bars!

5. Our Party offices have repeatedly been searched in the most arbitrary manner by the local police. Not in one case has the police found any "evidence," in any of our offices, no charge has been filed against us in any court as the result of any search. Still the police go on.

The District Party offices in Kurnool, Nellore, West Godavary (twice), East Godavary (twice), and a number of Town Committee offices have been searched.

6. Mention has been made in the beginning of the fact that in a large number of cases, where our comrades could defend themselves, the police could produce no evidence at all and the courts had to acquit our comrades. In some cases, the court had to come out and declare that contrary to police allegations, evidence showed that our comrades had in fact been working to prevent sabotage.

Here are a few instances of such cases:

1. Nine of our comrades were arrested on the charge of burning Anantpur College ~~laboratory~~ laboratory. All were acquitted by the Special Judge trying their case.
2. <sup>3.</sup> Sadasivan and N. Rajasekhar Reddy of Anantpur district were arrested for anti-Fascist speeches and acquitted by appellate ~~xxx~~ courts.
3. Comrades Ramayya Sastri and Sayanna of Kurnool district were arrested and sentenced for shouting slogans "Release the Congress Leaders," "Unite for National Government and for national resistance against Japs!" were acquitted by the appellate court.
4. Comrades Pulla Reddy and Bapayya of Kurnool district were sentenced for possession of Communist literature of the earlier phase of the war. Sentenced in 1942 for possession of Communist literature relating to 1940! Sentence reduced on appeal.
5. Comrades Sundararajan and B. Ramanathan of Nellore, arrested for possession of "Unity Manifesto" issued by Andhra Provincial Committee for Signature Campaign. Acquitted by the trial court itself.
6. M. Parandhamayya of Guntur convicted for possession of Telugu translation of Com. P. C. Joshi's statement on August 9. The statement had appeared in almost all the nationalist and Anglo-Indian papers of India, including the "Statesman" and the "Times of India", but in Andhra it was a crime to possess a telugu translation of it!
7. Six comrades of Tenali were charged with being involved in the arson case. Acquitted by the trial court.
8. Ponnepalli Lakshminarayan of Repalle Taluk, Guntur District, was convicted for alleged participation in sabotage activity on August 11 and 12 though in fact he was working to prevent sabotage activity. He was acquitted by the appellate court.
9. V. Anjaneyulu of Madras Communist Conspiracy Case was arrested for an alleged prejudicial speech but acquitted. Now arrested on the old charge of escaping from jail.
10. Comrades C.V.K. Rao and Sarma of East Godavary who were trying to settle the Salt Workers' Strike at Cocanada were arrested on the preposterous charge of fomenting strikes. The lower court sentenced them to 2 years' R.I. but the appellate court had to reduce it to 3 months.

All these acquittals show what little reliance can be placed on the reports of the local police officials about our activities. And yet the Madras Government unfortunately bases its entire practical policy towards our Party on such reports.

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SENT TO SIR REGINALD MAXWELL.

Memos on Our Political-Practical Activities  
since August 9 ; and Our Relations With Govern-  
ment.-- submitted by the following provinces:-

- Andhra
- Assam Valley
- Surma Valley
- Behar
- Bengal
- Bombay
- C.P. and Berar
- Madras
- Malabar
- Orissa
- Punjab
- U.P.



7. After these acquittals has come the new method of the police, namely, mass detention of our Party members. This is the clearest proof of the fact that the police cannot produce a single shred of evidence against ~~that~~ any of these comrades. Here is a Party which has been legalised by the Central Government on the strength of its policy. If the police have any real evidence that Party Members have participated in sabotage activities, why should they be afraid of putting these comrades on trial. This system of detention coming on top of the mass acquittals which the courts had to concede tells its own tale and bears out our contention that the police are only eager to take advantage of the Party's legalisation and the present disturbances to pay off its old scores against the Communists.

Detention without trial of members of a Party whose anti-Fascist credentials were recognised by the Central Government itself when it lifted the 8-year old ban on the Party is unjustifiable from any point of view.

It is the clearest refutation of the charge of the police and the District Magistrates against us that we help Congress activities.

When the police themselves do not have the courage to take their evidence against our comrades before the ordinary courts, how can the Government rely on their reports in such an important matter as its policy towards the Communist Party?

In the Appendix given at the end of this Memo will be found a list of such comrades who have been detained since August 9.

#### COMRADES STILL IN JAIL FROM PRE-LEGALITY PERIOD

1. COM. ALLURI SATYANARAYANA of West Godavary District. He was detained in June 1940 and from then has been kept in Vellore, Rajamundry and now in Damoh Jail in Central Provinces;

Government refuses to release him on the suspicion that he is connected with the Forward Bloc. During the earlier period of the war, M. Annapurnayya was the leader of the Forward Bloc in Andhra. Com. A. Satyanarayana was friendly with him. But when ~~the~~ Soviet Union was attacked by Nazis and Bose allied himself with Berlin, Annapurnayya himself completely broke away from the Forward Bloc and joined us. Comrade A. Satyanarayan has been a member of the Provincial Committee of our Party since 1936. To link up such a comrade with the F.B. on the ground that he was once friendly with Annapurniah cannot be justified on any grounds whatsoever.

2. COM. NAMBURI SREENIVASA RAO.

3. COM. MAHIDARA RAMMOHAN RAO.

Both of these comrades are from East Godavary District. The former, a very great folk-song reciter. Used to attract large crowds. The latter composed a large number of anti-fascist songs, even from jail, which are now being sung throughout Andhra by thousands. Both of them have been in detention since the beginning of 1941.

The Government refuses to release them because of their party activity among the agricultural labourers in that district and on the basis of the false reports sent by the police that "grave consequences" would arise if they were released.

4. Com. K. SESHAYYA Of Kistna District. Government refuses to release him on the basis of reports of the local police who have got a special grudge against him for the way in which he used to evade them during the days when the Party was illegal.

5. COM. K. PATTABHIRAMAYYA of East Godavary. Escaped from Vellore Jail. The Government refuses to withdraw the detention and other warrants against him on the basis of local police reports about his past activities among agricultural labourers.

Except these five, every other comrade was released. But after August 9, in their general repression they arrested and detained large numbers of our comrades. The worst affected district is West Godavary. Here the local District Magistrate has practically wiped out our Party by arresting 25 of our district and taluk

leaders including the district secretary, all on the fantastic plea that they were all engaged in the furtherance of the Congress movement.

The full list of detentions and comrades now in jail or undertrial is given separately.

### MEETINGS

Generally no public meetings are allowed to be held in any district of Andhra under Rule 56. When we approach the local authorities for permission, they blandly tell us that permission is not necessary, as the meeting is not in furtherance of the Civil Disobedience movement. But when we actually held meetings, in a number of places, they have arrested our comrades. This has meant that no political meeting is held in any of the towns.

The police go to the ridiculous extent of arresting ~~seven~~ of our A.R.P. demonstrators as in Narasaraopet, Guntur District, on the plea that "they are going in a procession." This, in a province which is actually in the threatened zone to-day and when Jap bombs have actually fallen!

In Kistna District, where we are strongest and where there happened least sabotage activity, ~~we~~ generally we are allowed to hold meetings on Trade and Kisan questions.

### ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PARTY PRESS

So far Government have not interfered with it except for a warning when we wrote exposing the police excesses in beating our comrades who were collecting signatures for our Unity Manifesto, in the village of Sreekakulam, Kistna District. Though Prajashakti was warned, the police official concerned was transferred from that place, ~~and~~ degraded not ~~only~~ because of many other earlier misdeeds of his as well. Incidentally this is the type of local police official who ~~submit~~ submits "reports" about our activities to the Government. In this instance, of course, his conduct was taken cognisance of by the higher authorities, but such a case is one in 1000.

Quota for newsprint was refused.

### OUR DEMANDS

1. Release all our detenus, pre-legalisation as well as post-August detenus.
2. Release all our convicted prisoners, especially,
  - a) P. SIVAYYA of Guntur
  - b) D. SURYANARAYANARAJA of West Godavary
  - c) V. ANJANEYALU of Madras Conspiracy Case

(These three are escaped prisoners, re-arrested after the Government cancelled the warrants against them and remitted their old sentences.)

d) G. VENKATRAMRAJU of West Godavary, falsely implicated in Bhimavaram Rioting Case and convicted by the local Special Magistrate, who is also the local Sub-divisional Magistrate. There is no appeal against his judgment. Had there been provision for appeal, we could have proved the innocence of our comrade.

3. Allow us freedom of meetings as the only effective way we can carry on a mass campaign against sabotage and rally the people for national defence.

4. Give newsprint to our Prajashakti and publications, 100 reams Double Crown per month, i.e. a ton per month. Our organ Prajashakti is the only paper in Andhra which effectively carries on propaganda against sabotage and works to rally the people for strengthening national defence. It reaches every village in Andhra and has a circulation of 10,000.

LIST OF DETENUS IN ANDHRA  
-----PRE-LEGALISATION DETENUS

1. M. RAMMOHAN RAO, East Godavary district.  
- Detained from 1941 beginning. Great anti-Fascist song composer. Now in Rajahmundry Central Jail.
2. NAMBURI SREENIVAS RAO, East Godavary district.  
- Detained from 1941 beginning. Great folk-song reciter. Now in Rajahmundry ~~Central~~ Jail.
3. ALLURI SATYANARAYANA, West Godavary district.  
- Detained from June 1940. One of our provincial leaders and very popular in his own district. Now in Damoh Jail, in Central Provinces.
4. K. SESHAYYA of Krishna District.  
- Detained from 1941. Was one of our district leaders. A member of the Party since 1934.

POST-AUGUST DETENUS

5. GARAPATI SATYANARAYANA, Ellore Taluk, West Godavary District.  
- One of our district leaders. Detained in Palamcottah Jail.
6. T. V. CHELAPATHI, Bhimavaram, West Godavary District.  
- One of our district leaders. Detained in Palamcottah or Vellore Jail.
7. AKULA SUBBA RAO of Ellore, West Godavary District.  
- ~~Ellore~~ Vellore and Palamcottah Jails.
8. G. RAMASHASHI of Ellore Taluk, West Godavary District.  
- Vellore Jail
9. P. MRITYANJAYUDU, Achanta, West Godavary District.  
- One of our district leaders. In Vellore Jail.
10. K. SREERAMAMURTHY of Guntur  
- One of our provincial student organisers. In Vellore Central Jail.
11. KOTTAYYA, Guntur District.  
- One of our District student leaders. In Vellore Central Jail.
12. P. HAMASUBBAYYA, Guntur  
- Vellore Central Jail.
13. ALLURI RANGAYYA, Allur, Nellore District.  
- One of our district leaders. Palamcottah Jail.

DETENTION WARRANTS PENDING

14. K. PATTABHIRAMAYYA, East Godavary.  
- One of our district leaders. Very great influence among agricultural labour and kisans. Escaped from detention in 1941. Withdraw all warrants against him. He ~~is~~ would be very useful for doing anti-Fifth Column work.
15. SANKU APPA RAO of West Godavary.  
- All warrants withdrawn against him after the legalisation of the Party. But after August 9 a detention warrant was issued against him. Withdraw it.

COMRADES CONVICTED ON FAKED CHARGES AND WHO ARE IN JAIL NOW

16. G. VENKATRAMRAJU of Yendagandi, Bhimavaram Taluk, West Godavary.  
- ~~He~~ Two years' R.I., 20 stripes and Rs.500 fine. Alleged charge: participation in Bhimavaram rioting.
17. P. V. SIVAYYA, Guntur.  
- On the charge of escaping from jail. Alipuram Jail in 1941, though his detention warrant was cancelled and previous sentences were remitted by the Government.

18. P. PARAMDHAMAYYA, Guntur.  
- Possession of Telugu translation of Com. P. G. Joshi's statement on August 9.
19. V. BAPAYYA, Kurnool District.  
- For possession of pre-legalisation Communist literature.

20. A. RAMULU of Tenali

COMRADES UNDERGOING TRIAL

21. K. PRAKASH RAO, East Godavary
22. D. SATYANARAYANARAJU "
23. P. VENKATARATNAM, Ellore, West Godavary.  
- For alleged possession of a single Congress illegal leaflet.
24. NEKKANTI NARASINHA RAO From West Godavary }  
25. NEKKALAPUDI RAMA RAO " } *Now convicted for 2 years and 20 stripes.*  
26. \* RAMA RAO, Mylavaram, " }  
27. L. JOGA RAO " }  
28. K. L. NARAYAN "

Appeal by the Government in the High Court against their acquittal by the lower court on the charge of possession of prejudicial report in 1941 September.

29. V. ANJANEYULU, Pedamaddali, Krishna District.  
30. D. SURYANARAYANA RAJU, West Godavary District.

After 6 months of open activity, the Government goes back on their own previous communication of withdrawing the warrants against them. It now charges them for escaping from jail in 1941.

31. U. RAMAN, The district secretary of our Party.  
32. BH. L. NARASARAJU, District Kisan Organiser - *Now detained.*  
33. P. PATTABHIRAMAYYA, District Student Organiser  
34. CH. SUBBA RAO

All from West Godavary Party Office on Jan. 20. Charge not known. Kept under remand for 15 days.

35. G. C. KONDAYYA of Nellore  
- For an alleged prejudicial speech.
36. CH. SESHASASTRI ) All from Narasaraopet, Guntur District  
37. T. KRISHNAMURTHY ) Arrested while going in a procession  
38. S. VENKATESHWARLU ) demonstrating A.R.P. measures.  
39. BH. VENKATESHWAR RAO )  
40. POPURI VENKATESHWAR RAO )

41. Twelve more comrades arrested in Guntur District on the Independence Day for alleged taking of demonstrations. 36 were first arrested of whom 24 released says the press report.

WARRANTS PENDING AGAINST

53. MUHAMMAD MEER of Achanta, West Godavary District.  
54. KOTIPALLI APPANNA, Tamuku Taluk, West Godavary - *NOW ARRESTED and Detained*  
55. Anne Venkeshwar Rao, of Ellore, West Godavary  
56. PADALA SUBBA RAO of Palacole, West Godavary.

N.B. This list is not complete as reports from Krishna and has not yet been received.

DETAINED

1. A.P.Vajravelu Chetty of Kuppam  
He is a Party member. Working among the Kolar Gold Field workers. Was arrested and detained in order to make the field clear for P.R.K.Sarma
2. N.Sangameswara Reddi of Ummareddi  
Palli Muddanur, Cuddapah District  
A Party member where we are fighting the influence of Ranga group with pro-struggle tendencies.

AFTER AUGUST 9 CONVICTED

3. G.Lingayya of Elamarru, Krishna Dt.  
Was first detained, and later on detention was cancelled, but he was convicted for publishing a book entitled "Viplava Yugam" containing the lives of Indian terrorists and ~~xxx~~ proving that terrorism is harmful to the movement.
4. P.Madhava Rao of Elamarru  
A party sympathiser and anti-fascist, convicted for possession of Communist literature and of publishing "Viplava Yugam".
5. G.Venkata Reddy of Kurnool  
District Student organiser. Convicted for distributing leaflets of the District Committee of the Communist Party.
6. Y. Venkat Rao of Krishna District.

ARRESTED AND UNDER TRIAL AFTER AUGUST 9

- |                           |   |                    |
|---------------------------|---|--------------------|
| 7. Syed Salar             | } | Party Members      |
| 8. Kasi Somasekhara Chari |   |                    |
| 9. Y.Jagannadhachari      | } | Party sympathisers |
| 10. N.Subayya             |   |                    |

All belong to Vissannapet, Krishna District and are charged on a faked-up charge of burning the Travellers' Bungalow.

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ADDENDUM TO THE MEMO ON RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT  
SUBMITTED BY THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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We learn that the local police from all over Andhra are bringing pressure to bear on the Government to close our Provincial Telugu organ, "Prajashakti." They have taken objection to some of our articles where we pointed to examples of highly irregular and unjustifiable conduct on their part towards our comrades and towards the people. On this score, they want "Prajashakti" to be closed.

In our Memo above, we have drawn the attention of the Government towards the attitude of the local police towards our Party and our comrades. We have given any number of examples where the Police have arrested our comrades and hauled them up before court on entirely false evidence and where the court invariably had to acquit our comrades. We have also pointed out how, after a number of such cases, the police have resorted to a new method, detaining our comrades without trial itself. First they contravened the principles and law and justice; when this did not succeed, they started getting round the law itself and the inconvenient necessity of giving our comrades a chance for defence by detaining them.

Now on the top of it all, for the crime of pointing out such flagrant contraventions of the law, comes the new move from them to ban "Prajashakti."

THE WORK WHICH "PRAJASHAKTI" DOES

What would be the effect of such action?

"Prajashakti" is the one paper that fights sabotage, in this province, the one paper that puts the policy of national defence before the people as the best patriotism. There is one and only one effective way in which misguided patriotism and its slogan of struggle can be countered and that is by genuine patriotism itself. This is what "Prajashakti" does week after week. Whether it be rallying people against anarchy and sabotage or whether it be rallying them for A.R.P. and Civil Defence, whether it be rallying people against food riots or whether it be rallying them for national defence, "Prajashakti" is the one paper that successfully does it in Andhra.

How effective "Prajashakti" has been in its work, to how many people its message against "struggle" and for national defence reaches week after week, can be seen from the following figures. Its weekly circulation is 9,000, a record in the history of Telugu journalism. It has reached this record during the very crisis months themselves, from 3,000 in August it has reached 9,000 in January. Only absolute paper shortage checks its further rise. It reaches no less than 1,600 villages, it has risen to this figure from 900 in August. By May, our plan is to make "Prajashakti" reach no less than 3,000 villages. 2,700 people are regular subscribers for it, nearly 4,500 are regular stable readers. The figures for August are respectively 1,500 and 1,000. 129 Agents sell it all over the province to-day.

There is not a single paper anywhere in India to-day run in any language that opposes the "struggle" and rallies the people for defence and whose reach and circulation has increased to this extent during the post-August months. This shows the effectiveness of the way in which "Prajashakti" puts forward the policy of national defence among the people.

Cut out "Prajashakti" and you are cutting out the one weapon in Andhra which by itself makes the biggest contribution towards strengthening the war-effort and fighting the Fifth Column in Andhra.

THE FIRST WARNING

What are the passages in "Prajashakti" to which the police have taken objection? It is highly instructive to look into these.

The first warning from them to us came against an Editorial which "Prajashakti" wrote in its issue of 14.10.42 under the title "Abuse of Power". There it drew the attention of the Government to certain excesses committed by the local police and asked it to check this abuse of power on the part of the police in the interests of mobilising the people against the Fascist menace.

THE OFFENDING REPORTS

Here are the incidents mentioned in the article.

1. Two Communists of Narasaraopet were kept in custody for 20 days for the mere crime of possessing Comrade Joshi's statement regarding the arrest of the Congress leaders on August 9.

This was a statement which appeared in almost all the nationalist and Anglo-Indian newspapers all over India. The "Times of India" and the "Statesman" too published it. For possessing a copy of it, 2 of our comrades are kept in custody for 20 days by the police - and at the end of it, they themselves find the thing so preposterous that the comrades are quietly left off.

But who will answer for the consequences of the 20 days' unwarranted detention? Nobody will deny that such conduct, if continued unchecked, means reducing law and the orderly processes of justice to a mockery.

2. In Kurnool, two Communists were arrested by the police and convicted by the lower court, on evidence supplied by them, for shouting slogans of "Release the Congress leaders" and "Establish National Government to Fight the Fascists."

The Appellate Court found the evidence so absurd that it acquitted the comrades.

3. In this village of Sreekakulam, Krishna District, when Communist workers were going round collecting signatures to a manifesto to the Governor-General-In-Council for the release of the Congress leaders, villagers who signed this manifesto were beaten by the police. On the top of this beating, they were threatened with prosecution and money was collected from them.

In this case, the Police Inspector who was responsible for this action was degraded to a lower rank and transferred.

Flagrant abuse of authority is recognised and punished, but "Prajashakti" which pointed out this abuse is warned for doing so !

4. A Communist worker in Jonnapadu village was ~~xxx~~ taken to the police station in Gudivada after his house had been searched and was abused and then beaten. He was then let off, there was no charge against him.

Another case, for pointing which out "Prajashakti" has been warned.

For this article, the District Magistrate of Kistna sent us the following warning on 10.12.42, 2 months after the appearance of the article:

"In the issue of "Prajashakti" dated 14.10.42, you published an article under the heading "Abuse of Power by Officials." It contains certain unfounded and frivolous allegations against the police and criticises the policy of the Government under D.O.I.A., which when read by the public are prone to create ill-feelings and disaffection among the public towards the Government established by law. I, therefore, give the preliminary warning to you not to publish such matters hereafter in your paper.

THE SECOND WARNING

In the issue of "Prajashakti" of 18.11.42, we had to point out to still more cases of gross abuse of authority by the police. This time, two and a half months after the article had appeared, the local Circle Inspector called the Editor of the paper on 5th February and demanded of him to produce the originals of these news as sent by the correspondents.

Here are the incidents referred to in these reports.

1. Mere enumeration of the mass arrests and detentions of Communists that are being carried out by the police in West Godavary District. We pointed out in addition the case of the Penugonda Police Sub-Inspector and some constables who had abused and beaten the agricultural labourers of Achanta without the slightest cause or justification. We also referred to the attempted search of Comrade P. Sundarayya by the local Sub-Inspector without producing any search warrant.

In this case, when Comrade Sundarayya (who himself knows the law quite well) pointed out to the Sub-Inspector the irregularity of his action and the

serious consequences that would follow from it, he withdrew.

2. At Venkatgiri, the Police Sub-Inspector was suspended. We had published in a previous issue of "Prajashakti" the news that he had raped and tortured a Harijan woman in the Police Station. The District authorities, after this report appeared ~~xxx~~ in our paper, made enquiries into the matter and suspended the Sub-Inspector. Further inquiries are being made by the authorities about the part ~~played~~ others played in this affair.

3. Reference was made to a Sub Inspector in Guntakkal who when approached by labourers with a request to take action to procure for them grain at cheap rates, abused them and drove them away from his office.

#### INTERVIEW WITH D.S.P.

On 6th February, Comrade Chandrasekhara Rao, Editor of "Prajashakti", was called by the D.S.P. and asked to produce the originals of these news reports. Our Central Party Office gets newsletters from lower Party units and on the basis of these newsletters the Editorial Staff writes up the news columns of the Party organ. We keep these original newsletters only for a reasonable period, during which we expect contradictions, etc. to come. After at the most one month, we naturally destroy them, because they are used up already and we do not want to keep our office stacked with piles of such used material for which we have no use afterwards.

And here, the D.S.P. comes and demands these original reports 2½ months after the article had appeared ! And when Comrade Chandrasekhar Rao explained our practice to him as regards such reports, the D.S.P. threatened to prosecute him for this and told him that he would consider that we have published cock and bull stories! Comrade Chandrasekhar Rao told him that he took responsibility for the reports published in "Prajashakti" and that he was prepared to face prosecution in any court.

According to the D.S.P., the reports in the "Prajashakti" would lower the prestige of the Government officials. Comrade Chandrasekhar Rao told him that these reports were intended to see that such things ~~xxxx~~ do not occur in the future. All that the D.S.P. could say in reply was that he does not view it in that light and that we were blowing hot and cold with the same breath.

The D.S.P. also referred to another newsbit in the "Prajashakti" issue of 18.11.42, wherein some soldiers from Malabar who were in touch with Malabar Communist leaders were reported to have expressed anti-Fascist and anti-Jap views and supported the Communist Party line. This, according to the D.S.P., was intended to show to the people that the soldiers too were against the Government.

In conclusion, the D.S.P. ended by asking our comrade why our paper should not be closed down.

On his way back, Comrade Chandrasekhar Rao met the <sup>SUPERINTENDENT</sup> Deputy Inspector of Police who remarked to him: "We are trying to crush the same Congress movement which you Communists yourselves have been opposing. Why then should you criticise the police?"

A very remarkable statement. Communists are opposed to the present struggle; therefore, it seems, they must not speak up against abuses of power by the police ! The police are given the job of preventing sabotage activities; therefore, they can commit any amount of abuse of their power in the course of discharge of their duty !

On the basis of all the above, the threat of closing down "Prajashakti" has come.

#### WHY WE PUBLISH SUCH REPORTS

What do all the above incidents, referred to by "Prajashakti", boil down to? They all disclose flagrant abuses of power and authority by the police. In some cases, the verdict of the courts themselves has justified this assertion. In other cases, the higher authorities themselves have taken action against police officials after these incidents were reported in "Prajashakti". It is this what is the proof that "Prajashakti" is not publishing "cock and bull stories" as the D.S. P. alleges.



The D.S.P.'s allegations about the newsbit about the Malabar soldiers is very strange, to say the least. To report that freedom-loving soldiers, who fight in the front-line against the Fascists, realise that sabotage means disaster to our nation; to put this call from the soldiers to the people straight in our organ --- according to the D.S.P. is a crime !

Verdicts of the courts as well as actions taken by Government and authorities themselves show that "Prajashakti" does not publish unfounded reports. In view of this, if such unfounded reports appear according to the police, there is the ordinary process of law open to them against us. This was exactly what our Comrade Editor told the D.S.P.

Instead of this simple and straight course, why this threat of closing down our paper?

The Police officials when they found that the courts were dismissing the evidence brought forward by them against our arrested comrades, adopted the clever method of detention. Now they want the same method applied to our paper -- closing it down. In both cases, it is they who are afraid of the law and its normal processes, not we.

WHAT POLICE WARNINGS SHOW

What do these police warnings show? They show that no paper will be allowed to be published, whatever its attitude towards the war be, unless it acquiesces in all cases of violation of law and abuse of power by those who are presumed to be the guardians of this very law. It must keep quiet about the torture of anti-Fascist patriots and the rape of women, even in cases where the Government has taken action against delinquent police officials on the basis of reports that have appeared in it.

The guardians of law and order, strangely enough, cannot tolerate exposure of breaches of the law in their own ranks.

Encouragement of such an attitude means toleration and encouragement of the worst abuses of power and authority. No civilised Government can tolerate such things.

In to-day's situation in this province, such an attitude means sheer disaster. At a time when the closest links between the Government and the people are necessary in order to defend the country from the fascist enemy, to encourage police excesses and to gag the mouth of the only powerful and influential anti-fascist journal in the province, on the ground that it brings these excesses to light is the surest way of widening the gulf between the Government and the people and of driving the latter into the arms of the waiting Fifth Column.

The exposure of the case of the Venkatagiri police Sub-Inspector led to prompt action on the part of the Government. Has "Prajashakti" strengthened the cause of the war effort thus or weakened it? The exposure of the Sreekakulam police excesses led likewise to prompt action on the part of the authorities. Has the cause of the war effort gained or suffered through this exposure? Unwarranted action by the police against anti-Fascist workers, action which was squashed by the courts, whom does such action help except the Fifth Column? If so, a journal which brings such cases to the notice of the Government is doing immense service to the cause of the war-effort.

Acquiescence in this police demand in this province would lead to nothing except mass arrests and detentions of the staunchest anti-Fascists in this province and the driving of desperate and infuriated people en masse into the arms of the Fifth Column and the saboteur.

WHOM DOES CLOSURE OF "PRAJASHAKTI" HELP?

What would closure of "Prajashakti" mean? It would not, of course, make us budge an inch from our patriotic path. The action of the police and the Government can no more make us modify our policy than the slanders and the threats of our own fellow-patriots. But it would only mean closing down of the one powerful and influential paper that fights sabotage, incendiarism and hold-up of production and puts forward national defence as the best patriotism before our people. It will be rendering the biggest single act of service to the pro-struggle and the Fifth Columnist elements in this province.

SINCE AUGUST 9 SUBMITTED BY THE ANDHRA PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE

MAIN FEATURES OF OUR PARTY IN ANDHRA

IN ANDHRA, THROUGH OUR WORK FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, WE HAVE WON OVER THE VAST MAJORITY OF ACTIVE CONGRESS RANKS INTO OUR PARTY. IN MOST OF THE RURAL AREAS, THE ACTIVE VILLAGE YOUTH, WHICH IS THE MAIN CADRE OF THE CONGRESS, ARE TO-DAY INSIDE OUR PARTY.

The Congress leadership of the Province themselves know this. In fact before the Bombay A.I.C.C. session (which gave the threat of a movement), when there was a discussion inside the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee on the question of this movement, some of the leading Provincial Congress leaders themselves expressed serious doubts as to whether any movement would at all succeed in Andhra against the opposition of the Communist Party. The Provincial Congress leaders, even before their arrests, knew that we were opposed to "struggle".

The Forward Blocists and the Fifth Columnists in Andhra too know the tremendous strength of the Party among the active Congress cadre. THEY HAVE TRIED EVERY DEVICE INCLUDING CREATION OF RIVAL STUDENT AND PEASANT ORGANISATIONS, SLANDER, PERSONAL ASSAULT, ETC., TO INTIMIDATE US AND TO DISCREDIT US IN THE EYES OF THE CONGRESS RANKS AS GOVERNMENT AGENTS.

FOR THE ABOVE REASON, AFTER AUGUST 9, FOR THE FIRST TIME, ALL THE OTHER GROUPS (PRO-STRUGGLE PATRIOTIC CONGRESSMEN, DISGRUNTLED KISAN SABHA LEADERS WHO WERE AFRAID OF OUR RISING INFLUENCE AMONG THE PEASANT MASSES, A GROUP OF RENEGADE COMMUNISTS EXPELLED FROM THE PARTY, FORWARD BLOCISTS, AND FIFTH COLUMNIST ADVENTURERS) UNITED AGAINST THE PARTY.

THE PARTY IS STRONGEST IN THE POLITICALLY MOST ADVANCED DISTRICTS LIKE KRISHNA AND GUNTUR. IT IS IN THESE DISTRICTS THAT OUR INTERVENTION AFTER AUGUST 9 WAS MOST EFFECTIVE.

THE MAIN STRENGTH OF THE PARTY, AS MENTIONED ABOVE, IS IN THE RURAL AREAS AMONG THE VILLAGE YOUTH. When the crisis overtook our country, we operated mainly from the villages. Action in the rural areas to prevent sabotage does not look dramatic, but once sabotage spreads in the villages the entire Province can go up in smoke. ONE HAS ONLY TO COMPARE ANDHRA WITH BEHAR AND EASTERN U.P. TO GET AN IDEA OF WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN THIS PROVINCE ALSO BUT FOR THE SUCCESSFUL AND EFFECTIVE INTERVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY ON THE BASIS OF ITS STRENGTH IN THE RURAL AREAS. It was our Party alone, on the basis of its strength in the rural areas, which saved Andhra from being another Behar, or Eastern U.P. (in both of which places our Party was comparatively far weaker in the villages).

IN THE FEW TOWNS IN ANDHRA, LIKE COCANADA, BEZWADA, AND VIZAGAPATAM, WHERE SABOTAGE MIGHT HAVE GOT A FOOTHOLD, WE WERE ABLE TO INTERVENE VERY EFFECTIVELY BECAUSE THESE WERE THE TOWNS WHERE OUR PARTY IS STRONGEST.

WE WON BACK THE MASSES OF THE STUDENTS IN ANDHRA AWAY FROM ~~XXX~~ SABOTAGE AND STRIKES AFTER THE FIRST FEW DAYS OF HECTIC FRENZY. ONLY A FEW YOUNGER ONES ARE STILL STUCK TO THEIR LINE AND THESE TOO ARE BEING RALLIED NOW.

In the early days of the movement, burning of railway stations, and tearing off of railway tracks, etc., were the main forms of sabotage. IT IS OUR WORK ALONE WHICH MINIMISED THIS AND SAVED SERIOUS SABOTAGE OF TRANSPORT IN ANDHRA. ONCE AGAIN ONE HAS ONLY TO LOOK AT BEHAR TO SEE WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN BUT FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY. BESIDES THIS, THROUGH OUR HOLD IN CERTAIN KEY CENTRES OF RAILWAY UNIONS (LIKE GUNTAKAL AND BEZWADA), WE WERE ABLE TO PREVENT SABOTEURS FROM GETTING AMONG THE RAILWAY WORKERS AND SPREADING DEMORALISATION AND MISCHIEF AMONG THEM.

OUR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

As soon as the Congress Resolution threatening "struggle" came out, our Provincial organ "Prajaskathi" came out with articles explaining how disastrous is any movement against national defence. All Party members were called upon to agitate

among the people and among the Congress ranks against such a course. We made our policy clear - that our job was to throw in our all into convincing our fellow-patriots and weaning them away from sabotage and that repression directed against the Congress far from achieving this aim, would only turn anti-British feeling into pro-Jap channels and throw decent patriotic Congressmen right into the arms of the Fifth Columnist. There was, therefore, no question of our supporting Government measures of repression as such measures and our support to them would mean the Congress masses going away from us and towards the Fifth Columnist.

Everywhere, after August 9, Party members were right in the midst of the infuriated masses of people arguing with them and holding them back from sabotage.

WE COULD DEFINITELY SAY THAT BUT FOR OUR INTERVENTION THE 3 POLITICALLY MOST ADVANCED DISTRICTS OF KRISHNA, WEST GODAVARY, AND GUNTUR, WOULD HAVE GONE THE BEHAR AND EASTERN U.P. WAY. It is in these districts that our strength among the Congress workers is greatest and therefore sabotage could get least foothold. EVEN AMONG THESE 3 DISTRICTS, KRISHNA IS THE DISTRICT WHERE THE LEAST AMOUNT OF SABOTAGE OCCURRED, AND THAT TOO DONE AT NIGHT BY A FEW STEALTHY GANGS. THIS IS BECAUSE KRISHNA TOO IS THE DISTRICT WHERE WE ARE STRONGEST IN THE WHOLE OF ANDHRA.

No clearer proof is needed for our contention that it is due to the intervention of the Communist Party alone that sabotage was checked in Andhra.

EVERYWHERE THE POLICE CONCENTRATED THEIR FIRE ON US. OUR AGITATORS WHILE IN THE VERY ACT OF PACIFYING AND CONTROLLING ANGRY CROWDS, WERE ARRESTED BY THE POLICE, (THIS REACHED SCANDALOUS PROPORTIONS IN GUNTUR DISTRICT) AND CHARGED WITH HAVING "PARTICIPATED IN THE STRUGGLE!". ALMOST ALL SUCH CASES WERE ACQUITTED BY THE APPELLATE COURTS - WHICH SHOWS ON WHAT FLAGRANTLY UNJUSTIFIABLE GROUNDS THE POLICE USED TO LAY HANDS ON OUR PARTY MEMBERS.

#### METHODS WE USED

1. First and foremost comes our Provincial Organ, "Prajasakthi". Week after week, it came out sharply condemning sabotage activities. It exposed the nefarious activities of the Forward Bloc, who got control of the Congress Committees in Andhra after the first wave of arrests which included all responsible Congress leaders. It advocated and popularised various concrete measures of strengthening the war-effort, such as:

- a) "Grow More Food" Campaign
- b) Amicable settlement between the peasants and the aerodrome construction authorities, making the peasants understand how the construction of aerodromes is essential if their fields have to be saved from the Jap fascists.
- c) A.R.P. and Civil Defence

THE STEADY GROWTH IN THE CIRCULATION OF "PRAJASAKTHI" FROM 3,000 AT THE BEGINNING OF AUGUST TO 10,000 TO-DAY SHOWS THE INCREASING SUPPORT WHICH OUR CAMPAIGN AGAINST SABOTAGE AND FOR NATIONAL DEFENCE HAS BEEN WINNING FROM THE PEOPLE.

2. We conducted an extensive signature campaign during October and November WHEN WE COLLECTED MORE THAN 1 LAKH OF SIGNATURES GOING FROM HOUSE TO HOUSE. Every such signature meant arguing for hours with an individual and convincing him that not sabotage but national unity and strengthening of national defence will bring us freedom.

3. FROM AUGUST 9 ONWARDS PRACTICALLY NO PUBLIC MEETINGS WERE ALLOWED IN ANY OF THE DISTRICTS OF ANDHRA. THAT CUT OUT THE EASIEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF APPROACHING THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE. The local officials very blandly tell us that no permission is needed for meetings which do not further Congress movement, but in actual practice when we hold meetings they are ~~fx~~ forcibly dispersed by the police or our speakers are arrested and chargesheeted. It became a convenient method for the police to haul us into jails.

In villages where there were no police to lathi-charge the meetings we did hold them and kept the people from joining the struggle.

We held innumerable group meetings in private houses and explained our policy of strengthening war-efforts, of achieving National Unity and National Government for National Defence. This is the next best <sup>way of</sup> approach to people we had, apart from mass meetings. They meant that at a time we could meet no more than 15 people or so at the most. IN CHITTOOR DISTRICT ALONE, WHICH IS, HOWEVER, ONE OF OUR WEAKEST DISTRICTS, WE HELD NO LESS THAN 300 SUCH GROUP MEETINGS ATTENDED BY 3000 PEOPLE IN ALL.

#### 4. PAMPHLETS, FOLK-SONGS, AND DRAMAS

We have brought out a booklet of anti-Fascist songs (2000 copies), another booklet containing 4 anti-Fascist dramas (1000 copies) and still another anti-Fascist folk-song "Chinese guerillas' struggle against the Japs". (1000 copies). All of these have been sold out.

THE SONG CALLED "PEOPLE'S WAR", ~~WAS~~ WRITTEN BY COMRADE K. SATYANARAYANA, ONE OF THE EDITORS OF "PRAJASAKTHI", WAS EVEN RECITED FROM THE ALL-INDIA RADIO. WE LEARNT THAT SOME MORE SONGS WRITTEN BY US WERE ALSO RECITED FROM THE ALL-INDIA RADIO.

The most effective way in which we roused vast masses of the people in a number of villages to anti-Fascist consciousness was through our folk-songs (known as Burra-kathas), through our dramas and through other popular forms of folk art. The people would listen spell-bound to our anti-Fascist recitals for hours on end. HUNDREDS OF PEOPLE USED TO FLOCK TO HEAR US IN VILLAGES AND THOUSANDS IN TOWNS. Such forms of popular folk-lore are rooted in the soil of Andhra and our use of them enabled us to spread anti-Fascist consciousness far and wide in the Province.

OUR SONGS AND RECITALS WERE GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE ALL-INDIA RADIO TO BROADCAST, BUT THE WRITERS OF THESE ARE NOT ANTI-FASCIST ENOUGH FOR THE POLICE AND THE GOVERNMENT. ONE OF OUR BEST FOLK-SONGSTERS LIKE COMRADE NAMBURI SRINIVAS RAO ~~XXXXX~~ AND ONE OF OUR BEST ANTI-FASCIST COMPOSERS, M. RAM MOHAN RAO, (BOTH FROM EAST GODAVARI DISTRICT), WERE DETAINED IN 1940 AND ARE STILL IN DETENTION. RECENTLY, THE LOCAL POLICE ARRESTED ONE OF OUR BEST FOLK-SONGSTERS, COMRADE MYLAVARAPURAMA RAO, OF WEST GODAVARY DISTRICT, ON A FAKED CHARGE AND HIS TRIAL IS GOING ON. THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE OF GUNTUR HAS GONE ONE BETTER. HE HAS BANNED THESE RECITALS ALTOGETHER. IN WHICH COUNTRY FIGHTING THE FASCISTS ARE ANTI-FASCIST RECITALS BANNED?

#### OUR PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES

##### VIZAGAPATAM DISTRICT

Chittivalasa is a jute workers' centre. The Congress M.L.A. who organised the Union wanted to bring about a strike. We were able to make him give up the idea because of our strength. No strike was possible against our opposition.

##### EAST GODAVARY DISTRICT

This is a big students' centre. Here we were able to stop indefinite strikes of students in almost all the schools and colleges.

##### WEST GODAVARY DISTRICT

1. In Ellore, some misguided patriots tried to get the labourers to pull up the Railway lines and indulge in other sabotage activities. We were able to prevent it by getting at the labourers and convincing them.

2. In a number of villages where lootings were threatened by agricultural labour, we were able to hold them back and bring unity between the peasants and the agricultural labourers. Through our influence, peasants were induced to give them grain free or as loans.

OUR STRENGTH AMONG AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS IN THIS DISTRICT ALONE WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR PREVENTING SUCH LOOTINGS ALL OVER THE PLACE. IF THE POVERTY-STRICKEN LABOURERS HAD TAKEN TO MASS LOOTINGS AGAINST THE PEASANTS, THE SITUATION WOULD HAVE BECOME DISASTROUS.

3. While rioting was going on in Bhimavaram, one of our comrades P.Somaraju of Yendagandi who happened to be there got up on a parapet wall and addressed the crowd asking them to stop sabotage. HE WAS PULLED DOWN BY PERSONS IN THE AUDIENCE AND BEATEN. YET THE POLICE ARRESTED HIS OWN LEADER, COM. G. VENKATRAM RAJU, IN HIS VILLAGE, FAKED UP A CHARGE AGAINST HIM, AND GOT HIM SENTENCED ~~XXX~~ TO 20 STRIPES AND 2 YEARS' R.I.

4. In Palacole, when the crowd was about to loot the shops our comrades snatched away the iron crowbars from the peoples' hands and prevented the looting.

5. Though students at first joined the demonstrations and went in for indefinite strikes, we were able to convince them and bring them back to the institutions.

YET, IT IS IN THIS DISTRICT, EVEN WHILE THIS WORK OF OURS WAS GOING ON, THAT THE POLICE HAVE CAUGHT 25 OF OUR DISTRICT AND TALUKA LEADERS ON THE PLEA THAT THEY HAVE CONNECTIONS WITH THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT. SOME OF THESE HAVE BEEN DETAINED WHILE WARRANTS HAVE BEEN ISSUED AGAINST OTHERS.

#### KRISHNA DISTRICT

It is here that our Party is strongest. THIS IS ALSO THE HOME DISTRICT OF THE FORWARD BLOC LEADERS. Yet, we have been able in this District to hold the people back from a considerable extent of sabotage activity. KRISHNA IS THE DISTRICT WHERE THE STRUGGLE WAS ABLE TO GET LEAST FOOTHOLD.

#### GUNTUR DISTRICT

1. In Guntur itself, a big college students' centre, we kept the students under control until the police entered a school compound and beat the students. This infuriated the student masses so much that it led to a mass demonstration and firing. As the only way of preventing further deterioration of the situation, we got the colleges closed for a week.

2. Com. K. Balaram Krishnayya, one of our comrades, prevented a big crowd of people from burning the Railway station at Daggirala and he returned home only when the crowd had actually dispersed. The saboteurs, however, led the crowd on to the station again in his absence, and they burnt down the Railway station.

3. At Repalle, we alone prevented the Railway station from being burnt and Railway lines from being removed. Despite this, our Comrade P. Lakshminarayan was arrested by the police and chargesheeted, but the Appellate Court acquitted him with the remark that it was he and his associates who had actually prevented sabotage activities.

4. At Tenali, on August 11 and 12, when the crowds were in a frenzy, our comrades worked their hardest to hold back the crowd from ~~burning~~ burning the Railway station and from other sabotage activities. Their work in arranging treatment for the wounded and boarding and lodging for the stranded passengers prevented the saboteurs from extending their activities to wider fields.

YET ONCE AGAIN THE POLICE CAME IN AND ARRESTED HALF-A-DOZEN OF OUR COMRADES, AND CHARGESHEETED THEM. ONCE AGAIN THE COURT SQUASHED THE CASES AND ACQUITTED OUR COMRADES.

#### NELLORE DISTRICT

1. At Naidupet, we were able to prevent the destruction of the Railway Bridge over the River Swarna Mukhi.

2. We checked a plan worked out by the saboteurs for looting in Nellore from being carried out in the town.

3. We alone prevented lootings in Venkatagiri.

#### CHITTOOR DISTRICT

1. In T.Sadum, we prevented the villagers from coming into clash with the Police on the day of the arrest of the local Kisan leader.

2. We have been able to convince some youths and stop them from cutting telegraph wires in Muttukur Firka

3. In Punganur, the Co-operative Bank was singled out for burning. We foiled it.

4. At Madanapalle, plans to burn the Post Office and the College Laboratory were hatched. We convinced the would-be saboteurs and made them drop the plan.

We stopped a threatened clash between the police and the people on August 17th

5. At Pudi, we stopped some youths from trying to tear up the Railway lines and got the group disbanded.

6. At Tirupati, a group was planning murders of police officials. Through our work we got the group disbanded.

#### CUDDAPAH DISTRICT

At one place, when a group of youths were planning to remove the Railway track, we convinced them that it was wrong and made them give up the idea.

#### ANANTAPUR DISTRICT

This is a big college students' centre.

1. WE GOT IN TOUCH WITH THE CONGRESS LEADER WHO WAS SUPPOSED TO BE IN CHARGE OF THE MOVEMENT, HERE, AND CONVINCED HIM OF THE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES OF SABOTAGE ACTIVITIES. THIS WORK OF OURS PLAYED A GREAT PART IN SCOTCHING SABOTAGE ACTIVITY.

2. At Anantapur, a big College centre, we brought the students away from indefinite strikes into the institutions.

3. DESPITE THE FACT THAT OUR STUDENT COMRADES ALONE WERE HOLDING THE MASSES OF THE STUDENTS FROM SABOTAGE AND INCENDIARISM, THE POLICE ARRESTED 9 OF OUR STUDENT AND OTHER COMRADES ON THE FANTASTIC CHARGE OF BURNING DOWN THE COLLEGE LABORATORY. ONCE AGAIN, THE POLICE CHARGE WAS SO PREPOSTEROUS THAT THE TRIAL COURT HAD TO DISMISS THE WHOLE CASE AND ACQUIT OUR COMRADES.

#### KURNOOL DISTRICT

1. We prevented indefinite strikes among the students at Kurnool and Nandyala.

2. In Cumbham, Kurnool, and Nandi Kotkur Taluks, we were able to win over certain Congressmen who were planning sabotage activities and make them give up these plans altogether.

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MEMO ON OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES SINCE  
AUGUST 9 IN BEHAR SUBMITTED BY THE BEHAR PROVINCIAL  
COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA.

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GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PARTY

This is a province where the Congress has got tremendous strength and influence throughout the rural areas. In no other province in India did the crisis following August 9 bring a bigger mass upsurge than in Behar. All the responsible Congress leaders were arrested in the days immediately following. ~~August 9~~ This left the field clean to the Forward Bloc and the Congress Socialist Party who combined together and concentrated on Behar, because there they had the most fertile soil to work upon, the huge patriotic base created by the Congress in the countryside and besides it is a province of key strategic importance from the point of view of transport and war industries.

Our Party here consists of comparatively young student and Kisan cadres. Majority of the important and experienced Party leaders and also the most influential mass leaders, have not been released by the Government till to-day. They are all still kept under detention under the absurd plea that they are not Communists. Those who were released after legalisation were mostly raw and young Party Members. The Party is legal but its most experienced and influential leaders are still kept as detenus.

The main limbs of the Party in our province have thus been cut off and we are left to work with comparatively young and inexperienced cadre in an extremely difficult situation.

And on top of this, ~~to~~ <sup>are</sup> nearly 40 of our active workers, Party Members and militants, thrown into jail after August 9 itself on the absurd charge that they are connected with sabotage activities! This is the measure of the facilities we've got to take our policy of combatting sabotage and the Fifth Column to the people.

The policy of mass collective fines and police excesses adds fuel to fire. It only resulted in mass demoralisation and sullen anger ~~throughout~~ throughout the entire countryside. This was the exact soil the Fifth Column wanted to work upon. The only way Behar could be saved was to give full facilities to a real Party of the people to work among them to combat sabotage and rally them to the cause of national defence, to stand between the people and the Fifth Column.

WHAT WE HAVE ACHIEVED

Against such odds we had to work in the province. The student masses got caught up in the mass frenzy in the earlier months, but we have since then won back most of the active student workers and brought the student masses almost everywhere back into the institutions and away from sabotage.

Among the kisans, we are making rapid headway. Most of the active Kisan workers who left us for struggle during the earlier days have been won back. In the districts of Monghyr and Chapra, where the local authorities allowed us some facilities, we have been able to do very effective work in stopping sabotage and incendiarism.

despite

Among the working class, the severest restrictions on our work, we were able to hold the working class at Giridih, Jharia and Jamalpore where we have comrades working. We were able to keep coal production going under very difficult conditions when the management were denying to the workers even minimum dearness allowance and the discontent of the workers was being frantically worked upon by pro-struggle elements.

What would have happened in these working-class centres but for the Communist Party can be seen clearly from the example of Jamshedpur. Here during the earlier period of the war, every single Communist was tracked down and externed from Jamshedpur. 35 Communists in all were externed. Not one of the externment orders was cancelled even after the Party was legalised. What happened at Jamshedpur after August 9? The short-sighted policy of the Government meant that not a single Communist was left there to combat the pro-struggle elements and to rally the workers of this key war industry to continue production. Production in Jamshedpur was blown up for nearly 2 months.

The difference between Jamshedpur on the one hand and Jamalpur, Giridih and Jharia on the other, was solely due to the work of our Party.

### RECORD OF OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES

From the 9th August, the Communists have carried on an incessant campaign against the civil disobedience movement and tried to take the people on to the path of national unity for national defence and National Government. We carried on incessant group meetings among the students, kisans and workers wherever we had a comrade working, we spoke in mass meetings whenever we got an opportunity to save our people from rushing to mob violence. We were hissed at as Government agents on the one hand and impeded in our patriotic work by the bureaucracy on the other hand. In spite of that we have carried on our patriotic propaganda work by every method possible and are at the job.

Here are the facts:

SONEPUR: Just after 9th August, a mob of infuriated kisans rushed to the Sonepur Railway Station to burn it down. Our comrades were all along with the people among whom they have worked and constantly argued and argued with them till the very end. But the mob fury was at such a high pitch that we could not prevent them from burning down the station and looting the godowns. But the masses of Kisans from the Sonepur village itself did not participate in the station burning. Our comrades toured about a dozen villages and prevented mob violence in three or four villages more. We distributed a large number of copies of the "Open Letter" of the Communist Party to the Congress Working Committee (where the Party appealed to the Congress leaders that any movement against the defences of the country would bring not freedom but Jap Fascism) among the Kisans during these days and a large number of Kisans said that we were right.

CHAPRA: In Chapra our comrades incessantly argued with the students during the storm-tossed days of August to prevent them from falling a prey to strikes and sabotage. They addressed a mass meeting of the students stressing the same point. They carried ~~xxx~~ on the same campaign among the people of Chapra too. That is one of the reasons why much mob violence did not take place in Chapra.

SIWAN: The most outstanding feature of our campaign in this area was the saving of the bridge of Andra. A large crowd had gathered to destroy the bridge of Andra. One of our student comrades went there and addressed the people. He vehemently argued that the destruction of the bridge would prevent the people of the village from going to the market town. He won over most of the people who had gathered there. The pro-struggle elements who had gathered the crowd finding themselves in a nasty hole managed to get our comrade ~~x~~ away and locked him in up in a house for four days. The bridge was damaged a bit no doubt but not by the mass of the Kisans, but by only a few people.

MONGHYR: A mass meeting of the students was held on the 10th August. A resolution was ~~xxx~~ unanimously passed against the call of permanent strike and urging national unity as the only way to get the Congress leaders released. After three days, however, when ~~xxx~~ stories of police violence reached from outside, the students got out of control and went on strike. It is to a great extent due to our campaign that much hooliganism did not take place in Monghyr town.

#### AMONG THE WORKERS

JHARIA: After 9th August a mass meeting of 10,000 workers was organised in Kirkend by some Congressmen to incite the workers to go on strike. Two of our comrades went to the meeting, addressed the workers and explained that a strike would be against the interests of the workers and the country at the present moment. The strike did not take place. During the same period a group of workers who were going to cut wires were brought to the Union Office and it was explained to them that cutting wires would go against the interests of the country and they gave up all ~~the~~ idea of sabotage.

In the village of Jagdish, near about Jharia our comrades through incessant explanatory campaign prevented the mass of the kisans of the village from taking part in sabotage activities.



GIRIDIH: Some Fifth-Column elements tried to incite the Giridih Coal workers to strike. But through our incessant group meetings and busti meetings, strike was averted.

Apart from Giridih, Jharia and Jamalpore, where our comrades work, strikes took place almost in every other factory in Behar (Dehri, Gaya and Jamshedpur) after the 9th August.

During the latter half of August and the whole of September, the picture in Behar was one of wholesale arrests and imposition of mass collective fines. It was difficult for Communists to get a hearing, they were everywhere railed at as traitors and Government agents.

From October all our cadres began an incessant explanatory campaign on the basis of the experience of the struggle itself - how it hits our own people, how our economic and political life is being ruined and how such activities would only result in ~~an~~ easy victory for the Japs over our people. In October, 10 kisan meetings were addressed by us (total attendance 11,000) in Western Monghyr. 5 meetings of kisan women (total attendance 400). The kisans heard our line against sabotage and for unity and defence with rapt attention and discussed with us for hours regarding our policy and how it would help them to turn the tide of growing starvation and anarchy. In and between the meetings over Rs.100 were collected for the Party Fund. That indeed was a measure of their response to the call of Party against sabotage and for defence and unity.

November: we started the month of November with the Unity Week. Handwritten posters, handbills (about 12,000 in all were distributed all over the province), closed-door meetings (over 200 all over the province among workers, kisans, students and citizens) and street-corner meetings in Monghyr and Chapra where permission for squads was obtained, mass signature campaign in the villages and towns (nearly 12,000 signatures obtained during the Unity Week) - that is how we carried on the intensive campaign against sabotage and incendiarism. A large number of pro-struggle elements were won over and quite a number of them are now working hard with us against sabotage. A large number of Congressmen, who were feeling helpless and demoralised due to the disintegration of the "struggle" now support us and have turned their face against sabotage.

During the Unity Week a mass meeting was held in Monghyr Town (attendance 1,000) and another mass meeting was held in Chapra (attendance 300).

Apart from these, 8 Kisan Sabha meetings were addressed by our comrades in Monghyr and Gaya districts (attendance 5,500).

Two Trade Union meetings were held in Jamalpore (attendance 7,000).

The success of our campaign against sabotage is shown by the fact that the sale of People's War increased from 500 before 9th August to 1,100 by the end of November.

From the end of November we have taken up the campaign for food and <sup>are</sup> preventing the fifth column from utilising the starvation of the people for further disruption by inciting food riots.

It is through our incessant patriotic campaign that recently Congress leaflets have been forced at last to come out against the agents of Japan and many honest Congressmen have come to condemn sabotage activities.

Thus we are the only force in the province fighting against the forces of anarchy, sabotage and the Fifth Column.

#### ON THE PRODUCTION FRONT

We have described ~~how~~ above how we averted ~~the~~ strikes in Giridih, Jamalpore and Jharia immediately after the 9th August. Since then we have been trying our maximum to rally the workers against strikes and stoppage of production. Our most important achievement, however, is our recent activity in preventing stoppage in Giridih. About 150 trolley men (90% of whom are Muslims) struck work a few days ago because they were not getting Dearness Allowance. They had taken oath Qoran in hand that they would not go to work unless dearness allowance is given to them before Muharrem. Our comrades rushed there and convinced the workers that ~~through~~ through such hasty actions they could not secure dearness allowance. They were

only weakening the nation's defences and making the path easier for the Jap Fascists. We had to argue long and hard with them since they had taken a vow with the Quoran in hand.

But in the end the Muslim workers saw the point and agreed to go back to work. The Union represented their case before the Sub-Divisional Officer who said that it is the contractors who create all sorts of mischief and he would see to it that the Dearness Allowance (already granted by the Railway Board) is given to the trolleyman before Mohurrum.

But in order to strengthen the Unions, to prevent the Fifth Columnists from making every issue (which constantly crops up due to the failure of the Government and the Millowners to satisfy the most elementary demands of the workers) into an issue for stoppage of work, it is necessary to have the right of meeting. Otherwise the vast mass of workers cannot be organised and made politically conscious of their great responsibility for keeping up production.

STUDENTS: After the reopening of the schools and colleges in November pro-struggle elements tried everywhere to bring out the students on strike. But our comrades incessantly argued with the students about the futility of indefinite strikes. Due to our intensive work, everywhere where strikes were attempted, they fizzled out (Moghr, R.M.R. Seminary in Patna), because the general students did not picket. Then came the provocative action of the authorities in imposing the School-Protection fees of Rs.1/- per month. This set the students aflame once again. Through our united agitation, we got the protection fee reduced to 4 annas and did not allow the pro-struggle elements to make it an issue for further incendiarism.

Recently a school was burnt down by some Fifth Columnist elements in the night. We arranged a mass meeting in LAKHISARAI which the students and the people of Lakhisarai attended, including a number of prominent Congressmen. In this meeting, we openly came out against acts of sabotage and incendiarism and condemned them as acts against the people and the students. This is a measure of the advance we have made in our anti-sabotage campaign work. Three months ago, we used to be railed at and hooted down; to-day we sit out openly against sabotage in mass meetings wherever we are allowed and people listen to us and are convinced by us. No other party would have the courage to do this in Behar to-day.

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MEMO ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT SUBMITTED  
BY THE BEHAR PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF INDIA

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The Central Government legalised our Party after 8 years on the strength of its policy. It was a recognition of the new situation today when measures directed against the activities of a Party which actively supports the war and stands for national defence are unjustifiable.

The vast majority of our Party cadre had been arrested and thrown into jail during the earlier period of the war. When the Party was legalised, we had a right to expect that at least the best part of this cadre would be released, for without this the policy of the Party remains on paper; it cannot effectively carry it out among the people.

#### STRANGE RELEASE POLICY OF GOVERNMENT

But the releases we got were most disappointing. The leading and most experienced Party leaders, those with the greatest influence among the people, were all kept behind. Those who were released, except two, were few, young and inexperienced comrades. This reduces legalisation of the Party to a fiction. To legalise the Party on the one hand; to keep in detention exactly all those who are in a position to carry its policy most effectively to the people on the other; how can these two be reconciled?

#### CHANGED ATTITUDE AFTER AUGUST 9.

Behar is one of the few provinces which the crisis hit most sharply. The entire countryside literally went up in smoke. The Government in this atmosphere seems to have got panicky and come to the conclusion that no Party or group except itself should be allowed to work. The Chief Secretary to the Government who had prior to August 9 given sympathetic hearing to our representatives regarding Communist prisoners changed his mind after the events of August 9. He told us that "normal conditions do not exist any more and that the Government is too much occupied with the present disturbances to be able to give consideration to our representations."

Such a stand is inexplicable. We demand releases precisely in order to be able to combat sabotage activities more effectively. It is precisely in this province where Congress influence in the countryside is most, where the upheaval after August 9 was most violent and where the Fifth Column (Forward Bloc and Congress Socialist Party) was most active in using the Congress name and influence for its own foul ends that the need is utmost for a Party to work among the people against sabotage on the basis of patriotic propaganda. To cut out the Communist Party is to leave in the field only the Government and the Fifth Column to operate among the people. The Government bases its activities on ~~the~~ punishment and fear; the Fifth Column bases its on the patriotic sentiments of the people and on the Congress influence. It must be obvious to anybody which of these will succeed among the people.

The disastrous logic of this policy was clearly seen in the case of Jamshedpur. Every Communist worker to the last man (nearly 35 of them in all) was tracked down and externed during the period of illegality of the Party. After legality, not a single externment order was withdrawn. The result can be examined now. PRODUCTION AT JAMSHEDPUR CAME TO A STANDSTILL FOR NEARLY 2 MONTHS. What this means in terms of India's war-effort is known to the Government. Contrast Jamshedpur with Jharia, Jamalpore and Giridih where the Communist Party did operate and was able to keep production going under the most difficult circumstances.

Who gained by the Jamshedpur externments? Not the Government, but the Fascist enemy abroad. Who lost by the Communists' activity at Giridih, Jamalpore and Jharia? ~~the Government~~ but the Fascist enemy abroad.

#### THE LOCAL POLICE & THE C.I.D.

The practical carrying out of this policy is left by the Government entirely to the C.I.D. and the local police. It bases its policy ~~entire~~ on the basis of the reports of the C.I.D. ~~and~~ and the local Police. The C.I.D. reports about our Party leaders still kept in detention go that they are terrorists and cannot be trusted!

This argument has no meaning at all. It is quite true that these leaders are ex-terrorists. But everyone of them has completely left off terrorism. The

majority of them have been with the Party for the last 4 or 5 years. Some of them were members of the Provincial Committee of our Party prior to their detention. Any number of our Party leaders in Bengal and Behar are those who have a terrorist past. A big part of the terrorist group came over wholesale to the Party during the years 1933-1936 as a result of their utter disillusionment with the ideology of terrorism. The Bengal Government has released any number of such leading Communists (who are ex-terrorists) and as legal and ~~are~~ devoted members of the Communist Party they are playing a very effective role in strengthening the war-effort in Bengal.

The local police and the C.I.D., seeing the entire countryside go up in flames, have ~~knat~~ lost their heads and have arrested everybody willy-nilly. They have thrown into jail nearly 40 of our Party Members and militants on the preposterous charge that they are assisting sabotage activities. In the case of Comrade Karyanand Sharma, the well-known Communist leader of the Kisans, even the police could not uphold this charge, he was so well-known and so he had to be released. But what about the other comrades?

The police tear off our posters and handbills, warn people not to read them and not to attend our meetings, threaten our militants with dire consequences if they work with the Communists. They thus make no distinction between sabotage activity and anti-sabotage activity. No "politics" to be allowed anywhere, whether it is sabotage "politics" or anti-sabotage "politics", this is their policy.

It is on the reports of such officials that the Provincial Government bases its policy towards us. The result is that it corresponds very little to the declared change in the policy of the Central Government towards the Communist Party.

What this means in terms of the situation in Behar can be seen by contrasting Monghyr with other districts. In Monghyr where the local authorities allowed us comparatively some facilities for work and where one of our leaders Karyanand Sharma, with mass influence among the people of the district, could move about and work, sabotage activity has been checked to a considerable extent.

#### GENERAL ATTITUDE OF GOVERNMENT

Before August 9 the attitude of the Government was to allow us to work legally. Though they did not release most of the Party leaders, they always promised to do so soon.

Since August 9, there has been a complete change in the Government attitude towards us. All sorts of obstacles have been put in our way; permission to hold meetings, even to take out anti-Fascist propaganda squads, have been refused; Communists have been picked up one by one and arrested wherever the police could lay hands on them. The police goes on tearing our posters, warning the people not to read ~~nan~~ our handbills etc. The Government tells us when we make representations that the responsibility is not theirs and that they are not in the know of the facts.

Responsible officers have pointblank declared that they do not want the co-operation of the Indian people for defending India. This view does not correspond ~~to~~ in the least to publicly-expressed declarations of well-known military commanders and to the changed policy of the Central Government towards our Party. Lt. Gen. Sir Noel Beresford Peirse, G.O.C.-in-Chief, Southern Army recently declared that the Army should be "of the people and for the people," and that "harmony between the civil population and the army was essential to win this war." General Wavell too has expressed similar sentiments. ~~It~~ The Central Government's action in legalising our Party too corresponds to such a new situation.

How can the practical carrying out of this changed policy towards the Communist Party be left in the hands of officers who make statements like the above?

#### INTERVIEWS WITH CHIEF SECRETARY

In our interview in July with the Chief Secretary, Government of Behar, he gave a sympathetic hearing to our demand for the release of Communist prisoners and through his talks he indicated that the Government was seriously thinking of releasing the Communist prisoners. But in an interview with him on 24th August, 1942, he categorically said that at present the Government is not in a position

to release the Communists. The reason that he gave was that normal conditions do not exist any more and that the Government is too much occupied with the present disturbances to be able to give any consideration to the normal things. But when it was pointed out to him that in every district fresh arrests of Communists are taking place, he referred to C.I.D. and local police reports saying that our comrades had been participating in the struggle. But when we argued it out effectively his answer was that it was the concern of the local authorities. Of course, in the end, he said that he would put <sup>up</sup> the matter with the Government. The whole talk revealed the changed attitude of the Government towards our Party.

On the 26th August, we received a written reply from the Political Department, Government of Behar, saying that they are unable to release certain Communist prisoners.

We are of opinion that the Government goes wholesale by C.I.D. and police reports.

RELEASE BEFORE & AFTER LEGALITY: WHAT DO THEY SHOW?

15 Communists were released from detention before legality by the Provincial Government and one by the Government of India. Just after legality India Government released one and the Provincial Government one. THE MAJORITY OF THE COMRADES RELEASED BY THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WERE RANK AND FILE PARTY MEMBERS EXCEPTING TWO. None among the released persons excepting one had a terrorist past. Those who were not released are all ex-terrorists, but the majority of them have been with the Party since 1938. The Government policy was clear, it was not to release the important Party members.

In our talks the Government tried to argue regarding two of our leading comrades still in jail, Kishori and Chandrama Singh, that they are not genuine Communists. About others, they never put up any arguments against release. The objections raised by the Government are actually the objections raised by the CID. The fears and arguments against their release are not at all genuine. They are arguments put up by the CID, on which the Government relies.

ARRESTS BEFORE AUGUST 9

Two important comrades of the district of Champaran were detained in the month of July. In this case the Government went entirely by the report of the local police who reported that they were responsible for the looting of Raxaul Bazar by the mob. This charge was completely unfounded. On the contrary, they were the comrades who were actively working to prevent further lootings. The local police officer was prejudiced against our comrades and it is strongly rumoured that he is a pro-Forward Bloc man.

In Champaran, our Party was very weak but was growing daily and these two comrades were the local leaders. It is here that the first split in the Kisan Sabha brought about by the Congress Socialist Party and Forward Bloc in order to fight our People's War line and to further their Fifth Column activity among the Kisans, had taken place. Since then our comrades were marching ahead and weakening the Forward Bloc. The police could not tolerate the Communists and they had a pretext against one because he had been an ex-Andamanite. THEIR ACTION ONLY MEANT WEAKENING THE ONE PARTY WHICH IS FIGHTING FIFTH COLUMN DISRUPTION IN CHAMPARAN.

ARRESTS AFTER AUGUST 9

25 PARTY MEMBERS AND NEARLY 20 PARTY MILITANTS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED SINCE 9TH AUGUST. Out of them five have been so far released. Out of the released persons, three belonged to Monghyr (including <sup>comrade</sup> Karyanand Sharma) and two ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> Gaya. Monghyr comrades were released for two reasons: i) they were real mass leaders whose views were so well-known that even the police could not make out any case; ii) the attitude of the local authorities in Monghyr is generally good. Gaya comrades were released mainly due to Sharmaji's recommendations.

These arrests show that the Government went entirely by the local CID and police reports. In Purulia the District Party Secretary and another member of the District Committee were arrested immediately after they had applied for a licence to hold a meeting to condemn sabotage. Nothing else was possible, so they were detained without trial. In all like this 4 have been detained. The

rest have been sentenced to different terms of imprisonment on some ~~next~~ pretext or other.

The local authorities try to justify these arrests saying that they did participate in the struggle. When cornered in talks, they keep quiet.

Meetings are banned all over the province. It is only in Monghyr District that we get permission generally when we apply for it. During the Unity Week, Chapra also got permission for seven days to hold meetings and to take out squads. In Bhagalpore and Giridih, though permission was given, certain conditions were put. Our comrades were asked not to raise the slogans: "Release the National Leaders," "Stop Repression," "Legalise the Congress." Their main argument was that these slogans were prejudicial, likely to incite the mob. MEETINGS WERE NOT ALLOWED IN GAYA TOWN, JHARIA AREA AND PATNA. Their argument has been that the time is not yet ripe, may create trouble, etc. The Additional Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad Sub-Division categorically ~~a~~ refuses permission to hold meetings in Jharia area. The District Magistrate of Patna told us in the beginning that the Government has not yet decided its policy with regard to meetings. Next time he replied that time is not yet ripe for meetings. WHEN IT WAS POINTED OUT TO HIM THAT THE MOSLEM LEAGUE HAS BEEN GIVEN PERMISSION FOR HOLDING MEETINGS, HIS REPLY WAS THAT OUR APPLICATION HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO THE COMMISSIONER, PATNA DIVISION. SINCE THEN HE HAS BEEN REPEATING THIS VERY THING EVERY TIME WE APPROACH HIM.

#### ATTITUDE TOWARDS PARTY PRESS

THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PARTY PRESS IS FRANKLY HOSTILE. THE RUMOUR GOES THAT THE BEHAR GOVERNMENT HAS DECLARED ITSELF IN FAVOUR OF BANNING PEOPLE'S WAR. IN CASE THIS IS NOT DONE, THEY ARE THINKING OF BANNING THE ENTRY OF PEOPLE'S WAR INTO BEHAR.

#### ATTITUDE OF DISTRICT MAGISTRATES

MONGHYR: The attitude is comparatively helpful. The police does carry on pinpricks but in relation to other districts it is negligible. In practice also it is not hostile.

BHAGALPORE: attitude and practice both one of frank hostility. No meetings, etc. allowed.

GIRIDIH: The attitude of the Deputy Commissioner, Hazaribagh District is helpful but in practice nothing happens. The Giridih S.D.O. is hostile to us in practice. Not allowed to hold even T.U. meetings. The S.D.O. is influenced more by the Colliery ~~ma~~ authorities who are highly paid officers of the Central Government. THIS WAS MANIFESTED IN THE WARRANT ISSUED AGAINST OUR GIRIDIH PARTY SECRETARY, DHANESHWARI ~~ma~~ SINGH WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR KEEPING THE WORKERS UNDER CONTROL DURING THE HECTIC DAYS OF AUGUST. WE HOLD GIRIDIH FROM GOING THE JAMSHEDPUR WAY AND OUR LOCAL PARTY SECRETARY IS PROCEEDED AGAINST SUBSEQUENTLY

JHARIA: The attitude and practice of the District Magistrate most unhelpful.

PATNA: HIS ATTITUDE IS MAXIMUM HOSTILITY. HE OPENLY TOLD OUR COMRADES THAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT BOTHER ABOUT THE PEOPLE FOR THE DEFENCE OF INDIA. THE GOVERNMENT HAS SUFFICIENT MILITARY <sup>FORCES</sup> TO RELY UPON. HE PERSISTENTLY REFUSED US PERMISSION TO HOLD MEETINGS, ETC. AND DID NOT EVEN BOTHER TO DISCUSS WITH US.

#### ATTITUDE OF THE POLICE

The police has got the same outlook towards us as during the days of the illegality. In Giridih, Jharia, Patna, Bettiah, the police goes on tearing down our posters, they terrorise the people not to attend our closed-door meetings. They threaten our worker militants with arrest if they work with the Communists. They ask the people not to read our handbills because they are "prejudicial." In Jharia area they arrested one of our comrades for distributing the handbill "Release the National Leaders". Whenever they find an opportunity they submit false reports against us regarding our activities.

People's War is not allowed inside any jail in Behar. The most effective way in which we can wean away Congress patriots from sabotage and persuade them to influence their followers outside is denied to us.

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OUR DEMANDS

- 1) There should not be any restriction on holding mass meetings and street-corner meetings;
- 2) We must be allowed to take out propaganda squads;
- 3) The police shall not interfere with our activities in the manner in which they do to-day;
- 4) Warrants pending against our comrades must be withdrawn;
- 5) Communist prisoners and detenus should be released;
- 6) Government should <sup>not</sup> go by the reports of the CID and the police. They must make arrangements for verifying the reports.
- 7) Extermment orders on Communists who used to work at Jamshedpur should be withdrawn. They can be most effective to-day in rallying the Jamshedpur workers against strike and hold up of production.

We add here an appendix of a list of comrades who have been arrested, kept in detention or against whom warrants have been issued.

A separate list <sup>will be sent</sup> ~~is added~~ for Jamshedpur.

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List of Comrades arrested, detained or against  
whom warrants have been issued

COMRADES ARRESTED

<u>Name</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>When Arrested</u>
1. Anil Mitra	26 D.I.R. (Detention)	Arrested on 1.2.40 and sentenced 1 yr. 8 months R.I. but rearrested at jail gate in September 1941 under 26 D.I.R.
2. Dayanand Jha	"	28th April, 1940
3. Biswanath Mathur	"	1st May, 1940
4. Benode Mukherjee	"	30th April, 1940
5. Pramatha Mukherjee	"	June, 1940
6. Kishori Prasanna Sinha	"	"
7. Chandrama Singh	"	July, 1940
8. Ramjivan Singh	"	December, 1940
9. Achutanand Prasad	"	March, 1941
10. Kedarmani Shukul	"	3rd July, 1942
11. Gopal Thakur	"	July end, 1942
12. Umashanker Shukul	39 D.I.R.	Arrested and sentenced to 2 yrs. & 6 mths. R.I. Arrested in May, 1942
13. Sunil Choudhry	39 DIR and 411 IPC	Sentenced to 1 yr. 8 mths R.I. in September 1942. But on appeal the Judge has passed order for retrial. So at present undertrial.
14. Ramagar Singh	32 Police Act	Sentenced to 6 months R.I. in Septr. 42

Special Arguments for Release.

Anil Mitra: He is the only man in Behar who has been re-arrested at the jail gate on his release and since detained. He is an influential mass leader of Monghyr District. He is also an important Party Member, prior to his arrest he was in the Provincial Committee. His release will facilitate combatting of sabotage and the building up of the anti-fascist movement in Monghyr District. It will also help the Party to organise its work in the whole province more effectively.

Biswanath Mathur: He is a comrade who has a great influence in Gaya where we are weak and the C.S.P. is very strong. His release will help us greatly in mobilising the people of Gaya on our line and thus isolate the C.S.P., i.e. the Fifth Column.

Benode Mukherjee: An influential comrade among Giridih coal workers. Giridih being the centre of coal industry, a vital industry for war, will be greatly helped by his presence. Besides, he is at present bedridden in the Medical College Hospital, Patna. He is suffering from acute stomach trouble and in all probability he has got T.B. also. His eight is only 96 lbs.

Pramatha Mukherjee: He is the KISAN leader of the district of Paleman. We have no Party unit there. The C.S.P. being strong in carrying on its Fifth Column activity without our opposition. His release will take us a long way in organising the people and kisans of that locality on our line. Then only we can isolate C.S.P. Other than this there is no way out for fighting and isolating the fifth-columns there.

Kishori Prasanna Sinha: Popular leader of the whole province with a tremendous mass influence in the district of Muzaffarpur. Another fortress of the C.S.P. His release will enable us to wipe them out.

Special Arguments made by Government against release.

It is only against Kishori that a special argument has been made for not releasing him. It is the C.I.D. which opposes his release strongly, and the Government has accepted that view. Their argument is that they do not take him to be a genuine Communist, that he is still a terrorist if not a Congress Socialist Party man that his followers outside are still committing dacoities, etc.



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These arguments are all wrong. Kishori is now one of us and the Party can guarantee his bonafides.

ARRESTS AFTER 9TH AUGUST

<u>Name</u>	<u>Section</u>	<u>When arrested</u>
1. Sushil Das Gupta	26 DIR (Detention)	13th August, 1942
2. Samar Roy	"	"
3. Narain Pd. Verma	"	10th August, 1942
4. Hiralal Palit	"	October, 1942
<u>Convicted</u>		
5. Subodh Kumar Singh		15th August, 1942
6. Nandkishore Pd. Singh	34 & 38 PDIR	Convicted to 3 years R. I. 11th August, 1942 Sentenced to 6 mths RI
7. Bhuvaneshwar Singh	"	"
8. Bhogendra Singh Jha	"	"
9. Uchit Singh	"	"
10. Akshoybat Pandey	26 D.I.R. (not sure)	10th August, 6 mths. RI
11. Abdul Rauf	34 & 38 DIR	August 1942
		10th August, 2 1/2 yrs. RI
<u>Undertrials</u>		
12. Balmiki Singh	Sect. 395	Warrant issued in Aug. Arrested Dec. 1942
13. Madhusudhan	"	October, 1942
14. Deva Narain Misser	"	30th Sept. 1942
15. Sitram Singh	"	27th August, 1942
16. Purnendu Mazumdar	38 & 39 DIR	5th November, 1942

Warrants pending against:

1. Dhaneshwari Pd. Singh      26 DIR      Giridih  
 2. He is one of those who prevented the workers from resorting to any strike of any illegal activity.

2. Brahmadeo Singh      Bagusarai, Monghyr  
 3. Ramkrishna Raoy      "      "

EXTERNEED FROM GIRIDIH

1. Ajit Mitra      2. Sarat Patnaik      3. Kripasindhu Khutia

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MEMO ON OUR POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES SINCE  
AUGUST 9 SUBMITTED BY THE U.P. PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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(This report covers our activities only upto the beginning of Jan.)

The strengthening of our Party inside this province is mainly among the working class of Cawnpore and Jhansi and within the Congress itself. Many of our comrades occupied leading positions inside the Congress. Several leading Congress workers in many districts have come over wholesale into our Party, and a number of lower Congress Committees were under our influence.

The Congress organisation in U.P. is the most radical and democratic in the whole country and there were naturally different groups within it. Our comrades were a strong group, with their independent patriotic policy which the democratic working of the Congress organisation in this province allowed them to propagate among the Congress masses.

When the crisis of August 9 overtook the country, the upsurge in U.P. was very big, as this is one of the provinces where the Congress movement is strongest. The job of all our comrades in this situation was to come out sharply against sabotage and against activities directed against national defence. This was the job which as members of the Communist Party, with an independent policy of its own, they had to do.

The only effective way in which sabotage and anarchy could be fought by our comrades in this province is by putting forward to the people the policy of national defence as the best patriotism, as the only way of upholding the glorious anti-Fascist traditions for which the Congress in this province is noted. To try to fight sabotage and anarchy in any other manner only leads to driving masses of honest anti-Fascist Congressmen into the arms of the Fifth Column. The Fifth Column was least strong in the province; if could get a base only to the extent misguided patriots turned sullen and bitter and their anti-British feeling turned so strong that the Fifth Column could turn it into pro-Jap feeling.

This was ~~was~~ the one province where, more than in any other, sabotage and anarchy could be fought successfully only by convincing people that this leads not to freedom but Jap slavery and that only strengthening national defence and national unity can win freedom for our people.

This was the basis of our activities in this province against the present "struggle," on the strength of our Party's independent policy and influence within the Congress itself.

But the Government in its general drive against the Congress directed all its fire against the Communists and the non-Communists alike. "You are Congressmen yourselves," this was their attitude towards us. Entire power was left in the hands of the District Magistrates and the local police. These, however, went one step further and frantically declared: "Communists are more dangerous than Congressmen."

In most of the districts, (worst examples are Aligarh, Ballia and Jhansi) our active workers were wholesale arrested and clapped in jail. Almost all our cadres in the Congress and in the Kisan organisation (those who could, on the basis of their own past influence in these organisations, do most effective work against sabotage and anarchy) were arrested. Our posters were systematically torn down by the police, printing of our handbills prohibited. More than 85 Communists have been removed into jails in this manner.

The Government wanted us to line up with it against the entire Congress organisation and to expunge the slogans "freedom," "patriotism," "Release of the Congress Leaders," and "National Government" from our propaganda. This was an impossible demand which the Communist Party as an independent Party with an independent policy, could never accept. Our policy alone can effectively counter sabotage and anarchy in this province.

~~It is~~ under such conditions that we have had to work in this province.

In Ballia for example, a bare handful of comrades, who managed to survive the Government drive against us, had to carry on their anti-sabotage activity under conditions of severest illegality. Even the fiction of legality was not there.

What have we achieved despite all this?

#### OUR GENERAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Our biggest achievement was to prevent continuous strikes at Cawnpore and get the workers back to work within 2 or 3 days. This has not only kept production at Cawnpore, but also has saved the whole of U.P. from a wave of continuous strike. The effect of this achievement of ours is seen more and more with the growing economic distress in the province.

We have succeeded in preventing sabotage in public utility services at Lucknow, Cawnpore, Allahabad and Benares and kept the normal life of these 4 big cities of the U.P. going.

We prevented several disastrous acts of sabotage and incendiarism in Ballia.

We have won over numbers of Congressmen in several districts who were engaged in sabotage work. We have won over numbers of prominent Congress leaders and workers inside the jails of U.P. to our policy and made them influence their followers outside, despite the fact that the Government is not even allowing entry of People's War into the jails.

Among the students, our intense general propaganda among the student masses for unity, for ending of indefinite strikes, and for revival of ~~student~~ life created conditions for reopening of the University and for resumption of normal peaceful institution life. It also helped to increase attendance once the University were reopened and completely stopped sabotage among the student masses.

Here is a more detailed record of our activities, district by district.

#### CAWNPORE

##### AMONG THE WORKING CLASS

Congress influence among the Cawnpore workers is very great, they are intensely nationalist-minded. The arrest of the Congress leaders and the banning of the Congress immediately brought them out on strike. Influential pro-struggle elements as well as C.S.P. leaders were in their midst, urging them to stop production indefinitely. Some of the Indian millowners, who were pro-Congress, were themselves out to close the mills.

No public meetings were allowed by the Government. It did not even permit the Mazdoor Sabha to hold any meetings among the workers, despite the well-known fact that the Mazdoor Sabha's policy was opposition to the "struggle" and strengthening of production. The Party, therefore, had to carry on its campaign against sabotage and strikes purely through group, hata and closed-door meetings. The Party squads were busy holding hata meetings and explaining to the workers the character of sabotage and the suicidal effect of hold-up of production in the present situation. No less than 80 meetings were held per month since September. The patriotic workers who had been picketing the mill-gates in the beginning (out of their devotion to the Congress) were soon won over to our policy and this acted as a powerful influence to bring the masses of the workers back to resume work.

As a result of this effective intervention by the Party, the strikes which spontaneously followed August 9 were brought to an end within 2 or 3 days and production was resumed throughout the Textile industry of Cawnpore.

The example of Cawnpore is unique in the whole of India. Here was the industrial centre where the working class was most nationalist and Congress-minded. But the Party was able to bring hold-up of production to an end within 3 days.

Jamshedpur, one of the centres of India's war effort, went on strike for 2 months. The Government had carefully excluded out of Jamshedpur everybody except itself and the pro-struggle elements. Not a single Communist was allowed to work. The working class of Cawnpore, among whom Congress influence was incomparably greater than among the Jamshedpur workers, was held by the Communist

Party within 3 days.

Cawnpore is the biggest industrial centre of U.P. Had the Cawnpore working class joined the struggle, the story in U.P. would have been entirely different from what it is to-day. The events of Ballia would have been enacted all over the Province with disastrous consequences to the entire country.

The unrest was not confined to the Textile workers. Among the Electric Supply Corporation workers, a strike was encouraged by a small group of Congress-minded workers. Our Party promptly intervened in the situation and brought the strike to an end within 6 hours.

Strikes broke out in the Military industries at Sewri too, directly affecting the country's war effort. Our comrades here too were very active among the workers and got the strikes settled quickly within one or two days. Hold-up of production in the vital military industry was averted. The Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc elements were inciting the workers to sabotage in these industries. We carried on an intense campaign against this among the workers and rallied them firm against all sabotage activity.

A number of war industries have sprung up in Cawnpore during the course of this war. The fate of production in these vital war industries hung precariously in the balance during the 2 or 3 days immediately following August 9. Had the Cawnpore Textile workers (who are politically the most advanced and decisive section of the working class of Cawnpore) joined the struggle, then the flames would have inevitably spread everywhere. It was ~~due to~~ the work of the Communist Party and of the Mazdoor Sabha under Party lead among the Textile workers that saved production in all the industries of Cawnpore, including the vital war industries.

The firm stand of the working class and the dirty slander campaign let loose by the Congress Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc against the Party when their line was rejected by the workers had a considerable sobering effect on the middle classes of the city. More and more of them began to come over to our line against sabotage and for national defence.

#### AMONG THE STUDENTS

Group and hostel meetings were held among the students. Our comrades everywhere went to meetings which were organised by pro-struggle student leaders and argued against sabotage and indefinite strike.

The entire masses of students had, immediately after August 9, gone over to the policy of continuous strike. But due to our persistent work, we won over a section to our policy and we were able to make this section itself work along with us for the ending of the strikes. We organised a Students' Unity Week in December, during which we had led an intensive campaign against sabotage and indefinite strikes. Our work during this week was very effective and helped to bring the student masses behind our Party slogans more and more. Wire-cutting in the middle-class localities was very widespread in the earlier days. But, after our Unity Week, the students themselves began to come out actively against such activities and actually prevent them.

#### GENERAL POLITICAL WORK.

Four handbills were distributed widely on behalf of the Party condemning sabotage activities and the stoppage of production. The Party secured 12,000 signatures during its signature campaign carried out for its political manifesto - which means 12,000 patriots individually approached and explained our policy of combating sabotage and strengthening national defence as the only way of securing freedom. Our Trade Union Manifesto (where we explained our production policy, namely, strengthening production as the key task of the working class in the present situation) which we took and explained to the workers secured no less than 3,000 signatures within the first two weeks of the campaign. Our plan is to secure over 30,000 signatures within a month.

The effectiveness of our work in Cawnpore during the most hectic months of the struggle is shown by the fact that the sales of "People's War" rose from about 300 in August to 1,500 in November. The slogans with which our squads used to sell People's War went hawking in the middle-class localities were clear anti-sabotage slogans.

Provocative handbills are still being issued by the Congress Socialist Party among the workers, but our constant work is leaving them no elbow room for mischief. The middle classes of the city have come to recognise the strength of the Communist Party. Thanks to our work in putting our policy of national defence as the best patriotism before the people, the Congress-minded sections in the city are beginning to listen to us and to recognise in us the political party in the country which can move the people next to the Congress.

#### L U C K N O W

During our signature campaign, we secured over 5,000 signatures, which means 5,000 patriots won away from "struggle" and towards national defence and national unity. 3 general handbills (total 7,000 copies) and 5 students' handbills were printed and circulated. Nearly 60 group meetings of students and 10 group meetings of students and the general public were held where sabotage was condemned. The Party displayed 2,000 posters bearing anti-Jap slogans and distributed 6,000 badges with the same slogans, all over Lucknow.

Among the students, it was our work which was primarily responsible for stopping all sabotage activities among the student masses.

Pro-struggle elements were very active among the Lucknow Electric Workers. Our comrades through their work completely won over the ~~XX~~ Electric workers to our line and held them from going on strike in support of the "struggle."

The sales of "People's War" shot up from 200 in August to 750 in November.

#### A L L A H A B A D

Only one meeting on August 11 was allowed for the Party. Afterwards we were restricted to closed-door meetings and house to house propaganda. 3,000 signatures were secured in this way for our signature campaign; nearly 30 group and closed-door meetings were held (average attendance 20 to 30 active politically-minded people).

The workers of the City Water Works were being instigated by pro-"struggle" elements to sabotage in order to dislocate the water-supply of the city. The workers came to our comrades to seek advice. They were explained the anti-national character of this plan and thus this strike was averted and a great disaster staved off in Allahabad.

In the same manner, our comrades were able to prevent a strike of the Press workers.

When the Allahabad University opened and the President of the Union surrendered to the authorities, a big crowd gathered at Coloneljung. Feelings ran high and the crowd was about to attack the Colonelgunj Thana. Our comrades who were there on the spot intervened and successfully held back the crowds from carrying out this disastrous plan.

The sales of People's War, which is our main weapon in our anti-sabotage campaign, rose from - in August to 400 within 3 months.

#### B E N A R E S

Nearly 85 mohalla (sectional) meetings, one public meeting (only one allowed) 4 handbills (7,000 copies), 1,000 posters, over 4,000 signatures secured through signature campaign; these figures will show the extent of our campaign among the people against sabotage.

A group of Congress workers, who were working out a plan of sabotage for the district, were met by our comrades who explained to them where their plan would lead our country. As a result of these discussions, this group gave up the plan altogether.

As a result of the split we were able to cause by our discussions within the ranks of the pro-struggle elements themselves, the programme of sabotage was given up altogether by them.

Sabotage in the City's Water Works was stopped by our comrades when the workers were very much agitated on account of the scarcity of grain and saboteurs were hard at work exploiting this feeling among the workers for their purpose. Our comrades mobilised the workers on this issue and by ~~xxxxxx~~ securing grain for them kept them at their post and foiled the saboteurs.

Among the students, 4 active workers, who were firm believers in sabotage, ~~who were firm believers in sabotage~~, came over completely to our side as a result of our work.

#### MIRZAPURE

Sabotage and pro-Jap feeling which were running high in this district were combatted by us by ~~xxxxxx~~ house to house propaganda and group meetings and discussions. Nearly 20 such group meetings were held. In Gaipara, a group of our Kisan workers have been going round carrying on an intensive anti-sabotage campaign in the countryside.

We have been able to increase the sales of People's War within a short time to 150.

#### J H A N S I

Jhansi is a very important railway centre. In the G.I.P. Railway Workshop, powerful pro-struggle elements gave a strike call immediately after August 9. We held the workers firm and prevented hold-up of production in this vital centre of war industry. Nearly 20 group meetings and 8 mass meetings were held among the railway workers. In every one of these, we stressed the anti-national character of sabotage activities. The firm anti-sabotage stand of the railway workers not only prevented strike in the workshop, but completely demoralised the pro-sabotage provocateurs. It also made the shopkeepers give up their hartal after 3 days.

Student leaders came to Jhansi from other cities of U.P. to instigate the students to strike and clashes with the police. We succeeded in checking the students from coming into clash with the police. We held 8 group meetings among the students.

10 group meetings were held by us among the Beedi workers explaining our policy.

The Party issued 4 handbills (6,000 copies) and secured over 5,000 signatures in its signature campaign. People's War is being used as a very effective weapon against sabotage and strikes. 350 copies of it are being sold.

Not only sabotage but satyagraha too, has stopped in Jhansi. The pro-struggle elements have been completely isolated, thanks to our work.

#### A G R A

The crisis affected the students very deeply. We could not prevent the long strike that ensued, but we kept the students completely off sabotage. As a result of our continuous propaganda, after the reopening of the University, there was no trouble.

We successfully combatted the slogan of non-payment of rent which the pro-struggle elements were giving in Ferozabad Tehsil. Nearly 40 group meetings were held by us for this purpose.

6 handbills (10,000 copies) were distributed by us. An intense campaign of street-corner meetings and prabhat pheries (small processions taken out in the morning) was conducted during our Unity Weekx (November 1 to November 7), when we led continuous propaganda ~~xxix~~ against sabotage and for national defence and national unity.

No less than 800 copies of People's War are being sold in the District.

The result of our work has been that a section of the Congress itself has been convinced that sabotage will not lead to freedom. This has been achieved in spite of the fact that hundreds of handbills are being distributed daily by the saboteurs.

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ALIGARH

Almost all the active and influential workers were arrested wholesale after August 9. But despite this, with what was left, we conducted an anti-sabotage campaign as best as we could among the peasants of the entire district. Nearly 10 explanatory meetings were held and house to house propaganda was done.

DEHRA DUN

Through group discussions and reading of anti-sabotage articles from the People's War to groups of people, we carried on our campaign against sabotage and for national defence. People's War sales were increased to 320 copies.

In Western Dun, a meeting of leading pro-struggle workers was called to plan out sabotage. Our comrades met them before the meeting and persuaded them to give up the idea of sabotage. They also went to the meeting and made them definitely repudiate sabotage.

The work of ~~the~~ some of the pro-sabotage elements in Rishi-kul (a prominent educational institution) was checked by our comrades. For this work, our student comrades got turned out of the hostel by the authorities who themselves were pro-struggle.

BALLIA

Ballia was the biggest storm-centre of the struggle in the whole of U.P. Sabotage, burning of thanas and murders of the police were the order of the day throughout ~~the~~ August. During this hard period, our Party prevented the people of Sikhandrapore from burning down Sikhandrapore thana and murdering the police constables. Our comrades held the infuriated mobs in check for no less than 5 days and saved the situation.

After the first wave of sabotage, the Government completely lost its head. Public citizens of all Parties all over U.P. have placed on record their protest against the repression let loose against the people of Ballia.

Ballia was completely isolated from the outside world.

The Police came down upon our comrades and almost all of them were clapped up in jail. The ~~xxx~~ houses of some of our comrades were burnt down by the military in their general offensive. Warrants were issued against all remaining comrades. Still the anti-sabotage campaign was carried on by our Party under the conditions of utmost illegality. The Government was determined to stop all forms of political activity in the district. Under these conditions, a few of our comrades who managed to survive went illegally from village to village explaining to people everywhere the anti-national character of sabotage. Working in this manner, with the utmost Government fire directed against them, they succeeded in checking several acts of sabotage and incendiarism.

Our comrades prevented the mob from looting the Chhanni of Kasim Bazar estate by isolating the mischief-makers from the villages for 4 days. When the situation had apparently grown quieter, our comrades had to leave to go to other villages. Then it was that the mischief-makers got the chance to loot the Chhanni. Immediately on hearing the news, however, our comrades returned to the spot and mobilised the villagers to help the estate people who had fled from their places.

In the village Piluvi, the crowds wanted to burn the Patwari records. Our comrades were able to check this act.

One of our comrades who was staying near Manda Railway Station saved the station from being burnt down. This was the only railway station in the whole neighbourhood which was ~~if~~ left unburnt.

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MEMO ON OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT SUBMITTED  
BY THE UNITED PROVINCES PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

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GENERAL FEATURES OF GOVERNMENT POLICY  
TOWARDS US

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The action of the Central Government in lifting the 8-year old ban on our Party on the strength of our policy in the present situation, has not made any change in the attitude of the U.P. Government towards us. THE MAIN STRENGTH OF THE PARTY IN THIS PROVINCE IS AMONG THE WORKING CLASS IN CAWNPORE AND JHANSI AND WITHIN THE CONGRESS ITSELF. A large number of our active cadres are those whom we won over to our Party from the ranks of the Congress itself. A number of our comrades occupied leading positions inside the Congress and in its lower committees.

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY IS ONE OF INDISCRIMINATE ATTACKS AGAINST ALL, COMMUNISTS AND NON-COMMUNISTS ALIKE, ON THE GROUND THAT ALL ARE "CONGRESSMEN." THERE IS NOT THE SLIGHTEST RECOGNITION ON THEIR PART THAT WE ARE A PARTY WITH AN INDEPENDENT POLICY OF OUR OWN AND THAT IT IS ON THE STRENGTH OF THIS POLICY THAT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT HAS LEGALISED THE PARTY.

The practical working out of this policy is left entirely in the hands of the local police and the District Magistrates, and the Government goes wholesale by the reports of these officials. Some of these officials go to the extent of frankly declaring that "COMMUNISTS ARE MORE DANGEROUS THAN CONGRESSMEN."

ALMOST ALL OUR ARRESTED COMRADES HAVE BEEN DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL. No evidence of participation in sabotage or anti-war activities is brought against them. No chance is given to them to defend themselves. On the general grounds that they are "Congressmen," they are seized and detained. This fact shows quite clearly that the basis for the arrests of Communists in this province is not any specific evidence (false or real) of their participation in the "struggle"; the basis is simply the fact they had been active workers inside the Congress organisation. It refuses to take into account our present policy or our present activities. It refuses to recognise that the Communist Party has its own independent policy (against this "struggle" and for national defence) which it actively propagates among Congressmen.

MORE THAN 85 COMMUNISTS HAVE BEEN DETAINED WITHOUT TRIAL IN THIS MANNER ALL OVER THE PROVINCE. OUR CADRES IN ENTIRE DISTRICTS LIKE ALIGARH AND BALLIA HAVE BEEN WIPED OUT. FIRE HAS BEEN CONCENTRATED ON OUR KISAN AND CONGRESS WORKERS ALL OF WHOM HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND JAILED. IN BALLIA, WE HAD TO CARRY ON OUR ANTI-SABOTAGE ACTIVITY UNDER CONDITIONS OF ILLEGALITY.

The manner in which arrests and detentions have been carried on is shown very glaringly in the case of CAWNPORE. IT WAS THE PARTY AND THE MAZDOOR SABHA (UNDER PARTY CONTROL) WHICH HELD THE TEXTILE WORKERS OF CAWNPORE IN THE CRITICAL DAYS FOLLOWING AUGUST 9 AND KEPT PRODUCTION GOING. IT WAS THIS THAT SAVED ENTIRE CAWNPORE FROM DISASTER. AND YET IN JANUARY, SIX LEADING PARTY WORKERS (FIVE OF THEM ARE MAZDOOR SABHA ORGANISERS) ARE ARRESTED AND/ <sup>detained without trial.</sup> OBVIOUSLY, NO EVIDENCE CAN BE BROUGHT AGAINST THEM. Afterwards 4 more are arrested and prosecution is threatened against them for hawking "People's War."

There is only one result and one result alone which these arrests have achieved and THAT IS TO WEAKEN PRECISELY THAT PARTY WHICH ALONE CAN HOLD (AND DID HOLD AFTER AUGUST 9) THE CAWNPORE WORKING CLASS FROM STRIKES AND STOPPAGE OF PRODUCTION.

Our posters and leaflets are systematically torn down by the Police. Pressure is brought to bear on owners of presses not to print our handbills. COMRADES HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR HAWKING "PEOPLE'S WAR", EVEN FOR SINGING ANTI-FASCIST SONGS AS AT JHANSI.

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Most of the District Magistrates object to our slogans of "Release the Congress Leaders" and "Form National Government." COMRADES HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR GIVING OUT THESE SLOGANS. Every nationalist paper in the country demands these things to-day, all the Liberal leaders in U.P. (like Sapru) demand this, but Communists are arrested for these slogans.

The culmination of this policy was reached during January. THE POLICE ARRESTED 4 OF OUR COMRADES AT CAWNPORE FOR HAWKING "PEOPLE'S WAR". THEY ARE GOING TO LAUNCH A PROSECUTION AGAINST THESE COMRADES FOR HAWKING "PEOPLE'S WAR". THE LOCAL POLICE OFFICIALS AND THE I. B. OFFICER SAY THEY CANNOT ALLOW "PEOPLE'S WAR" TO BE SOLD AT ALL IN U.P. THEY WANT TO MAKE THE CASE OF THESE COMRADES A TEST CASE AGAINST THE WHOLE POLICY OF PEOPLE'S WAR, I.E. AGAINST THE WHOLE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

THE SAME THING HAS HAPPENED IN MIRZAPORE ALSO. TWO COMRADES WERE ARRESTED AND THEIR HOUSES SEARCHED FOR COPIES OF "PEOPLE'S WAR" CONTAINING THE PARTY'S INDEPENDENCE DAY MANIFESTO. THE COMRADES ARE GOING TO BE TRIED FOR POSSESSION OF THIS MANIFESTO AND THE WHOLE POLICY OF "PEOPLE'S WAR" IS GOING TO BE CHALLENGED.

THIS DEVELOPMENT IS VERY SIGNIFICANT. MORE THAN 80 COMMUNISTS WERE DETAINED BY THE POLICE WITHOUT ~~TRIAL~~ TRIAL ALL OVER THE PROVINCE. AND NOW AFTER ALL THIS COMES PROSECUTION. ON WHAT GROUND? THE ENTIRE POLICY OF "PEOPLE'S WAR" I.E. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, IS CHALLENGED.

Banning of "People's War" in U.P. means banning the only paper in this province which actively fights sabotage and anarchy and seeks to rally the people for national defence. The effectiveness of the work which "People's War" has done is shown by the fact that its sales have increased after the crisis itself from about 1,500 in August to more than 4,200 in January.

IT IS ON THE REPORTS OF SUCH POLICE OFFICIALS AND DISTRICT MAGISTRATES WHO CHALLENGE THE ENTIRE POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY THAT THE WHOLE POLICY OF THE U.P. GOVERNMENT TOWARDS OUR COMRADES IS BASED.

The Chief Secretary to the Government is not even prepared to discuss the issue with our Provincial Secretary. His attitude is that by everything is left to the District Magistrates and the local police and there is nothing to discuss.

From the above, it is clear that the U.P. Government's attitude towards us is not based on our policy towards sabotage and national defence or on our actual activities. They want us to line up against the Congress, to give up our patriotic policy and follow the line of Roy.

The Communist Party cannot and will not do this. It can no more allow its independent policy to be modified by ~~the~~ Government threats and pressure than by the slanders and attacks of our own fellow-patriots. We are a Party that has survived 8 years of illegality and grown stronger day by day. If to-day the Central Government has legalised our Party, it is on the strength of our present policy of strengthening the war-efforts. Legalisation is reduced to a farce and the Central Government's policy in legalising our Party is nullified in practice by the attitude which the U.P. Government has adopted towards our Party in this province.

What does the U.P. Government's policy lead to in practice? IT WILL NOT MAKE US CHANGE OUR POLICY. IT WILL ONLY MEAN HAMSTRINGING THE ONE PARTY IN U.P. THAT CAN HOLD THE WORKING CLASS OF CAWNPORE AND JHANSI; THAT PUTS THE POLICY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE AS THE BEST PATRIOTISM BEFORE CONGRESSMEN AND THE PEOPLE; THAT TURNS THE PEOPLE AWAY FROM SABOTAGE AND ANARCHY IN THE NAME OF FREEDOM ITSELF. The U.P. Congress is the most anti-Fascist in the whole country. Its influence among the people is stronger than Congress influence in any other province. ON NO OTHER BASIS THEREFORE EXCEPT ON THE BASIS OF PATRIOTISM, ON THE BASIS OF APPEALING TO THE ANTI-FASCIST TRADITIONS OF THE CONGRESS IN THIS PROVINCE, CAN THE PEOPLE BE LED AWAY FROM THE STRUGGLE TOWARDS NATIONAL DEFENCE IN THIS PROVINCE.

THE LOGIC OF GOVERNMENT POLICY IN THIS PROVINCE WILL LEAD TO THIS - THAT ONLY TWO PARTIES, THE GOVERNMENT AND THE FIFTH COLUMN ARE LEFT TO OPERATE

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AMONG THE PEOPLE. THE FORMER ATTACKS PATRIOTISM ITSELF, THE LATTER APPEALS TO THIS VERY PATRIOTISM FOR ITS PURPOSE. NEED WE POINT OUT WHICH OF THESE TWO PARTIES WILL GET A HEARING FROM THE PEOPLE?

The attitude of the Government towards us is DEFINITELY HOSTILE. To quote the District Magistrate of Cawnpore, "THE COMMUNISTS ARE MORE DANGEROUS THAN THE CONGRESSMEN." Lately this attitude of the Government has gone to <sup>such an</sup> extent ~~that~~ that Mr. D. S. BARRON, THE HOME SECRETARY TO THE U.P. GOVERNMENT REFUSED AN INTERVIEW TO OUR PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY. HE TOLD HIM ON THE PHONE THAT NO USEFUL PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED BY THE INTERVIEW. HE SHOWED HIS IMMENSE DISSATISFACTION WITH OUR POLICY AND REMARKED: "CONGRESS LEADERS HAVE ATTEMPTED A REVOLUTION AND YOU WANT THEM TO REORGANISE THE SAME."

From the very beginning of the legality of our Party the attitude of the Government towards our activities was ~~that~~ similar to that of an illegal organisation. Though our Party offices were allowed to be opened, the Party activities at most places were not allowed freely to be carried out. ALL DISTRICT MAGISTRATES WERE HOSTILE TO OUR SLOGANS OF "RELEASE CONGRESS LEADERS", etc. They look upon us with suspicion as one of the branches of the Congress. Though they know that we are against sabotage, they want us to become Royists, who support all their actions and condemn the Congress as fifth columnist. According to them, any Party which does not support everything that the Government does, in toto (which we Communists definitely do not do) should be regarded as pro-fascist. They know that we definitely oppose sabotage and want to defend our country from Jap aggression. Yet at the same time, they want us to give up our independent policy. THEREFORE, THE POLICY PURSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT TO INTERFERE WITH PARTY OFFICES YET; AT THE SAME TIME, NOT TO ALLOW US TO REACH THE MASSES. THEY ARREST ALL COMRADES WHO GO TO THE VILLAGES, MEETINGS ARE NOT ALLOWED, HANDBILLS CANNOT BE PRINTED, POSTERS ARE SYSTEMATICALLY TORN OFF. AND ABOVE ALL 80 COMRADES ARE DETAINED IN JAILS.

A) On August 9, the Provincial Government issued detention orders under Sect. 26 of the Defence of India Rules against some comrades and gave complete authority to District Magistrates to arrest anybody. The District Magistrates also arrested some of our comrades along with the Congressmen and sent their reports to the Provincial Government. When we approached the Provincial Government regarding these arrests the answer was that these arrests were effected by the District Magistrates and the Government does not know anything and moreover, they have no time to ask for reports.

WHEN WE APPROACHED A FEW OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATES, SOME OF THEM SHOWED THE LIST SENT BY THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT, OTHERS SAID THAT THEY HAD SENT THEIR REPORTS AND MATTERS RESTED WITH THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT. IN THIS WAY RESPONSIBILITY WAS EVADED BY DEPARTMENT AFTER DEPARTMENT. THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT HAS SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED SOME OF THE PERSONS ARRESTED BY DISTRICT MAGISTRATES, NOT EVEN THE FLIMSIEST EVIDENCE COULD BE BROUGHT AGAINST THEM.

B) RELEASES BEFORE AND AFTER LEGALITY

There has been no release after the Party has been declared legal. All those who had terroristic past, however distant it be, were not released and they are still behind prison bars. The argument advanced by the Government is that they "know our comrades better than we do," and that reports received by them show that they were terrorists under Communist disguise. This estimation of our comrades is absolutely incorrect. No doubt they had terrorist past but when they joined the Party, they completely gave up terrorism and have been faithfully working out Party policy for a number of years.

C) ARRESTS AFTER AUGUST 9

Along with Congressmen on the 9th August, our comrades, especially those working in the Congress were rounded up and detained under Sec.129, Defence of India Rules for two months. On the expiry of two months, only a few were released and the rest were detained under Sec. 26 D.I.R. for an indefinite period. Along with this, other active comrades were arrested and THE TOTAL NUMBER OF COMMUNISTS DETAINED OR SERVING THEIR IMPRISONMENT EXCEEDS 90. By

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these arrests, attempts were made to wipe out the Communists from the rural areas. All the comrades working in the Congress and the Kisan Sabhas, including those Kisan districts like Aligarh, Unao, Jhansi and Ballia were completely wiped out. At Jhansi, only those Communists were left out who were directly connected with Trade Union work. AT OTHER PLACES LIKE LUCKNOW TOO, TRADE UNION WORKERS HAVE BEEN ARRESTED AND DETAINED UNDER 26 OF D.I.R. THE ONLY JUSTIFICATION WHICH GOVERNMENT HAS PUT FORWARD IS THAT THESE COMRADES WERE CONNECTED WITH CONGRESS WORK AND THEREFORE, THERE IS EVERY POSSIBILITY THAT THEY MAY CARRY ON CONGRESS ACTIVITIES. THE REALITY IS THAT THEY WANT TO SUPPRESS ALL COMMUNISTS EXCEPT THOSE WORKING IN THE ~~THE~~ TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. THEY THINK THAT IF THERE IS ANY USE FOR COMMUNISTS, IT IS ONLY IN THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT AND THAT AT OTHER PLACES THEY ARE MORE A NUISANCE RATHER THAN A HELP IN THEIR POLICY.

D. POSITION WITH REGARD TO MEETINGS

The only place where Sec. 144 was not enforced, prohibiting meetings, was Benares. The Dehra Dun Magistrate did not renew the order after 15th November. At Cawnpore, Lucknow, Agra, Aligarh, Jhansi, Allahabad, Mirzapur and Ballia, the orders prohibiting meetings ~~are~~ renewed even before the previous one had expired. During our Unity Week (November 1 to November 7), meetings were allowed only at Agra, Aligarh and Benares. Trade Union meetings are allowed at Lucknow, ~~in~~ Jhansi, Allahabad and at Mirzapur. Cawnpore is not even allowed to hold Trade Union meetings, despite the fact that it was our work alone which kept production going at Cawnpore. At Lucknow, even hall meetings were prohibited. No reason is given for refusal, but the argument seems to be one advanced by the Chief Secretary that the Congress had tried to lead a revolt and that we demand their release, so that they may be in a position to revive the revolt!

E. ATTITUDE TOWARDS OUR PARTY PRESS

We have no provincial paper, but the attitude of the District Magistrates towards the "People's War" is hostile. Once the Agra Magistrate told one of our comrades who wanted to reprint ~~a~~ certain portions from the "People's War" that the Bombay Government may allow the publication of "People's War" but he was not going to allow its reprint here. The City Magistrate at Jhansi told us that we may get our leaflet printed anywhere else, but he won't allow our comrades to get them printed at Jhansi. All the District Magistrates have issued orders to the press-owners not to print any criticism of the Government. The result has been that our handbills are not printed anywhere except at one or two places in the province.

The latest position is that the local police in Cawnpore and Mirzapur want to ban the People's War altogether ~~from~~ <sup>in</sup> the Province. They are challenging the entire policy of "People's War". This is reported in detail in the earlier paragraphs of the Memo.

F. THE ATTITUDE & PRACTICE OF DISTRICT MAGISTRATES

CAWNPORE: No Communist was arrested after the crisis upto January. IN JANUARY, came 6 detentions and a number of comrades are going to be prosecuted for hawking People's War. No meetings were allowed, not even Trade Union meetings. Handbills are not printed by the printing presses.

UNAO: All comrades were arrested and detained on 9th August. No Communist is allowed to enter the villages. Com. Shankar Dayal Tewari, Secretary, United Provinces Kisan Sabha was arrested for going to his village. Whoever goes to the rural areas is arrested. A student comrade was arrested and detained for selling "People's War."

LUCKNOW: Immediately after 9th August, 2 student comrades were arrested. One was detained and the other was prosecuted under Sec. 38 D.I.R. The detained comrade was released after two months and the other was released as first offender. One Trade Union comrade was arrested and detained under Sec. 26. The Party has not been allowed to hold meetings. The Electric Workers' Union is allowed to hold one meeting per week on specified time and place for Trade Union agitation.

ALLAHABAD: On 11th August a mass meeting was allowed to the Party. After that no meeting was allowed. One kisan comrade was arrested and detained under Section 26 of D.I.R. Two student comrades were arrested but later on they were released. Two other students have been detained under Sec. 39.

BENARES: Meeting has not been banned at Benares. S.S. Chauhan, the Party Secretary was arrested after he had issued two leaflets and he has been detained under Sec. 26. Another comrade was arrested during the Unity Week and detained. The Party office was raided and searched under the orders of the District Magistrate.

MIRZAPORE: Permission to celebrate the Unity Week was given. The District Magistrate who was appointed adjudicator in the Sefton Mill Dispute gave award reducing the wages of the workers with retrospective effect. When our comrades approached the Labour Commissioner at Cawnpore and explained the illegality of the award, the Labour Commissioner agreed with our view, but expressed his inability to ~~do~~ undo the wrong and promised to refer the matter to the local Government. The latest position of the police regarding banning "People's War" is given previously in this Memo.

BALLIA: A number of comrades were arrested on 9th August and warrants issued against all others. A comrade who went from Lucknow was hunted down and another who arranged a meeting of kisan workers was arrested. COM. V. P. Mardana was arrested because he met Pt. Madan Mohan Malavya and Pt. H. Kunzru for relief work. Houses of some of our comrades were burnt along with those of Congressmen by the military.

JHANSI: 8 comrades were arrested on 9th August, only one of them has been released. No meetings are allowed to the Party, G.I.P. Rly. men's Union has been allowed meeting at workshop gates. No handbill either of the Party or of the Union can be printed in any press. Two comrades were arrested on false charges and were prosecuted and then convicted.

AGRA: Meetings are prohibited but our Party was allowed to celebrate ~~on~~ the Unity Week by holding mass and street-corner meetings. No arrest took place at Agra. Meetings in rural areas are allowed.

ALIGARH: ENTIRE ACTIVE PARTY CADRES WERE ARRESTED ON AUGUST 9 WEEK AND DETAINED UNDER SEC. 26 OF D.I.A. Meetings are prohibited in the city. Permission to celebrate the Unity Week was given, but comrades were arrested while taking signatures during the course of the Signature Campaign. No meeting in rural areas can be held.

DEHRA DUN: Till the 15th of November, meetings were prohibited, but now Section 144 has been withdrawn and we are allowed to hold meetings in the city as well as in the rural areas. One comrade was arrested for arranging legal help to Congressmen under trial.

ALL COMRADES AND ACTIVE SYMPATHISERS WERE ARRESTED WHOLESALE ON 9TH AUGUST, AT FAIZABAD, MAINPURI, FATEHGARH, AZAMGARH, BARRI<sup>A</sup>CH, PRATAPGARH, JAUNPORE, UNAO, BASTI.

#### G. ATTITUDE OF THE POLICE

There is strong watch on all prominent comrades in the province. ALL OUR DAK INCLUDING THOSE OF THE DISTRICT UNITS IS RIGOROUSLY CENSORED. MOST OF THE UNREGISTERED LETTERS ARE NOT DELIVERED AT ALL AND SOME OF THE REGISTERED LETTERS ARE DETAINED FOR AS LONG AS 10 DAYS. There are special complaints regarding the police from the following districts:

BENARES: JUNIOR COMRADES WERE APPROACHED BY THE C.I.D. AND WERE ASKED TO GIVE INFORMATION REGARDING PARTY ACTIVITIES. THEY WERE THREATENED WITH ARREST IN CASE OF NON-COMPLIANCE.

LUCKNOW: Com. Chetain Singh, a well-known Communist and Labour worker was arrested and detained under Sec. 26 of D.I.R. on the police report that he is a Congressman. The report was made out of sheer prejudice. Com. Jagdeo Narain Bajpai and two other comrades were arrested and harassed for pasting posters during the ~~the~~ Unity Week. On two other occasions, comrades were harass-

ed while taking signatures during the Signature Campaign.

JHANSI: TWO OF THE COMRADES WERE APPROACHED BY THE C.I.D. AND OFFERED MONEY FOR TURNING INFORMERS. THE COMRADES, OF COURSE, INDIGNANTLY REFUSED. ONE OF THEM WAS LATER IMPLICATED IN A SABOTAGE CASE, BUT WHEN NO CASE COULD BE MADE OUT AGAINST HIM, HE WAS DETAINED UNDER SECTION 26 OF D.I.R. COM. SHYAM LAL AZAD WAS ARRESTED BECAUSE HE WAS SINGING ANTI-FASCIST SONGS ! COM. CHANDAN SINGH WAS ARRESTED BECAUSE HE GOT 150 SIGNATURES OF KISANS AGAINST THE POLICE INSPECTOR WHO WAS TAKING BRIBES FROM A CERTAIN MERCHANT AND PERMITTING HIM TO SELL GRAIN ABOVE CONTROL RIX PRICE AND ALLOWING HIM TO EXPORT GRAIN IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE DISTRICT MAGISTRATE'S ORDER. HIS HOUSE WAS SEARCHED IN HIS ABSENCE AND A SABOTAGE LEAFLET PRODUCED AFTERWARDS AGAINST HIM. THE EVIDENCE HAS BEEN COMPLETELY SQUASHED IN THE COURT. BUT THE MAGISTRATE IS DETERMINED TO CONVICT HIM. 8 COMRADES WERE ARRESTED DURING THE UNITY WEEK AND TAKEN TO POLICE STATION FOR SELLING UNITY FLAGS. THEY WERE RELEASED AFTER TWO HOURS' HARASSMENT.

CAWNPORE: COMRADES HAVE BEEN ARRESTED FOR HAWKING PEOPLE'S WAR AND BEATEN UP AT THE JAIL GATES. AND THE POLICE ARE GOING TO PROSECUTE THEM AS A TEST CASE AGAINST THE ENTIRE PEOPLE'S WAR POLICY.

ALIGARH: A group of comrades taking signatures was taken to the police station on 3rd November. The signature form was confiscated by the police and then the comrades were released.

FYZABAD: A comrade was arrested while taking signatures in a village. He was later let off.

#### H. OUR DEMANDS

Our demands to enable us to work out ~~of~~ our policy among the people are:-

1. Release all Communist detenus and convicts.
2. Street-corner and mass meetings and demonstrations to be allowed for our work.
3. Our post should not be interfered with.
4. Our handbills should be allowed to be printed.
5. We should be allowed to move in the rural areas and no hindrance should be placed in the way of our meetings.
6. All existing warrants against all our comrades should be withdrawn.
7. The Provincial Government should take responsibility for all those who were arrested either by their orders or by the orders of the District Magistrates.

## LIST OF COMMUNISTS ARRESTED AFTER 9 AUGUST, 1942

(Upto January Beginning: Supplementary List  
will follow)

<u>District</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Section</u>	
<u>FYZABAD</u>	1. Umashankar Mast.	Sec. 26 D.I.R	
	2. Siddeshwari Parsad	"	
	3. Har Govinda	"	
	4. Ram Shukla	"	
<u>JHANSI</u>	5. B. D. Dhulekar	Sec. 129	
	6. Panna Lal Sharma	" (Released)	
	7. Radha Saran Mohre	"	
	8. Panchan Lal Jain	" (Released)	
	9. Narottam Tripathi	"	
	10. Ratan Lal	38	
	11. Mani Ram Kanchan	129	
	12. Ram Kishore Sahani	" (Released)	
	13. Dal Chand	"	
	14. Sita Ram, Tailor	35	
	15. Azizul Rahman	IPC 51 (Released)	
	16. Shyam Lal Azad	DIR 35	
	17. Raghubir	CPC 151 (Released)	
	<u>MAINPURI</u>	18. Ram Swaroop	DIR 129
		19. Sobaran Lal	"
		20. Uruz Moazzam	"
		21. Ram Swarup Gupta	" (Released)
<u>FATEGARH</u>			
<u>AZAMGARH</u>			
<u>BAHARAICH</u>			
<u>LUCKNOW</u>			
<u>PARTABGARH</u>	22. Sachchidananda Pandey	"	
	23. Pawan Sut Das	26	
<u>ALIGARH</u>	24. RAVI Chandra Sinha	129 (Released)	
	25. Chetan Singh	"	
	26. Har Narain Singh	26	
<u>AGRA</u>	27. Manbodh Singh	"	
	28. Ram Lakhan Misra	129	
	29. Tej Bhan Singh	?	
	30. Bindeshwari Singh	?	
	31. G. B. Mathur	38	
	32. Gaja Dhar Singh	"	
	33. Makhan Singh	?	
	34. Hoti Lal	38	
	35. Wazir Abidi	?	
	36. Amar Singh	?	
	37. Tej Pal Kishan	?	
	38. Ninnami Singh	?	
	39. Girraj Kishore	?	
40. Kaiseri Singh	?		
41. Kishen Lal	?		
42. Dharam Vir Singh	?		
43. Sahib Singh	?		
<u>AGRA</u>	44. K. C. Pandey	129	
	45. Dr. V. G. Kunthe	"	
	46. Man Mohan	"	
	47. Jagjit Singh	"	

<u>JAUNPORE</u>	48. Thakur Das	Sec. 129 D.I.R.
<u>BENARES</u>	49. Shiva Dhan Singh Chauhan	"
<u>MEERUT</u>	50. Shanti Tyagi	38
	51. Amba Prasad	129
<u>JHANSI</u>	52. Chandan Singh	38
<u>UNAO</u>	53. Saheb Lal	26
	54. Ram Ghulam Singh	"
	55. Chetra Pal Singh	"
	56. Ram Dhin	129
	57. Ishwar Chandra Singh	"
	58. Shankar Dayal Tewari	"
<u>ALLAHABAD</u>	59. Verma	"
	60. Misra	" (Released)
	61. Asad Kazmi	"
<u>CAWNPORE</u>	62. Bhayya Lal	" (Released)
<u>BASTI</u>	63. Shitla Prasad	"
	64. Prakash Chandra	"
<u>PRATAPGARH</u>	65. Balbhadra Singh	26
<u>BALLIA</u>	66. Ram Janam Singh	"
	67. Ram Lochan Singh	Convicted for 1½ years
<u>ALLAHABAD (2)</u>	68. SUREsh Ch. Joshi	39
	69. Vishambar Dayal Gupta	"
	70. Sunderlal Joshi	129

Following are the names of comrades who were imprisoned before 9th August, and have ~~been~~ not till now been released.

1. Sher Jung	Bareilly Central Jail
2. Sadashiva Rao Malkapurker	"
3. Indra Singh Muni	"
4. Harbandhu Samajdar	"
5. Puran Lal Sarawat	"
6. Raghbir Dayal Chaturvedi	"
7. Bhagwandas Mohore	Fategarh Central Jail
8. Shekhar Nath Gangoli	"
9. Haldhar Bajpai	"
10. Ardhanshu Mehta	"
11. Satish Chatterji	"
12. Shiva Kumar	"
13. Kali Shankar Shukla	Lucknow District Jail

## ON POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES AFTER AUGUST 9

A. POLITICAL

Since August 9, the entire membership of the Party has been thrown on to the job of convincing our people and fellow-patriots that sabotage and destruction of means of national defence cannot lead to national freedom but only to Fascist slavery.

To what extent have we been successful?

In a negative way we have succeeded in persuading the mass of Congressmen that sabotage does not and cannot lead to freedom. While we have not actually won over large masses of Congressmen to our policy of unity for national resistance and national government, we have convinced many of them that sabotage does not lead to freedom. In Madura, illegal leaflets have been issued by a section of Congressmen that sabotage does not lead to freedom. The Fourth International which at the start was most vociferous in shouting for sabotage, to-day says that it is not for sabotage but for mass revolution. In general it can be said that to-day no significant section of the Congress in Tamilnad is for sabotage.

How did we do our work?

1. By holding public meetings wherever it was possible.
2. By closed-door meetings where open meetings were not possible.
3. By squad work going from house-to-house, getting signatures for our memoranda. This work especially in areas where it was impossible to do anything else due to police persecution and repression and the existence of Section 144, has been most effective. For we do not merely collect signatures but explain the why and wherefore of Communist policy and win over the people to the line of national unity for national government and national defence. We have sold our paper and publications in our house to house work.

Response This is shown best by figures of our sale of literature, collection of money, number of meetings, etc.

1. 1,000 copies of a week of the English organ of the C.P., "People's War" have been sold in Tamilnad.
2. Circulation of Janashakti, Tamil weekly of the Party, has gone up from 1,700, first issue at end of September, to 5,600 to-day.
3. More than Rs.14,000 has been collected for the Party Fund.
4. About 50,000 signatures have been secured on our memorandum demanding the release of leaders for national government and national defence.
5. About 75 public meetings, attended by over 30,000 people have been held.
6. About 300 closed-door meetings, attended by over 6,000 people have been held.
7. Membership of Trade Unions under our influence has increased to 30,000 from 20,000.
8. Membership of student organisation under our leadership is to-day about ~~1,000~~ 1,400.

B. PRACTICAL

I. What we have actually achieved in stopping the campaign of sabotage: in actually stopping individual groups of patriots from committing acts of sabotage.

1. Near Coimbatore, a plan to burn down 7 toddy shops was stopped by persuading the patriots concerned of the foolishness of such an act.
2. Near Dingigul, cutting of telegraph wires was given up after hearing our comrades.
3. In Salem District in several places, the idea of cutting wires and blowing-up some bridges was given up after hearing our comrades' arguments.
4. In Madura, our propaganda among the students prevented the blowing up of American College laboratory.

II. On the Production Front:

1. COIMBATORE: Immediately after August 9, a strike wave spread throughout the Singanallur area of Coimbatore Dist., where there are over 10,000 textile workers. We immediately took the initiative and issued a leaflet, which called upon the workers to go back to work and not commit acts of sabotage as that was



not the way to win their demands or stop repression; we appealed to them to be united as that was the only way of gaining their demands. Our influence prevented the spread of the strike to the town mills where we have the greatest hold. But our work was seriously affected by the arrests of three important comrades for issuing a leaflet, containing our line. Finally the workers went back to work, but due to the terrible repression, there is extreme discontent among the workers and the present policy of the Government and the employers is such that the workers are very demoralised and frustrated and a continuance of this policy can only lead to a serious flare-up in this area. We are building up our union and mobilising the workers to fight peacefully for the attainment of their just demands.

2. MADRAS: a) Buckingham & Carnatic Mills strike. The Buckingham & Carnatic Mill workers came out on strike in the third week of August. Their grievances were many and we urged the Government to see that they were redressed. At the same time, we carried on our propaganda appealing to the workers to remain united and peaceful and not to resort to sabotage or violent acts. Our propaganda was to a large extent responsible for the fact that the incidents of April 1942 were not repeated. Here also, however, government policy has been such that the workers are extremely discontented and hostile ~~to~~ and the employers' policy also only has served to accentuate this. (~~By~~ Rejecting all the demands of the workers).

b) Tramways: Here the union is under our leadership. During the months of August, September and October agitation was going on among the workers for an ~~xxx~~ increase in dearness allowance, etc. Attempts were made to persuade the workers to go on strike without notice (illegal leaflets were issued) but our strength prevented this.

c) Railways: Here a very strong union, with a membership ~~xx~~ of over 13,000 is under our influence. Our strength and propaganda (the S.I.R. Labour Union at its Annual Conference on 16 August passed a resolution, appealing to the workers to remain united and peaceful and to work unitedly under the leadership of their union for the release of the leaders and National Government and also not commit any acts of sabotage) prevented any act of sabotage being committed by railway workers throughout the railways.

3. SALEM: From the beginning of July there had been negotiations between employers and workers in the Rajendra Mills at Salem, in connection with bonus, dearness allowance and victimisation of certain important union officials. In August first week, strike notice was given as it seemed impossible to make the employers see sense. Government intervened and the dispute was settled. During all this time, in spite of attempts to make the workers come out on strike and resort to acts of violence, the policy and work of the Union, which is under our leadership, prevented this.

Now in January, the obduracy of the employers (they have ~~xxxx~~ victimised in addition to the President, the Secretary and other important members of the Union) has forced the Union to give a further strike notice. The government on this occasion have not intervened - far more than that - the Collector has intervened on the side of the employers and has issued orders banning picketing and the police are threatening the workers. The workers after exercising the greatest patience and using every possible avenue to affect a settlement have gone on strike to achieve their legitimate and just demand. The strike is going on and there have been no outbreaks of violence or sabotage in spite of police and employers' provocation (Arrests of 3 leading workers, beating up of one other and importation of 100 blacklegs). The strike is proceeding peacefully, and the workers are still attempting to reach a settlement.

In all the above centres, attempts have been made to persuade the workers to commit acts of sabotage and to resort to violence but in no case have the attempts succeeded.

### III. ON THE STUDENT FRONT :

We had considerable influence among the students in Madras, Annamalai, Trichinopoly and Madura; also in most of the important high school centres in Tanjore, South Arcot and Coimbatore districts. In the initial stages, the mass of students swept us aside and went all out for indefinite strike. During this period all our influence was used to prevent clashes between the students and the police, to prevent the students being beaten up on the one hand (the best way to throw them into the hands of the Fifth Columnists) and to prevent them from

falling victims to provocateurs who were urging them to violent acts (break chairs, windows, burn laboratories, throw stones, etc.). In this we were successful to a fair extent, in Christian College and Medical; in Pachiapas and Loyola College, after a few days, we persuaded the students here also not to resort to throwing stones at trains and indulge in other similar acts. In ~~Annamalai~~ Annamalai there were no clashes as also in Trichy and Madura. After it has become ~~clearer and clearer~~ clearer and clearer that indefinite strikes would not succeed nor lead the nation anywhere, there has come a considerable demoralisation among the students, fruitful soil for the fifth columnist. Our propaganda has prevented the mass of students from going over to the fifth column and from any active participation in acts of sabotage (Madura, American College, and in numerous high school centres, Thirukoilur, Tanjore Dist., etc.)

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(From Tamilnad Committee of the Communist  
Party of India )

The declared policy of the Government of India is that all its energies to-day are to be devoted towards fighting the Fascist aggressor and defending India. The policy of our Party is to mobilise the whole people of our country against Fascism and completely defeat the Axis Powers.

In the light of this, this memorandum attempts to examine what has been the attitude of the Madras Government towards the activities of and work of the Tamilnad Committee of the Communist Party of India. To what extent has the Madras Government given freedom to the Tamilnad Committee to preach and put through the declared policy of the Party -- against sabotage, for the resistance of the whole Indian people against Fascist aggression, for a National Government to defend India in alliance with the United Nations ?

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#### GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENTS IN INTERVIEWS WITH PARTY OFFICIALS:

The Madras Government in its interviews with representatives of the Party has made it increasingly clear that it will not tolerate any criticism of its general policy, especially its policy of repression and smashing of the Congress. Freedom to preach the FULL policy of the Party, including the mobilisation of the whole people to end repression and achieve a National Government pledged to the defeat of Fascism has never been allowed in our province. In fact, the policy of the Government has been one of harassing and attacking the Communists wherever they put through their policy (see list of arrests). In addition, Sir George Boag, the Government spokesman, made this clearer than ever when in an interview with C. S. Subramanyam on 12.11.42, he said that there could be no middle position in this country: either the Communists were for of they were against the Government; either they should support the Government completely or they must line up against the Government. In an earlier interview with Mohan Kumarmangalam on 24.7.42, he had stated that Communists would not be arrested unless there was some definite charge against them, unless they had committed some "prejudicial" act, but later actions of the Government showed that this was not the Government's real policy.

#### RELIANCE ON LOCAL OFFICIALS AND POLICE

The above attitude of the Government, one of extreme suspiciousness (Sir George Boag in his interview with Mohan Kumarmangalam on 24.7.42 also said that the Communists would not be trusted; they still had to prove their bonafides), has only been further strengthened and buttressed by their complete reliance on the reports of local officials and police. In spite of the declared policy of the Party and statements about the bonafides of certain arrested Communists by responsible office-bearers of the Party, the Government has consistently chosen rather to believe the local police and officials who for years have been the fiercest enemies of the Communists and whose attitude has not in the least changed (In regard to belief of police reports, see the section on arrested Communists and attempts to get them released; especially in regard to M. Kalyanasundaram and N. Sankaraiah).

#### FURTHER EVIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT POLICY TOWARDS COMMUNISTS

POST: In addition to the above, the tampering with our post which goes on throughout the province, our letters almost always reach their destinations one day late, and in ~~many~~ many cases letters and parcels do not reach their destination at all... Villupuram, Madura, Ambasanudram, Salem, etc., or reach it a week or more late.

MEETINGS: Excepts for Madras City and Salem District, meetings in all parts of the province were banned from 8 August until a short time ago and even to-day in the Tanjore District, Madras City, Villupuram, Karaikudi, Devakottai and some other places, meetings cannot be held. In many places, Coimbatore, Madras City, permission has to be previously obtained before meetings can be held. Originally the Government in an interview (Sir George Boag with Mohan Kumarmangalam on

5.9. 42) implied that if the Communists locally in the respective districts applied for permission to hold meetings, it would be granted. But permission was almost always (except in Madras City) refused and later in his interview with C.S. Subramanyam, Sir George Boag stated that in the present agitated situation, it was better meetings were not held.

#### RELEASES OF COMMUNISTS

The Government of Madras appear to have no consistent policy as far as releases are concerned. It released Ramamurthi, one of our best speakers and writers, known throughout the province, but externed Jeevanandam, whose capacities and influence are the same as Ramamurthi's. It did this also on the specious plea that Jeevanandam comes from Travancore and therefore, has no right to do anything in Tamilnad, this inspite of the fact that Jeevanandam has been doing political work in Tamilnad for over 12 years. It released the Textile Union workers of Coimbatore, the railway workers of Trichy, kept some of the Madras labour workers in jail. It released B. Srinivasa Rao and A.S.K. Iyengar, the best known of the Madras labour leaders but kept V. S. Somasundaram, Doraikannu and Arjunan, less known and less influential labour workers of Madras, in jail. Taken as a whole, the Government's policy seems to be an inconsistent and confused policy.

#### ARRESTS OF COMMUNISTS

(A full list is appended at the end of this memorandum)

Arrests of Communists have been under ~~two~~ two heads: first, those who are alleged to have committed some illegal acts and who have been convicted in open court; second, those who have been detained and of whom the Government always say when representations ~~xxxx~~ are made that they have been detained in connection with the present civil disobedience movement. Details of the arrests and remarks about individual cases are given below. But in general it may be said that the Government have consistently refused to listen to the statements of responsible officials of the Party and have relied totally on police reports and recommendations of local authorities.

#### ATTITUDE OF DISTRICT MAGISTRATES & POLICE

In Tamilnad it is impossible to differentiate between the police and the magistrate or Collector. In Madras City itself, the Commissioner fulfils both functions and in the districts though the individual may be different, they work closely and seem to possess identical views -- the District Collector relying on his police for all his reports and placing ~~blind~~ belief in them -- (e.g. in Madura and Coimbatore, the District Magistrates refer our comrades to the Dist. Superintendent of Police or Deputy Superintendent of Police when permission is asked for meetings or when information is asked for about the arrests of our comrades).

#### MADRAS

The authorities in Madras have till late refused to allow the Communists to hold meetings in the most important working-class area in Madras, Choolai. They did not allow the meeting in connection with the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress's call to observe 25th September as anti-repression day. During the Unity Week also, they did not allow meetings in that area. In addition they have been responsible for the arrest of A.S.K. Iyengar for a speech which while hotly criticising Government policy did so from the point of view of National Defence and called on workers and the people not to be provoked into acts of sabotage or violence as they would only hurt and not help the people. (The Commissioner, at the instance of the Government, has also warned Mohan Kumarmangalam for his speeches, when they have been consistently directed towards rallying the whole people to the defence of the country and for National Government.) Sri-ramulu, a worker in the Buckingham & Carnatic Mills, was arrested for distributing a leaflet asking the workers to come to the meeting on September 25th mentioned above, and severely beaten in the police station. Ramanathan, one of our labour workers here, was arrested for possessing a bundle of completely legal leaflet of the Madras Students' Organisation, calling on the students to protest peacefully against the Government communiqué, threatening students. Both these comrades were later released on the intervention of officials of the Party. In addition the police in Madras have caused great trouble to us by putting policemen to watch all our movements, as many as six or seven being seen sitting outside

the Provincial Party Office at times.

#### NORTH ARCOT

The District Magistrate here has pursued a policy of banning all meetings. Even in places where no acts of sabotage have taken place, Sec.144 has been promulgated, in fact it was promulgated for the whole district. He also has refused to give an interview to our local comrade, D.R. Gopalan.

#### SOUTH ARCOT

The District Magistrate has consistently not allowed meetings. In one particular instance when a comrade from the Provincial Office was going to hold a private meeting of Party Members and sympathisers, the D.M. intervened and said that the meeting would not be allowed unless a police reporter could also be present (in connection with this, it should also be mentioned that when the incident was brought to the notice of Sir George Boag by C. S. Subramanyam in his interview of 12.11.42, the First Advisor asked why we do not take Government into our confidence and allow Government reporters to attend all our discussions. Evidently this idea is that the Communist Party must function as a limb of the Government under its direct surveillance). In another case when a comrade from the Provincial Office (M. Kalyanasundaram) was holding a meeting of Party Members and sympathisers in the night, the police suddenly raided and arrested them all. Later all except Kalyanasundaram have been released and he has been detained. The attitude of the District Magistrate in interviews with our comrade has been: "We don't want any political activity in these troublous times". He seems to prefer a dead silence.

In two other cases also the D.M.'s attitude is very illuminating; in one, Comrade Baladanayutham, one of the most influential of the Communist student leaders, had gone to Annamalai in connection with the strike that was going on there and with the idea of putting through a Communist policy on this front. Without enquiry or anything, he was arrested; after a few days he was released. But in the other case which was similar, Com. Vridagiri had gone to Tindivanam; he also went for a similar purpose; he was also summarily arrested; but not released later. He was asked to give an undertaking which, of course, he refused to do. So now, in spite of the fact that his bonafides have been vouched for by responsible officials of the Party, he is imprisoned "in connection with the civil disobedience movement," detained under Rule 26 without trial.

The local police take their cue from the D.M. In Bhuvanagiri, near Chidambaram, our comrades held a meeting in the Unity Week at the beginning of November. The local police threatened them and said that they would be sent to jail if they held meetings.

#### TANJORE

Even to-day although there have been no incidents of sabotage, meetings are not allowed in this district. We have asked for permission and it has been refused.

#### TRICHINOPOLY

Meetings here were not allowed from August 9 to November 5. Now since our work in mobilising the tobacco workers and in increasing the general propaganda of the Party, while meetings have been allowed, our comrade has been taken to the Police Station and severely warned and the Collector has told our comrades that before coming to see him, they must get his previous consent.

#### MADURA

The District Magistrate has been consistently hostile and has refused to allow the Communists to hold a single meeting in Madura City. Soon after some agitation regarding the food problem and price control had been started by a committee in which on which different political trends were represented the Communists asked for permission to hold a meeting; permission was refused and the D.M. in this connection said that the Communists would be last persons to whom he would give permission to hold meetings in Madura in any connection; anybody else might be given permission, but if the Communists were given permission, they would use the meeting to criticise the Government.

RAMNAD

A school for training students was held at Sirukulam, near Sattur, in Ramnad district, in September. In the middle of the school, a party of police, headed by one Appanaraju, raided the school, and took away notebooks of a student belonging to the school. This Appanaraju behaved most offensively. The next day another party of police came to the school and arrested one of the students. Throughout the school (one week), a C.I.D. Inspector was posted to watch and report.

TINNEVELLY

Meetings have not been allowed there. In answer to the requests of our local comrades asking for permission to hold meetings, the District Magistrate has not even had the courtesy to reply.

COIMBATORE

The District Magistrate has never allowed meetings until the beginning of December. When our comrade saw him and asked him to allow our meetings, he referred him to the D.S.P.

In Gobichetypalayam, our comrades going to collect signatures for our memorandums, have been threatened by the local Sub-Inspector and asked not to collect. Signatories have also been threatened and asked not to sign.

SALEM

Meetings have been allowed freely; but in Namakkal the local authority has himself attempted to put his own conditions and threatened the local comrades; so also in Trichengode where when our comrades were doing their house-to-house propaganda, the police threatened them.

In Salem itself now that there is a trade dispute in Rajendra Mills, the magistrate has completely taken the side of the employers, banning picketing and the police have arrested three comrades, and beaten another severely.

\* \* \*

This is the general picture of the relations between the Communists and the authorities in Tamilnad. As far as the party press is concerned, the Government has not interfered as yet with our weekly organ, "Janashakti". But in many localities (Coimbatore, Madura, etc.) the local printers have refused to print our notices and handbills due to police pressure.

The following are the immediate steps the Government must take in order that the Communists may have full freedom to mobilise the whole people for the defence of the country, to unite the whole people for a National Government that will smash Fascism in alliance with the United Nations:

1. All meetings including street-corner meetings, and processions to be allowed;
2. Interference with the post to be stopped;
3. Local authorities and police to be instructed to allow the Communists full freedom to do their work and put through their policy and to stop all petty persecutions and bullyings;
4. Release all Communists unconditionally (list given);
5. Give freedom to Communists to mobilise the working class for the defence of the country, i.e. the Government and Police not to take the side of the employers in trade disputes, e.g. as in Salem, Trichy and Madras (Buckingham & Carnatic Mills strike);
6. Let the Government put up cases against those comrades who have been detained "in connection with the civil disobedience movement;" and in future, instead of detentions on the general ground that the individuals have been connected with the civil disobedience movement, let a charge be framed and we will defend ourselves in court.

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LIST OF COMMUNISTS ARRESTED IN TAMILNAD SINCE AUG. 9

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MADRAS

1. A. S. K. Iyengar : Sentenced to 9 months R.I. for a speech
2. K. Murugesan : Sentenced to 18 months R.I. for a speech made in July.
3. T. R. Subramanyam : Central Government informed that his warrant had been withdrawn (he is an escapee from Alipuram Jail in 1941) but he was arrested and we have no news.

NORTH ARCOT

1. Balasubramanyam )
2. Murugesan ) All three have been arrested "in connection with
3. Shanmugam ) the civil disobedience movement" on 15.8.42 and
4. T. R. Kuppaswamy : our representations on their behalf have been ignored. They are detained under Rule 26.
4. T. R. Kuppaswamy : Detained under Rule 26 "in connection with the civil disobedience movement". Arrested very early and representations made have been ignored.

SOUTH ARCOT

1. Vridagiri : Arrested at Tindivanam where he had gone in connection with a students' strike. Reason given: Connected with the civil disobedience movement. Detained.

MADURA

1. M.SS. Mani : Sentenced to 1 year R.I. for speeches. Very influential T.U. worker and propagandists in Madura with influence among textile workers and shop-assistants.
2. M. R.S. Mani : -do-
3. K. R. Thangamuthu )
4. Mayandi Bharathi )
5. I. V. Subbiah ) : All good propagandists and influential among
6. R. V. Siddha ) Congressmen. Arrested according to the police
7. K. P. Pillai (Secretary, ) in connection with the civil disobedience move-
8. Sangamuthu ) ment. Detained under Rule 26.
9. S. Guruswamy )
10. A. Ratnaswamy ( Released )
11. R. S. Manibharathi )
12. D. S. Kuppaswamy )
13. and 5 others. )
13. N. Sankaraiah : Secretary, Tamilnad Provincial Students' Federation. One of our best comrades and our best student leader. Responsible to a large extent for the effectiveness of our work in Madura, Tinnevely and Trichy and for our preventing students en mass going into sabotage or violence. Arrested as responsible for student strikes and in connection with the civil disobedience movement. This is quite untrue and party officials have represented the same to the Government. The representations have been ignored. Detained under Rule 26.

COIMBATORE

1. R. Kissen ) : Convicted for publication of a leaflet 10
2. Laxmanan ) months R.I. Leaflet called on workers to go
3. K. Remani ) back to work and remain peaceful. These three comrades are very influential among the Coimbatore working-class and to a large extent were responsible for the fact that the Singanallur strike did not spread.
4. Sundaram (of Mettupalayam) : Speech. 1 year R.I. Influential Congress worker.

(ii)

SALEM

1. M. Kalyanasundram : A member of the Provincial Committee and leader of the South Indian Railway Workers, editor of the "Thozilarasu", railway workers' fortnightly in Tamil (circulation 2,000). His influence has been dominant in keeping railway workers from sabotage. Government told us he would be released and that his arrest was a mistake but now we hear (on Jan. 22) he has been taken to Vellore to be detained. What charge, we don't know. He is one of our most valued and influential comrades in the Party since its inception. (Now released)

\* \* \*

LIST OF DETENUS WHO WERE NOT RELEASED DURING JULY & AUGUST

1. S. V. GHATE : Member of the Central Committee of the Party. Very influential among the Madras workers
2. ARJUNAN (Madras) : Formerly a worker in Buckingham & Carnatic Mills and a member of the Executive Committee of the Madras Labour Union. Influential among the workers of the above mills.
3. DORAIKANNU (Madras) : Formerly a worker in Simpson & Co., Motor Works & Secretary of Simpson & Co Workers' Union. Influential there and also among press workers in Madras.
4. SOMASUNDARAM (Madras) : Formerly Secretary of the Tramway & Electric Supply Workers' Association. Influential among them.
5. R. H. NATHAN (Madras) : Was active in the Communist Party in Malaya and wielded great influence among the plantation labourers there. One of the best of the younger Communist workers of our province; excellent propagandist and writer.
6. R. R. NATHAN (Madras) : Brother of the above. Good writer and propagandist.
7. V. RAMANATHAN (Madura) : Influential among Congressmen there.
8. M. K. VENKATSWAMY (Mettupalayam) : Influential ~~among~~ Congress worker who would be of great value to us to-day.

(11.1.43)

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MEMO FROM THE ORISSA COMMITTEE OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Orissa is one of the most threatened provinces. Just across the bay, Chittagong has been bombed time and again. Calcutta has shared the same fate. Cuttack and Puri in our province may be bombed any minute. Secret landings of spies and saboteurs, even of Jap invading forces at points on the Orissa coast are imminent. It is urgently necessary that the people of Orissa must be roused to fight the spies and the Fifth Columnists, to beat back the Jap invaders. It can only be done by an appeal to their patriotism. In the circumstances of to-day, the Communist Party of India is the only patriotic Party that can inspire the people to heights of patriotic fervour.

THE ORISSA MINISTRY

In the Orissa Ministry, the Swaraj Party plays the dominant role. This Party was formed by a batch of Congress seceders led by Pandit Nilkanta Das. The Ministry has no base in the people and neither has the people's support nor their confidence. The patriotism of the Ministers itself is open to question.

The Civil Servants and the Police, being fully aware of the nature of the Ministry, carry on several repressive actions against the people, feeling confident that the Ministry will back them up. The administration is backward and the Police (C.I.D.) is very dominant.

The Ministry is very anxious to win the confidence of the Central Government. When the order of the Central Government lifting the ban on the C.P.I. was passed, the Orissa Government took some time to believe it. Ultimately it released ALL the Communists. By the beginning of August all the Communists of this province had been released.

On the 1st August, we issued a printed leaflet in which the People's War policy was clearly explained and the patriots were exhorted to realise that a "struggle," with the Jap invaders at our door, would be suicidal. Talks of "struggle" were then in the air. We pointed out that any such struggle would only help our enemies and weaken our friends. We had also fixed that an anti-Fascist conference of Kisans should be held on August 10 at Cuttack.

AFTER 9 AUGUST, 1942

The arrest of the national leaders on 9th August led to a complete reversal of attitude by the Provincial Government. The reasons were:-

- a) The seceders from the Congress found an opportunity to hit at Congressmen and all those who professed any sympathy for the Congress or the national demand.
- b) The C.I.D. got its own back. The arrest of the national leaders was interpreted as a licence for repression. Anyone who voiced his support of the demand for a National Government was arrested and detained, irrespective of whether he was a struggle-walla or not.
- c) In particular, the Police being assured of the backing of the Ministry took this opportunity to open a large-scale attack against the Communists.

More than 50% of the Party Members in the provinces were detained or convicted. There have been several cases of trumped-up charges against Party Members. The following are illustrations:-

1. Com. ADHIKARI MAHANTY, is a Party Member since 1940. A trusted and loyal comrade. It was mainly through his efforts that no sabotage ~~activity~~ activity took place in Salepur, Cuttack District. The local police trumped up a false charge of shouting pro-Jap slogans against him. He was arrested on October 18, 1942 and was convicted on the charge.
2. Com. NARSINGH DAS is a Party Member working on the Kisan Front. Was mainly responsible for the absence of any "struggle" activities in his area. He was arrested on August 27, 1942, and convicted on a false charge of distributing pro-struggle leaflets. On expiry of his term of imprisonment, he has been detained.

Cases like these could be multiplied but a reference to the list annexed will show the extent to which the local Police have gone in order to secure convictions

and detentions of our Party Members.

When we approached the Chief Secretary, he directed us to the Chief Minister, who in turn sent us to the Hon. Pandit Mishra who told us "that reports against our comrades were hostile. Government considered our People's War policy a hoax and a plea for keeping out and pursuing all sorts of anti-Government activities"

The present position can be summed up thus:

1. Nearly 50% of the Party Members have been convicted or detained. The annexed list will show their Party history.
2. Political meetings and demonstrations are not allowed in Municipal areas and in the countryside wherever some disturbances had taken place on the arrest of the Congress leaders.
3. In Cuttack, the Police insist on previous permission even for our squads which go out to carry on the Unity for Defence propaganda.
4. Unity and Release the Leaders slogans are banned. The Police says that these slogans will call people to action, that the people are quiet and they must be left in peace. But this sullen quietness is dangerous and may prove even fatal to the interests of defence.
5. Where meetings are permitted, the formal sanction is accompanied by a general intimidation of the people. The Police send the chowkidars and ~~at~~ Dafadars to warn the peasants not to attend our meetings on pain of collective fines, arrests, etc.
6. That our Party seeks to rouse the people for patriotic resistance is completely ignored by the Police. One Basudeo Puri, Police Sub-Inspector of Balasore District told us that "Government takes proper steps for the anti-Jap fight. The Communists will not be allowed to bother about that." Thus the only patriotic party which seeks to carry on anti-Jap propaganda and mobilisation is not allowed to do its job.
7. The Provincial Government is definitely hostile to our Party organ "Mukta Yuddha". The organ is in Oriya, the language of the people. It carries on very effective patriotic propaganda for resistance to the Japs and unity for defence and National Government. An order demanding security of Rs.500 was demanded from our organ for nothing more than the publication of one of the editorials of the Central Party organ, "People's War."

It is understood that the Police are pressing the Orissa Government to ban the entry of "People's War" into Orissa.

Such actions make impossible all the effective means of rousing the people to their duty to defend the Motherland, it places impediments and obstacles in the way of the Communists who are prepared to sacrifice their all in the fight against the Jap Fascists. It makes the mobilisation of the people impossible.

#### OUR DEMANDS

1. Immediate release of all our Party Members and sympathisers mentioned in the annexed list.
2. Withdrawal of pending warrants and restrictions on our comrades.
3. Lifting the bans and restrictions on meetings.
4. Freedom for organising the "Muktisena," the local People's Volunteer Brigade, an organisation for Civil Defence, organisation of relief and shelter during air raids, etc.
5. Cancellation of the order of security deposit on the "Mukti Yuddha."
6. Permission to send our Party organs inside jails to all patriots.
7. Withdrawal of restrictions on our patriotic propaganda squads.

If these demands are conceded, it will help facilitate us in the task of fighting ~~the~~ sabotage and Fifth Column activity, will help us to mobilise the people, to unite them for defence against the Jap invaders, it will help us to unite them for the establishment of a National Government to rouse our people and put them in the field against the Japanese invaders.

The acid test of our genuineness is our reaction to this repression directed against us. In spite of the worst repression against us, in spite of the restrictions, and limitations, we carry on implementing our political line, because we are firmly convinced that it is in the best interests of our people.

Note:

Abbreviations used in Memos

1. P. : Party
2. P.M.: Party Member
3. P.C.: Provincial Committee
4. P.W.: Our paper "People's War"
5. A.I.S.F.: All-India Students' Federation
6. S.F. : Students' Federation

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LIST AND DETAILS OF ARRESTED COMRADES

1. BAIDYANATH RATH. Arrested on August 19, 1942.  
Reasons: Detained under Section 26 of the Defence of India Regulations. Was suspected by the Government to have taken a leading role in the student demonstrations at Cuttack following the arrest of the national leaders. ACTUALLY, FOR A LONG TIME PRIOR TO HIS ARREST HE WAS BEDRIDDEN and could not therefore take part in our explanatory campaign among the students against sabotage. Was arrested on his way home (outside town).  
Party history: Has been a Party Member since 1937 and a Provincial Committee member since 1939. Is a good organiser.
  
2. BIJAY CHANDRA DAS Detained 18.8.42  
Reasons: Arrested at Cuttack WHERE HE HAD COME FOR ATTENDING THE ANTI-FASCIST CONFERENCE SCHEDULED TO MEET ON 10.8.42, under the presidentship of Swami Sahajanand but which was eventually dropped on account of the August 9th incidents. Between the 9th and the date of his arrest he attended a general body meeting of Party comrades of the whole Province which defined our attitude towards the Congress movement. Did nothing to warrant arrest.  
Party history: A Party Member since 1938. A Provincial Committee Member since 1940. At the time of his last arrest was Provincial Committee Representative to the DISTRICT OF GANJAM whose importance lay in the fact that it was THE BASE OF THE FIFTH COLUMN and the ONLY DISTRICT WHERE THE FORWARD BLOC HAS A MASS FOLLOWING. COMRADE DAS WAS BUSY ORGANISING A PARTY BASE HERE ABLE ENOUGH TO PREVENT THE PEOPLE GOING UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE FORWARD BLOC LED BY OLD LEADERS OF 20 YEARS STANDING.
  
3. RAMAKRUSHNA PATI Warrant for arrest issued on 18.8.42. Arrested and detained since 12.10.42.  
Reasons: For a month previous to the 9th August affair HE WAS THE CHIEF ORGANISER OF THE PROVINCIAL ANTI-FASCIST CONFERENCE. AS A MAIN PARTY SPEAKER HE VOICED OUR ATTITUDE TO THE WAR IN THE VARIOUS PUBLIC MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES that he addressed or organised, in different parts of the province.  
Party history: A Party Member since 1940. Was Secretary to the Provincial Committee after the conspiracy case round-up in 1940. Is a brilliant speaker and organiser. Was a Provincial Committee Member at the time of his arrest and also Joint Secretary of the Provincial Kisan Sabha and a member of the All India Kisan Sabha. Very influential among the Kisans. (peasants).
  
4. BANAMALI DAS Warranted by Nilgiri State on 11.8.42. Arrested in British district, Balasore, on February 3rd., 1943. Detained.  
Reasons: The reasons of arrest as stated by the Nilgiri State (unofficially) is that Comrade Das was responsible for unrest among the poor peasantry of the State in May, June and July of 1942. The 'unrest' referred to is as follows: Unlike previous years on account of the price of paddy going up, the big peasants and paddy merchants refused to send or <sup>lend</sup> ~~send~~ paddy to the poorer people who needed it. But for the anti-Jap agitation through Village Defence Committees whose organisation was in full swing in this area during this period, these hungry people (aborigines) might have taken recourse to looting, etc. Instead, under Communist guidance, under the lead of Banamali Das, and their urge to defend their homeland against the Jap invaders, they were turned away from looting.  
Party history: A true leader of the people. Was convicted in the conspiracy case. Became secretary of the Balasore District Committee after the secretary's arrest in addition to his job as District Secretary of the Kisan Sabha. Even while illegal he saved the people of Nilgiri from the movement of sabotage and led them on to the path of national unity. One of the flowers of the Party. A powerful mass mobiliser. We wanted to ~~entrust~~ entrust him with the task of organising the people of the native states noted for their militancy for defence. The tracts being hilly are suitable for purposes of defence.
  
5. GIRIDHARI PANDA Arrested on 11.8.42 by Nilgiri State. Detained in Bolangir State jail.  
Reasons: The same as those of Comrade Banamali Das in the 'unrest' in the state for food.

Party history: A p.m. since '38. Worked in state people's movements of Nilgiri and Dhenkanal. Is a good agitator. Was secretary to the Balasore Dist. Party Committee at the time of his arrest.

6. PRANNATH PATNAIK Arrested on 11.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: The reasons for his arrest were that perhaps as leading congressman of the province and a congress M.L.A., his sympathy and possible support to the Congress movement were taken for granted. So he was arrested.  
Party history: A p.m. since '36. Was in the P.C. till 38. He was a leading Kisan Sabha worker. Was also working in the Congress.
7. DURGA CH. MAHANTI Arrested on 14.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: As leader of the PSF he was actively engaged in the Party's and A.I.S.F.'s explanatory campaign against sabotage among students swayed away by the movement of August. He along with other student comrades moved from mess to mess and hostel to hostel persuading students to desist from sabotage activities. Read out our resolution in a public meeting of students during these days. Still the Police arrested him as being an active participator in the struggle.  
Party history: Connected with the P. since his school days. A p.m. since '39. A good agitator. Student leader in the Party. Very influential among the students.
8. NARASINGH TRIPATHY Arrested on 14.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: Same as above, except that he presided over the students meeting referred to above.  
Party history: Connected with P. since his school days. A p.m. since '40. A good agitator. Student leader. ~~For long a student worker in the P.~~
9. SATYABADI MISRA Arrested on 14.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: A worker of the labour movement at the time of his arrest. He played no role in the student movement at all. Was perhaps suspected of participating in student unrest.  
Party history: For long student worker in the P. Worked in the S.F. until he joined the labour movement as an active worker. A good agitator.
10. SAILENDRA NATH MAHAPATRA Arrested on 14.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: Same as that of No.7.  
Party history: Came to the Party from students movement. Is an old student leader.
11. MANMOHAN MISRA Arrested on 14.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: Same as above.  
Party history: Very reliable Party sympathiser. Was working in SF under Party guidance where he loyally worked out P. line. Was to have been ~~retaken~~ taken into P. He applied for ~~Party~~ Party membership in jail. We will take him into P.
12. RAM CHANDRA RAM Arrested on 14.8.42. Detained.  
Reasons: ~~Did~~ We don't know.  
Party history: A p.m. and old student worker. Was an agent for P.W. at time of arrest.
13. SARAT CH. MAHANTY Arrested on Sept.42. Convicted to 22 months R.I.  
Reasons: Convicted on a charge of sabotage although he was absent from the province on the date of the incidents.  
Party history: Was a dock worker at Calcutta where he was in a P.cell. After underground days he came to Orissa and worked in Kisan Sabha of Cuttack district.
14. PRANBANDHU AGASTI  
Reasons: Arrested by Nilgiri State and externed after a period of imprisonment.  
Party history: An old p.m. and Kisan Sabha worker. Worked in the state

peoples movement and in the Congress.

15. ADHIKARI MAHANTI Arrested on 18th Octo.42.  
Reasons: Convicted to 1 year's R.I. on the absurd charge of shouting pro-Jap slogans in a public meeting at Salepur (Cuttack). Actually he made an anti-Jap speech and won over two High school teachers from sabotage movement. Those two teachers were also arrested and detained for having organised the meeting for communist speakers.  
Party history: The most promising and able of those who joined the P. recently. It is mainly because of him and his work that no sabotage activity was reported from Salepore which was the Dist. Congress headquarters.
16. NARSINGH CH. DAS Arrested on 27.8.42. Convicted to 3 months. Detained on expiry.  
Reasons: Convicted on a false charge of distributing congress bulletins in Balipatna thana of Puri Dist. As a congress worker of this area he was hated by ministerialist workers of the area. They got him arrested and convicted.  
Party history: A young congress worker, came over to the P after his disillusionment with individual satyagraha movement of congress when he suffered imprisonment. Also an active whole time Kisan Sabha worker.
17. BRAJA KISHORE PATNAIK Arrested on 12.8.42. Detained by Athgarh State.  
Reasons: Was an old Prajamandal worker. Everybody, every connected with any public activity, was arrested in the state, as a "preventive" measure. We did not receive any reply to our letter to the State saying that Patnaik was a communist and was opposed to sabotage.  
Party history: A p.m. since 42. Very influential among the shops' people.
18. KUDANRAM Arrested on 15.8.42. now detained.  
Reasons: Convicted for having presided over a meeting of protest against arrest of national leaders. Detained after expiry of term.  
Party history: Was a Kisan Sabha worker in Khurda (Puri). Came to Party in 42.
19. GAJENDRA NATH DIXIT Arrested on 21.1.43. Undertrial.  
Reasons: Arrested for having shouted Inquilab Zindabad slogan in the Lenin Day procession at Bhadrak - so says the Police Officer.  
Party history: A young p.m. and Kisan Sabha worker.
20. RAM BARIK 21.1.43. Undertrial.  
Reasons: Arrested for having observed Lenin Day on Jan.21 at Ertal (Balasore). 15 more P.M.'s too arrested that day.  
Party history: Party member.
21. BAIDHAR JENA 21.1.43. Undertrial.  
Reasons: Same as above. ~~xxxxxx~~  
Party history: Party member.
22. ARJUNI BEHERA Arrested on 21.1.43. Undertrial.  
Reasons: Arrested at Bhadrak in connection with Lenin Day celebrations on Jan.21.  
Party history: Party member.
23. DHANESWAR JENA Arrested on 22.8.42.  
Reasons: Convicted on false charges of sabotage.  
Party history: A Kisan Sabha worker of Cuttack district. Now he is a candidate for P. membership.
24. PRAHLAD JENA Arrested on 22.8.42.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above
25. DUSASAN Arrested on 22.8.42.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.

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26. JUDHISTIR Arrested on 22.8.42.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
27. GOVIND PANDA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: Arrested for observing Lenin Day at Bhadrak. Six others were also arrested on same day.  
Party history: A militant Kisan Sabha worker. Came to us from Congress movement of sabotage in Sept. last.
28. ARJUN CH. MAHAPATRA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: Arrested in connection with Lenin Day celebrations at Ertal. President of the day's meeting.  
Party history: An old congress worker now working in the Kisan Sabha under our guidance.
- ~~29. PRANKRUSHNA NAIK Arrested on 21.1.43.~~  
One who works under Party guidance and control and will be admitted shortly into the P.
29. PRANKRUSHNA NAIK Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: On account of Leninday celebrations at Ertal (Balasore).  
Party history: A Party militant.
30. GAYADHAR MAHAPATRA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
31. SADHU CH. BAL Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
32. KRUPASINDHU PANDA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
33. BANCHHANIDHI MISRA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
34. UGRASENA LENKA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
35. CHAITANYA MAHAPATRA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
36. BENUDHAR KMM BHANJ Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
37. JOGINDRA SENAPATI Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
38. GANAPATI BAL Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
39. SANATAN MALIK Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
40. BAIDHAR MISRA Arrested on 21.1.43.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.
41. CHEMEI MAHAPATRA Wanted.  
Reasons: same as above.  
Party history: same as above.

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(All the 16 arrests at Ertal on Lenin Day were effected by the same Police Officer of Basudebpur P.S. who was responsible for the Erum firing killing 160 and who warned our comrades against indulging in 'foolish' things as anti-Jap movement).

Besides this the following sympathisers of ours who are supporters of Party policies at the time of their arrest are also detained.

- 42. PHANI PAL, President, PKS
- 43. BIREN MITRA, Gen Secy, PSF and W.C. member AISF
- 44. AMITAV MAHAPATRA, A prominent SF worker
- 45. MOHAN DAS, A congress M.L.A. and old Kisan Sabha worker. Sided with us in all our struggles against the CSP leadership which has now turned F.C.

SPECIAL CATEGORY

Besides all this, we are giving the name of the following Comrade who in the earlier days was pro-struggle, but afterwards realised his mistake and apologised to the Party. This comrade was nevertheless expelled from the Party. But in jail he is propagating the Party policy and combatting the 'struggle'.

- 46. GOVIND MAHANTY Arrested 1.11.42. Detained.  
Reasons: Helped the struggle in the beginning, but towards the latter part began to disapprove of it.  
Party history: Was a P.M. Worked in the Congress. Apologised to the Party for having joined the anti-national "struggle".  
 Nevertheless expelled from P. In jail, propagating the Party line.

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(Upto the middle of January, 1943)

Orissa is one of the threatened Provinces and our Party here is one of the youngest sections of the Communist Party of India. There is a comparatively strong Forward Bloc and Congress Socialist Party group working here. They seem to go scotfree while the entire wrath of the Orissa Ministry is concentrated not against them, but against the foremost anti-Fascist fighters. The attitude of the Orissa Ministry towards the Party after the August crisis passes all comprehension. All our middle cadres and a large part of our top cadres were summarily arrested and thrown into jail. The large majority of them were detained without being given a chance to defend themselves. On the student front, all our cadres were wiped out to a man.

It is under such conditions that we have had to work out our policy during this period of the crisis.

#### EXPLANATORY AND AGITATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

On the 1st of August we had issued a printed pamphlet where we explained the People's War policy and gave a call to all patriots to desist from any movement that would weaken the defences of our land and strengthen only the Fascist enemy of our nation. From 10th. August we had arranged anti-Fascist and Kisan Conferences and meetings all over the Province. A Kisan Conference and an anti-Fascist rally was scheduled for August 10 at Cuttack. We had asked all our comrades to come to Cuttack on August 9 which had been fixed for the opening day of our legal Provincial Headquarters.

The arrest of the Congress leaders and the banning of the Congress came on August 9. Immediately, we took advantage of the presence of comrades from all localities at Cuttack for the opening ceremony of our Provincial Party Headquarters. The slogans of our Party re. the "struggle", how our comrades should fight sabotage and anarchy and rally the people behind National Defence and National Unity, all this was explained to the comrades and they returned to their respective fields of work with new confidence.

On the 10th. August we could not have the mass rally and meeting at Cuttack. But we brought out a cycle procession with posters of National Defence and National Unity. Our procession and our slogans had a very good effect on the people of the town.

Our student comrades immediately took up the task of explanatory campaign among the student masses against sabotage and indefinite strikes. We approached all the pro-struggle leaders and argued out with them the disastrous results that ~~would~~ would follow the "struggle".

#### GOVERNMENT OBSTRUCTION

In the meanwhile, feelings were running high among the student masses. Exciting reports from Patna were trickling down. Some Oriya students who had been studying at Patna came down to Orissa and spread wild rumours. Under the circumstances, the Provincial Students' Federation held an open meeting of the students. One of our comrades was the President and our Resolution was passed unanimously protesting against the arrests of the national leaders and calling upon the students to desist from sabotage and indefinite strikes. The pro-struggle elements were completely isolated. But immediately, for reasons only known to themselves, the Government came down upon us and arrested all our student comrades.

This action of the Government actually came as a godsend to the pro-struggle student leaders. They could do their work of incitement and sabotage and incendiarism among the student masses unhampered by any

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patriotic opposition. And they did it. There were student strikes. The action of the authorities in lathi-charging peaceful student processions added fuel to fire and aggravated the situation.

#### WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

In the countryside, our comrades held small closed-door meetings of Kisans and rallied them against sabotage and anarchy. In our strongholds (Nilgiri in Balasore District, Padmapur in Cuttack, and the whole of Khurda sub-division in Puri District), the pro-struggle ~~ix~~ elements utterly failed to influence the people. In some places they concentrated all their fire against us and tried all means to isolate us from the people, but our comrades everywhere were in the midst of the angry people, and saved the situation and foiled the saboteurs' game. This happened several times in Nilgiri where our intervention alone prevented dangerous clashes between infuriated crowds of people and the police. Except big meetings on Kisan Day, no mass meetings could be possible during August and September.

#### WINNING OVER CONGRESS PATRIOTS

From the beginning of November, we definitely gained ground. We were successful in getting at the few leading Congress workers left behind and weaning them away from the "struggle". In Balasore, 2 leading Congress workers were won over to our side. Also 2 student leaders who took a leading part in the College strike. In Nilgiri state, the pro-struggle Prajamandal workers were approached, convinced, and ultimately they came over to us. In Puri District, a number of Congress workers have definitely abandoned "struggle" and become supporters of our Party policy of national defence and national unity.

#### LITERATURE CIRCULATION

We reprinted leading Editorials of "People's War" (the Central Party organ) warning the people against sabotage and incendiarism and rallying them to the path of national defence in leaflet form and distributed them widely. The Provincial Students' Federation under Communist lead issued an appeal to the students evoking their patriotic sentiments and calling upon them to leave the present path of national disruption and destruction. This appeal was very successful in preventing a student strike for the second time.

The success and effectiveness of our work can be gauged by the fact that while in August we were only selling 16 copies of "People's War" (our Central Party organ), in Cuttack town, by January the sales have increased to 110 in Cuttack alone. As for "Mukthiyuddha", (our weekly Provincial organ), we first were printing 500 copies, but within two weeks we had to double the number. To-day the demand for "Mukthiyuddha" exceeds 2,000, only the shortage of paper hampers us.

The following table will show how many meetings, demonstrations and closed-door meetings were held and how many squads were brought out (to do an agitational campaign against the "struggle" and for national defence and national unity) in different parts of the Province after August 9. In very few places have mass meetings been allowed. So we were mostly restricted in our work to closed-door group meetings and house-to-house individual propaganda. Our squads do such house-to-house individual propaganda. Each squad consists of about 5 or 6 comrades.

PURI DISTRICT:— From August till the end of the year, 16 mass meetings have been held in all. At the first meeting after August 9, which was held at Khurda, one of our ~~xxxx~~ comrades who was presiding was arrested. In no other meetings have arrests been made in this district. In the same district the following number of group meetings have been held.

	<u>Group Meetings</u>	<u>Squads</u>
August.....	10	nil
September.....	15	"
October.....	22	"
November.....	48	6
December.....	20	6

Cuttack District: From August upto the end of the year, 4 student meetings and 5 mass meetings have altogether been held. In August one public meeting was held in Cuttack, protesting against the government policy of repression and calling upon the people not to indulge in sabotage. In November, one public meeting was held on the food issue, warning the people against food riots and anarchy and asking them to unite and seek a peaceful solution of the food problem. In December again, another meeting was held on the same issue and a People's Food Committee was formed representative of all sections of public opinion. Under the auspices of this Committee mohalla and ward meetings are taking place at close intervals, and ward committees are being formed and functioned. Everywhere, the attempts of the Fifth Column to exploit the food situation to create riots and anarchy are being successfully foiled.

During this period, 50 closed-door meetings have been held in the countryside and 60 street corner meetings have been held in Cuttack town alone by our squads.

Balasore District: After August 9 upto the end of December 5 public meetings were held. The number of group meetings are as follows:-

August....8 group meetings and house-to-house propaganda covering about 64 villages.  
 September....47 group meetings  
 October.....58 group meetings and house-to-house propaganda  
 November....30 group meetings and 4 squads  
 December....51 group meetings and 4 squads

Regular meetings are being held in the Banasima and Kasapa areas of the Nilgiri State. Every week patriotic propoganda squads, sometimes consisting of 20 comrades, are touring the villages both in Bhadraksh subdivision of the Balasore District and in Nilgiri. All this despite the fact that in Nilgiri State, Comrade Banamali Das, our most popular and influential worker among the States' people, has been arrested and is in detention.

#### ON THE FOOD FRONT

The Food situation has become very serious and is affecting all sections of the people except of course the profiteers and the hoarders. This has, to-day, become the most fruitful soil for the Fifth Column to incite riots and looting and sap the people's morale. Everywhere our comrades are busy explaining to the people how food riots and looting will help only the Fifth Column and the Fascist invader and how all sections of the people should unite and seek a peaceful solution of the food problem. The People's Food Committee which we have formed in Cuttack embraces all sections and parties of the people and is a firm bulwark against all Fifth Column attempts to exploit the Food situation for their own foul purposes.

We are holding incessant meetings all over the Province explaining the Food Issue to the people and rallying them against the Fifth Column and pro-struggle elements. In Chandka Thana alone, during one week in December, 7 village meetings and 2 somewhat bigger meetings were held by us.

Here is a concrete example of what the work of our Party to-day on the Foodfront actually means. Towards the end of December 1942, a hoarder in

Puri District was regularly exporting a large number of bags of rice while the people of the District were starving. At Chandka (Puri District), proper, a crowd of starving people got hold of the exporter. There was a big tussle between the 2 parties and the infuriated people were on the verge of mass looting. The situation would have let loose unbridled anarchy and civil war throughout the District. Our comrades, Sadhu Charan Mahanti and Niranjana, rushed to the place immediately they heard the news, intervened between the merchants and the angry crowds, explained to the merchants the people's necessity and got the whole amount sold there to the people at the controlled rate. A most dangerous explosion which would have given the Fifth Column the biggest chance of their lifetime, was thus averted. Such cases have been reported from other places too.

Here is a further example of our comrades' practical activity in stopping sabotage and incendiarism, this time from the student front. In Ravenshaw College, the only First Grade College in the Province, the saboteurs tried to call a strike just before Christmas. The student masses had been thoroughly demoralised, the authorities had flouted the students' demands and struck at all their elementary rights. The student masses were in a mood to listen to any pro-struggle inciter. The Forward Bloc elements in alliance with a few misguided patriotic students gave the slogan of burning the College office. "Do not listen to the Communist", this was their advice to all the student masses. The Communist students brought out leaflets exposing the game of the saboteurs, moved from hostel to hostel, held group meetings, approached the patriotic students individually. Through this whirlwind campaign, our comrades were able to foil the Fifth Column game successfully, despite the filthy slander campaign carried on by them against our Party.

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A) POLITICAL

The existence of a legal Communist Party in Kerala, strong and deeply entrenched in the people, has been the decisive factor which has kept up the anti-Japanese morale of our people in spite of August 9 and all that followed. If the Communist Party had also been under ban, if we did not possess even the little liberties which to-day we are supposed to have, the face of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore would have been entirely different. The anti-British feelings of all sections of our people ran very high with the arrest of our national leaders on August 9, and with our strong and bitter anti-imperialist ~~traditions~~ traditions, the entire people would have walked straight into the arms of the Jap Fifth Column. The only force which has saved the situation has been the Communist Party which to-day is the FIRST party throughout Kerala - FIRST in mass influence, FIRST in the number of cadres it can throw into the field, FIRST in organisation.

Since August 9, we used every method of agitation and propaganda to convince the people and the patriots that neither civil disobedience nor sabotage would take us towards national freedom, sabotage would bring us only Jap slavery instead. Positively, on the other hand, we ramm'd home the slogan of all-in patriotic unity of the people for national resistance against the fascist invaders and for winning National Government on the basis of Congress-League Agreement. We have been very successful in our propaganda. We used the following weapons for our agitation and propaganda, and the facts and figures attached to each item would prove the increasing success of our campaign:-

1. "DESHABHIMANI" PAPER, OUR WEEKLY PROVINCIAL ORGAN. The first issue came out only on Sept. 6, i.e. after the national crisis, was about 1 month old. Still we started with a circulation of 2000. At present (3.1.43) we have reached a circulation of 5600. The increase in circulation is a measure of the rapid rate at which our influence is expanding among the people. Almost every issue of the paper contains propaganda against sabotage of our defences, and for national freedom through successful national defence.

2. PAMPHLETS, LEAFLETS, HANDBILLS, ETC. Between August 9 and November 1, our campaign was directed towards weaning away patriots from destruction of our defences and getting them to unite for release of Congress leaders, for National Government. During this period we brought out the following pamphlets and leaflets:-

a) "People's War and the Kisans", by E.M.S. Namboodiripad, showing how it was the duty and in the interest of the kisans ~~to~~ to mobilise themselves for the defence of their hearths and homes, and how it was their honourable and patriotic duty to "grow more food" for their own benefit and for the benefit of the army and the people. 428 copies of this book have been sold.

b) "Com. Namboodiripad's Presidential Address" delivered at the Calicut rally on Sept. 6 when a province-wide campaign against sabotage and for the release of our leaders was inaugurated. 10,000 people attended the rally, 5,900 copies of the Presidential Address have been sold.

c) "To the workers of Kerala", a handbill for free distribution among workers, in which the workers were exhorted to remain at their posts and to increase production for the sacred cause of the defence and freedom of India. 5000 copies of this handbill were distributed all over Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore in working class areas.

d) "To the Students of Kerala", for free distribution among students. 1000 copies of this handbill were distributed.

e) "Build Unity!", another leaflet in which the patriots ~~were~~ and the people were exhorted to unite for resistance against the Japs and for release of leaders and National Government. 985 copies of this have been sold.

Following the Plenum Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India, from November 1 onwards, we started our National Unity campaign in right earnest as a big propaganda drive. We inaugurated this with the National Unity Week which was a thundering success in the towns as well as in innumerable villages.

The campaign is a non-stop one and is still going on, increasing in success. The following pamphlets, leaflets, song-books, handbills, etc, have been brought out so far during this period:-

a) "Unity, Unity, Unity!" - a compilation of the resolutions of the C.C.Plenum of the Communist Party of India, translated into Malayalam, together with the introduction by Com. Namboodiripad. 685 copies have been sold so far.

b) "Unity Week Manifesto" by the Communist Party of India, translated into Malayalam. 8,170 copies have been distributed free.

c) "Unite for Release of National Leaders," a handbill of the CPI, translated into Malayalam, 4,700 copies have been distributed free.

d) "Hindus and Muslims unite for Congress-League Agreement for National Government CPI Handbill, Malayalam translation. 5000 copies distributed free.

e) ""Unity Week Pledge" of which 2000 copies were printed and distributed. The pledge was to be signed by as many number of people as possible (of which the account is given elsewhere in this document under the heading "Signature campaign"). Every signatory pledges himself that he would defend his country against the Jap-fascists, co-operate with and assist the armies at the front, hunt down the Fifth Columnists, who might make landings secretly on the coast and hand them over to the authorities, work for unity for Congress-League Agreement and National Government, etc., etc.

f) "To the Congressmen of Kerala", appealing to them to set their face against sabotage and to work for Congress-League unity. 30,000 copies of this handbill have been distributed free.

g) "To the Muslims of Kerala", another handbill appealing to Muslims to bring pressure on the League President to press for release of Congress leaders. 10,000 copies have been distributed free.

h) "To the Kerala/<sup>Workers</sup>~~Kisans~~", warning workers against attempts of strugglewallas to split their ranks by forming rival unions called National Labour Unions. 5000 copies distributed. Workers unity stressed.

i) "To the Kerala Kisans", written by the Kerala Kisan Sangham, which has accepted our political policy and programme, 10,000 copies distributed.

j) "To students in Kerala ", warning students against being tempted away by Jap agents wearing the mask of patriots, and warning them also against attempts of strugglewallas to start National Students' Organisations as a counterblast to the Students' Federation. 5,000 copies distributed. Students' Unity stressed.

k) "An appeal to patriots", issued by the All-Cochin Students' Federation, which has accepted our policy. The appeal is against sabotage activities and for all-in patriotic unity for defence and freedom, for release of leaders, etc. 500 copies sold in Cochin State.

l) "Through Unity to Victory", issued by the All-Kerala Students' Federation.

m) "To the People of Travancore" - 5000 copies.

n) "Native States of Kerala" - 940 copies.

o) "Call for Battle", collection of anti-Jap and anti-Nazi songs written by Com. K.P.R.Gopalan in jail. 4,260 copies of this song-book have been sold, and these songs have been sung in chorus in thousands of meetings all over Kerala.

p) "Strange Times", a song composed by Com. M.P.Bhattathiripad. It is intended to mobilise the people for national resistance against the Jap-fascists, and contains our entire Party policy expressed in the simplest language. 5,100 copies of this book have been sold.

q) "Unite to defend the Motherland" - another collection of songs by Com. K.P.G. printed a fortnight ago. 2,500 copies already distributed. Printed under the auspices of the All-Kerala Students' Federation.

### 3. MEETINGS AND PROCESSIONS.

It is difficult to estimate the total number of mass meetings and processions

we have conducted ever since August 9 in order to rouse the people's patriotism and ~~the~~ self-confidence to resist the invaders and to win National Government. By this means we have succeeded in preventing workers' strikes and prolonged students' strikes prevented clashes with the police, and at the same time strengthened the people's morale, strengthening it against the Government repression and the subtle Fifth-Columnist propaganda. On August 10 following the arrest of our national leaders, the procession of workers, students and middle-class elements that we conducted in Calicut, culminating in a big mass meeting which demanded the release of the Congress Leaders, prevented the people from being used by the struggle wallas. This has happened in numerous other places, and not once but many times. For example, on the Gandhi Jayanti occasion, we adopted this method very effectively in Palghat and Tellicherry. It was, in fact, not the blind repression of the police but our political campaign among the people that has led to the failure of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Kerala. Mass meetings and processions have been of the uttermost importance for us in this respect.

From the Unity Week onwards, very many meetings and processions have been conducted in Malabar. Chirakkal Taluk alone conducted 8 processions and 1085 meetings, and got 65,000 people to participate in these; this during Unity Week alone. We haven't got complete reports from other talukas. Ernad, during the Unity Week, had 41 meetings, 3,250 people participating; in Ponnani 38 meetings, 3,500 people participating. Meetings praying to the Madras Governor to exercise clemency on the Kayyur comrades condemned to death; meetings asking the Viceroy to provide facilities for Rajaji to meet Gandhiji; countless price-control meetings; numerous processions to the local Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors and sub-Collectors and the Collector of Malabar himself - all this has helped to keep up the people's morale and to set their face against sabotage.

4. GROUP TALKS, BAITHAK MEETINGS, MASS CLASSES. These are a regular feature, and a substitute for big meetings, and processions, ~~where~~ wherever meetings and processions are banned (Cochin, Travancore, Kasaragod Taluk in South Canara Dt.), and ~~even~~ even in Malabar where meetings and processions are not banned, these are important weapons. In Cochin State, during the Unity Week, 638 baithak meetings were held, in which 19,600 people participated. In Ambalappuzha Taluk in Travancore, during the Unity Week, 260 baithak meetings, with 8,000 people participating, were held. In Ponnani Taluk in Malabar, during the same week, 116 small meetings were conducted in which 1600 people participated. In Kasaragod, 1200 people participated in 30 baithak meetings.

5. SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN. This method is also very effective whether meetings and processions are banned or otherwise. In Cochin and Travancore, this has had a special role to play. In Chirakkal Taluk, during Unity Week, 21,619 signatures were collected on the Unity Week Pledge. Ernad, 625 signatures. Kasaragod, 3460 signatures. Ambalappuzha Taluk in Travancore, 4000 signatures. In Amballoor, Cochin State, an appeal to the Government to take back the dismissed workers back to work in the local mills, stop police repression and employers' rowdyism, and get production going on once again, received 10,000 signatures from the local people; so much so that the Government was compelled to intervene, and the situation improved. As for students, we have been able to rally as many as 4500 students, throughout Kerala by means of the signature campaign (~~2000~~ 2000 in Malabar, 2000 in Cochin, and 500 in Travancore).

6. PATRIOTIC PROPAGANDA SQUADS DOING HOUSE-TO-HOUSE PROPAGANDA. This has been very effective in rooting out fifth column influence. In Chirakkal, during Unity Week 393 squads, consisting of 124 persons, covered 2,007 houses. In Kasaragod, 20 squads. In Cochin State, during the Unity Week, 455 squads covered 3138 houses.

The above statistics all are taken from the Unity Week reports only. A great deal of further success has been gained since that time, more and more meetings, processions, baithak meetings, etc are being conducted, more and more signatures collected, more and more houses penetrated, etc., etc. It is not necessary to burden this document with further statistics. What is intended here is only to give a

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picture of the work done and of the measure of success achieved.

As a result of the huge volume of agitation and propaganda that we have done, and are still doing, mass support for sabotage is entirely nil. No serious act of sabotage has taken place in our province at all. Even the few minor acts that have taken place have been acts done by a few individuals without mass backing. The saboteurs are in despair for lack of popular support of their actions. They are not so much afraid of the police (whom they can hoodwink easily) as of the people, who, galvanised by the programme of the Communist Party, keep their eyes and ears wide open against every Fifth Columnist and Jap agent.

The main obstruction to our work to-day comes from the police and the bureaucracy. The local bureaucrats, some of whom are in sympathy with the struggle walls because of their fear of people's mobilisation, try their level best either to provoke us into "struggle" or bludgeon us into accepting the position of the loyalists and toadies of the Government. They hate the Communists like the plague and try to hit us, and hamper our work, they send false reports about us to the higher officials, they can't realise that our province is under the immediate threat of Fascist attack, that the Communists are the only political party in India that stand between the people and the Jap agents, between the Government and the Army and the people on the one hand and the Fascist Fifth Column on the other. They can't see beyond their noses.

## B) PRACTICAL

1. PRODUCTION FRONT. The Struggle walls could not at all hamper with the production anywhere in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore, because the entire working-class stood by its Party throughout Kerala. The entire organised Trade Union Movement of Kerala, the All-Kerala Trade Union Congress and all its branches, accepted and fought for the Communist policy towards war from the very beginning. Thanks to our enormous influence among the workers, even August 9 and the subsequent events did not sway their ~~own~~ heads.

Not that the struggle walls didn't make attempts to inveigle the workers. The 30,000 handloom weavers of Chirakkal would certainly have gone on strike but for the political influence exercised over them by the Party and the Chirakkal Handloom Weavers' Union. Anti-British feelings were certainly strong among them, and economic discontent was always there. This is true of the workers in Tellicherry and Calicut also (including Feroke). Struggle walls tried their best to get them go on strikes, some owners provoked them, others offered them free wages during the strike period. But they remained at their posts because their Party and their unions were telling them incessantly that the best way to improve their own interests was to increase production for the army and the people.

The downright terroristic tactics adopted by the Cochin police and the Amballoor Textile Mills employers in Amballoor area, Cochin State, to provoke and demoralise the workers and so curtail production were countered effectively by the Communists. The total 2000 workers in the Mill are all members of their Union. Even under the worst repression, the workers didn't lose their anti-Jap morale. During Gandhi Jayanti the workers of ~~xxxxxx~~ Seetharam Mills, Trichur, would have gone on strike ~~xxxxxx~~ under the influence of the struggle walls' propaganda. But the workers stood firm and organised themselves better and better in their Union which to-day has a membership of 1600 out of 5000 (which is the total number of workers). Similarly in Travancore also our influence among the working class has been decisive. Railway workers, of whom there are about 6,000 in Malabar, Cochin and Travancore together, are coming under our influence more and more because we are the only Party that is able to combine the satisfaction of their urgent economic demands with the needs of national defence. More than 1000 among them are already members of the South Indian Railwaymen's Union, and 3000 of them already accept our policy consciously and firmly.

Struggle walls have been trying to form "National Labour Unions" to disrupt working-class unity, but their attempts have in most places reacted on themselves like a boomerang. Workers have only one Party - the Communist Party. And to-day this is not a distant ideal or a phrase but a common fact.

2. STUDENTS' FRONT. From the very beginning after August 9, we adopted



elastic tactics to see that prolonged and indefinite students' strikes were avoided, that students were kept at their posts within the High Schools and Colleges, that the educational institutions were kept running and not closed. The one-day protest strikes we conducted throughout Kerala immediately after the arrest of our national leaders were very successful in two ways. On the one hand we kept the flag of the students flying, we strengthened their morale, we gave their just indignation an organised form; and at the same time we kept them free from the clutches of the blinded Congressmen and the conscious Fifth-Columnists. As regards the latter, their influence has been almost entirely nil among the students. The vigorous campaign against the Fifth Columnist and the saboteur that we have carried on among the students has had its effect.

Communist students have always stood and fought for taking back the suspended students and releasing those who have been arrested. They fight for students' unity under a single organisation, the Students' Federation. They knew always more politics than the others, they are better agitators, organisers, leaders. Hence they have succeeded in completely isolating the struggle against the organisations, the "National Students' Organisation", which to-day have become almost a cipher. Many S.N.O. students have now come over to us for the National Unity Campaign.

3. PREVENTION OF HARTALS. Both immediately following August 9, as well as on 9th of every month, the struggle-wallas have tried to organise hartals in the towns. But, thanks to our propaganda against hartals by means of handbills and posters, etc., none of these attempts have been a success anywhere in Kerala. We have opposed these hartals not because they are a form of protest against the Government's highhandedness but because in to-day's conditions they mean suspension of economic life in the towns and therefore would hit the people rather than the Government. And hitting the people to-day means aiding the Japs.

4. PREVENTION OF LOOTING. But for the influence of the Communists and their organisation, hell would have been let loose in many of the bazaars, big and small, in the towns of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The rise in prices of rice, kerosene, sugar, etc. has been unheard of; the merchants have become objects of hatred among the people because of the profits they pile up; the worthlessness and the spinelessness of the Government's "price-control" is patent; the officials don't make the slightest attempt even to hide their corruption. Hunger is increasing, food riots have been on the agenda for the last 3 or 4 months. If no looting or rioting has taken place so far anywhere, it has certainly been due to the political campaign of the Communists and also their organisation to make price control as effective as possible. It is the Communists that have posted volunteers in front of the shops to control distribution and to prevent lootings, it is they who have kept the people peaceful and not the police. If there had been no legally functioning Communist Party in Kerala, many of our shopkeepers and merchants might have been actually assaulted and their shops looted, and many of the local bureaucrats wouldn't have had their heads on their shoulders.

Instances of how the Communists have been able to control and organise the people in their own interests, control and organise the distribution of food to the people, how they have been able to check profiteering on the one hand and check official corruption on the other by the creation of healthy public opinion and organisation against both - instances of all this can be had from almost every taluk and every town in Malabar and from many taluks and towns in Cochin and Travancore also.

Because we have been tackling the food problem in this way, we have been able to isolate the Fifth Columnist completely among the people. His arguments that the "Japs would get us plenty of rice from Burma, plenty of kerosene also from Burma, and plenty of sugar from Java" haven't cut much ice among the people.

The Japs and their agents have been isolated among the masses by the work of Communists. But the situation is dangerous. The habit of the police officials hitting at the Communists by way of paying off old scores means simply playing the game of the Fifth Column and nothing else.

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RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT (KERALA)

Before August 9. Some of our leaders were released, warrants against some were withdrawn, but some of our best agitators and propagandists (Coms. A.K.Gopalan, Chandroth, Kunhiraman Nair, K.Damodaran, K.P.Gopalan, E.P.Gopalan) were either in jail or underground. All the comrades convicted in the two Sept. 15 cases (Morazha and Matanur) and the Kayyur comrades were still in jail or underground. The Government refused to lift the ban on the All-Malabar Peasants' Union and its branches which had ~~was~~ been imposed in April, 1941. Students and teachers carrying on anti-Jap propaganda were threatened by officials of the Education Department; some were actually dismissed. The District Magistrate was taking too long a time to give us facilities for bringing out our weekly papers ~~with~~ although such facilities were given in other provinces.

ARRESTS SINCE AUGUST 9. In Kurumbranad and Kasaragod Taluks, our comrades were arrested for sabotage - a patently absurd and untenable charge. In Kurumbranad, one was arrested for nuisance.

In Walluvanad, our Taluk Secretary was arrested.

In the same Taluk, a group of anti-Jap volunteers, doing anti-sabotage and unity propaganda work, were beaten up by a police party. One comrade was arrested at Ottapalam for nuisance.

In Ponnani Taluk, 3 comrades doing anti-profiteering and anti-looting propaganda were charged with "preaching no-tax campaign".

In Palghat, comrades undergoing ARP training were arrested and after some time released.

M.S.P. The Malabar Special Police was sent to Kasargode, Chirakkal and Kurumbranad Taluks. They raided Peasants' Union offices, beat up our comrades, threatened peasants who gave contributions to our Party Fund.

SEC. 144. Orders under Sec. 144 have been promulgated in S.Canara Dt. where we are not able to hold public meetings or organise processions. This was done while a jatha was going about the whole Taluk preaching the message of anti-sabotage and national unity. The jatha had to disperse in the middle.

ACTION AGAINST STUDENTS Communist students have been victims of educational authorities. Action has been taken against communist student leaders like Govindan-Kutty at Kumaranalloor (Ponnani Taluk), O.M.S.Namboodiripad, Palghat.

REASONS FOR THIS Officials who are hostile <sup>to</sup> ~~against~~ us are of 3 types.

1. Those who are definitely pro-Jap. To this class belongs M.Govinda Menon, C.I.D. Circle Inspector, Calicut, and P.T.Krishna Menon, Police Circle Inspector, Tellicherry. They have cordial relations with Fifth Column; they believe that the Japs are going to win.

2. Those who are not pro-Jap but do not want us to grow strong if they can help it. To this class belongs the Collector and a majority of the subordinate officials.

3. Those who are against us because we expose their corruption and mobilise the people against them.

The tactics of the first class is not to arrest us but to help the Fifth Column in beating us up, raid our offices, ~~xxxxxxx~~ create disturbances at our meetings, etc.

The tactics of the second class is to minimise the civil liberties we enjoy as much as they can, but not to arrest us.

It is the third class which has been responsible for most ~~xxxxx~~ of the arrests.

PRESS The Collector has not taken any action against our Press. He seems to be tolerant towards it. But many presses refuse to print translations of matter published in "People's War" saying that it will land them into trouble. The reason for this seems to be that certain subordinate police officers go to these press owners and threaten them.

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OUR DEMANDS

1. Release all our comrades in jail, withdraw warrants.
2. This to include those convicted in Morazha, Mattanur and Kayyur cases.
3. Cancel orders of expulsion and other actions taken against Communist students.
4. Warn all Police and other officials against obstructing our work. Take exemplary action against those whose pro-Jap and pro-struggle tendencies have been proved.

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I. UNDER DETENTION NOT RELEASED

1. Com. Chandroth Kunhiraman Nair
2. Com. K. Damodaran
3. Com. K.P. Gopalan
4. Com. K.T. Kunhiraman Nambiar
5. Com. E.P. Gopalan
6. Com. C. Raghavan Nair
7. Com. P. S. Namboodini
8. M. Anandan.

II. SENTENCED TO DEATH

The four Kayyur comrades

III. CONVICTED

Morazha, Mattanur <sup>and Kayyur</sup> cases (about 75 - life sentence for about 12)

IV. CONVICTED AFTER AUGUST 9

Com. C. Kannan - who was a detenu in Vellore jail, escaped and was arrested in August when he came out openly.

A. Valluvanad

Com. N. Sankaran - case proceeding, arrested on nuisance charge.

B. PONNANI

- |                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| 1. Com. Imbichi Bava  | ) |   |
| 2. Com. Abdulla Kutty | ) | Sentenced for 1 year for prejudicial speeches |
| 3. Com. Madhavan      | ) |   |
| Ezhuthassan           | ) |   |

C. Kurumbranad

Com. K.P. Kunhiraman - case pending, arrested when he was about to address a price-control meeting.

D. Kasaraod

1. Com. K. Kunhikkannan arrested for obstruction
2. Com. V. Kunhikkannan Nair arrested for obstruction in Mangalore
3. Com. K. Krishnan - charged for wire-cutting in Pillicode.

V. <sup>under-ground (U.G.)</sup> ~~Esc~~ COMRADES

- |                            |   |                   |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------|
| 1. Com. A.K. Gopalan       | } | Escaped from jail |
| 2. Com. P. Sekharan        |   |                   |
| 3. Com. O.J. Joseph        |   |                   |
| 4. Com. A.V. Kunhambu      | } | Morazha case      |
| 5. Com. P. Kumaran         |   |                   |
| 6. Com. Subrahmanya Shenoi |   |                   |
| 7. Com. C.K. Panikkar      |   |                   |
| 8. Com. E.K. Nayanar       |   | Kayyur case       |
| 9. Com. P.K. Madhavan      |   | Telicherry case   |
| 10. Com. M. Kunhappu       |   | Mattanur case     |

ARGUMENT AGAINST RELEASING DETENUS AND U.G. COMRADES

If they are released they will organise another September 15th in the present explosive situation

ARGUMENT FOR RELEASING THEM

They are our best mass mobilisers and organisers. They are avowed anti-fascists who have accepted the Party line. If they are released they will be greatly helpful in organising and rallying the people for national defence and against sabotage.

This list is not complete. Supplementary list will be sent later.

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COCHIN

1. Meetings are prohibited. Permission to hold meetings were denied in several places although repeated requests were made.
2. Arrests and repression followed the lock-out in Amballoor Mill. Even normal Trade Union activities are banned. During the Amballoor Mill crisis, the comrade in charge of the D.C. was arrested and placed under detention. Com. Yagnamurthy, a prominent student workers, was ~~xxxxxx~~ externed from the State.
3. Police terror stalks the land.
4. More than 500 workers of the Amballoor Mill were thrown out by the mill-owner. The Government is doing nothing to relieve unemployment. Our representative held many interviews with the Government. But the Government has not carried into effect any of the assurances given. Instead the Communist Party office was raided and the office files and other materials were taken away.
5. The Government's policy is to crush the Communists. There is an important section among the officials who want to crush the Communists and the people; because they would like to have trouble inside the country. Another section reaches the same conclusion as they are afraid of the mass movement. The Diwan is not exercising his powers. He has practically no influence.
6. The police is very aggressive. They burst into the District office of the Party and beat our comrades. The trade union workers of Amballoor were brutally beaten. Several other public workers were intimidated. The toddy tappers of Anthikkad were beaten along the roads. K.Rajan and K.R.Kuttan, 2 comrades of Jnarakkal were arrested and Velayudhan was severely beaten.

- OUR DEMANDS:
- a) Freedom to propagate our Party line.
  - b) Release our comrades.
  - c) Release all workers convicted during the Amballoor strike and withdraw the cases pending against them.
  - d) No externment of Communists from the State.

- LIST OF ARRESTS:
1. C.Achutha Menon (Detention)
  2. Narayana Menon (Amballoor strike case)
  3. 12 working class comrades
  4. C.Yagnamurthy (Externed from the State)

If these comrades are released and the Party allowed to function legally in the State we will be able to combat effectively the movement of sabotage that is going on inside the State.

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TRAVANCORE

Calicut, 6.1.43

1. Meetings are not allowed
2. Almost all our important workers have been arrested both before and after August 9th.
  - a) Detention also
  - b) Many of our comrades have been proceeded against for various offences and cases are pending.
3. Our representative was told that the Government would co-operate with popular Food Committees and consider the question of releasing our comrades. But arrests are continuing.
4. Government is far more strongly anti-Communist than the British Indian Governments who have a desire to win the war.
5. No press will print anything for us because of the fear of the Government.
6. Police are carrying on anti-Communist propaganda. Complaints about police threats and intimidations are unheeded.
7. Pro-fascist sentiments are rampant.
8. We are demanding release of Communists, Civil liberties for holding meetings, etc. for strengthening defence. Also intervention by the India Government.

LIST OF ARRESTS

1. M.N.Govindan Nair (case is pending)
2. P.T.Punnuse (detention)
3. P.Jeevanandam )
4. C.P.Elango )  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years each for speeches
5. Karunakaran )  $1\frac{1}{2}$  years for speech
6. Joseph Thelli (detention)
7. Varghese Vaidyan (detention)
8. Puthupilli Raghavan (detention)
9. Sadasivan ) Police <sup>framed up</sup> ~~checked~~ a rape case against these two comrades and
10. Kesavan ) the case is pending.

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SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON TRAVANCORE

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It was after the memo on Travancore was prepared that we got news that Deshabhimani has been banned in Travancore.

It is difficult to intimate the damage caused to the interests of National Defence by this action of the Government. Deshabhimani is the only paper which, from week to week, appeals to the patriots to give up the policy of sabotage and Satyagraha, to the workers and peasants to increase production, to the hungry masses to desist from looting and other anti-Social activities. To ban this paper is to give wholesome food to the Fifth Columnists. Nobody else has done as much to fight the Fifth Columnists as Communists.

We therefore demand an immediate removal of this ban.

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8th Feb. 1943

MEMO ON POLITICAL-PRACTICAL ACTIVITIES  
SUBMITTED BY THE PUNJAB COMMITTEE OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

A. POLITICAL

In every district we have held giant kisan conferences to wean people away from pro-Jap, pro-sabotage activities to our line of anti-fascist struggle for freedom.

A comparison of sales of Party papers in the Punjab in August and December shows a three-fold increase. "People's War" sale through agents jumped from 260 to 920, "Qaumi Jang" (Urdu edition of "People's War") from 200 to 530.

Recruitment figures went up by 50,000 to 70,000.

We succeeded in checking the growing demoralisation in the army by propaganda among soldiers on leave in the Punjab. We checked a number of would-be deserters. Made them stick to their posts.

We were the only Party who spoke against sabotage at a time when even the Unionists dared not talk against the "struggle".

INSTANCES OF SUCCESS OF OUR CAMPAIGN

At Guru-ka-Bagh we held three meetings at the same place where the pro-sabotage elements held their meetings. At one of the meetings, our opponents came with kirpans and takwas to beat us, but we held our own, because we could convince the people. In an other meeting a paid Fifth Column was exciting the audience to cut lines and wires, etc., just in front of him a Provincial Committee Member was explaining the Party line. People were dissuaded from doing any sabotage, the Fifth Column was isolated, arrested, sentenced but came out after apologising.

BASARKE. At Basarke, we held a Conference on the same stage from which pro-sabotagers had spoken. Result, we convinced a mass of kisans who had formerly gone away from us.

LUDHIANA. At a Conference at Gujjarwal, we held an open discussion in the Conference on "struggle or no struggle". We carried the people with us. The pro-struggle elements had to stage a walk-out.

One Kali Charan, a Forward Blocist tried to organise the people for sabotage. Our workers exposed him, by patient explanation among the people. He was compelled to come out in the open to seek arrest, as he found he could cut no ice.

In Ludhiana district, a few Sikhs came primed with cash from Bengal to organise sabotage. Our workers went from village to village, exposing their tactics and weaning the people away from sabotage. Result, these men were isolated and eventually arrested at Malerkotla.

FEROZEPUR. Through a Conference at Chuharchak, we won over the masses from sabotage and defeated the propaganda of pro-struggle leaders who roamed the villages with cash. MOGA, the centre of the Congress was captured by us and the pro-struggle elements were disarmed.

JULLUNDUR & HOSHIARPUR. Hotbeds of terrorists of the Jug Paltao movement. Our people followed in their wake and weaned the people away from their influence. They were forced to leave Jullundur and Hoshiarpur. We held two meetings in Dera Sahib and countered their activities.

At SHANKAR, the Akalis held a pro-sabotage conference. The next day we held a Kisan Conference with an audience of 20,000 and convinced the people against sabotage.

We held Conferences at MUTHDA (8th August), KHAN KHANA (9th August) and KALA SANGHA BAHAK (11th August). At Khan Khana on the 9th August, we had to face 10,000 people. The pro-struggle elements were compelled to come out sharply against Japan and the Fascists. They also

against Japan and the Fascists. They also declared they were anti-sabotage.

In BANGA, a group of young men were preparing to remove fish-plates and cut the wires, our comrades succeeded in dissuading them.

Many soldiers on leave who planned desertion were persuaded to return to the army and fight for their Motherland's defence.

The Fifth Column have resorted to issuing *forged* posters and leaflets, purporting to be from us, in order to malign us.

At LAHORE, to the Party Headquarters, come Congressmen from all over the province to discuss with us our line. We have got promises from many that they would fight sabotage, after we had convinced them of our anti-sabotage line.

B. PRACTICAL

Production Front:

Three main centres: Amritsar (Chherta), Lahore, Lyallpur. Through our intervention, we prevented strikes after August 9, in spite of repeated attempts of the Fifth Column.

Recently a new strike wave has broken out. At Lyallpur for two months, we kept the 5,000 workers of the Lyallpur Textile Mills at work, in spite of provocation by the Fifth Column and the millowners. When at last the strike had to be declared, we strove hard to end it through negotiations, but the attitude of the Government, which openly declared that it was on the side of the ~~the~~ owners, prevented an early settlement. But it was entirely because of our influence that production was resumed when it was.

At Lahore, 1,200 workers of the Mukund Iron & Steel Works, sorely affected by lack of Mahagai (~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~) wanted to come out on strike, and would have done so, had we not definitely persuaded them against it.

At Amritsar, the entire Textile Mill workers population would have come out on strike, had we not been there to prevent this. Only two mills were on strike, and only through our efforts were we able to persuade workers here to go back in time.

Students

After the colleges opened, we began a serious campaign to prevent students from going out for sabotage work. In every college, we were met with the strong opposition of pro-struggle leaders, who used every possible means to keep us out of the colleges, often resorting ~~pxx~~ to physical violence.

To-day, the sale of Party papers in the colleges has gone up considerably, even in the D.A.V. College, the "stronghold" of the pro-struggle elements, we are selling 40 copies a week.

The result of our work has been that probably NOT a SINGLE student has gone out for sabotage work in the Punjab, and the mass of students is to-day definitely against sabotage.

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NEW DELHI, 22nd March 1943.

Dear Mr, Joshi,

Many thanks for your personal letter of the 15th March, with which you enclosed your Memo. of the same date on behalf of your party together with its enclosures. You will understand that it will take me some time to go through these papers, more especially as the Assembly Session has not yet ended, but I shall as soon as possible give them my careful attention. If there are any matters needing clarification I will let you know as you suggest. In the meanwhile I see from your letter that you have taken note of what Mr. Mackenzie told you about the suspicion aroused by the attitude of your party towards the Congress and that you would be prepared to send me a further explanatory memo. on this subject. If you would like to do so it might help me towards a correct appreciation of certain points in your general memo. in which I see that you have mentioned as part of your plan of work the campaign for the release of Gandhi and the Congress leaders. But I must leave it to you to decide whether there is anything more that you would wish me to know on this subject.

With thanks once more for the trouble you have taken to supply me with these documents,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. R.M. Maxwell..

Mr. P.C. Joshi,  
190B, Khetwadi Main Road, Bombay 4.

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