

*Special November Day Number*

# 29 YEARS OF USSR

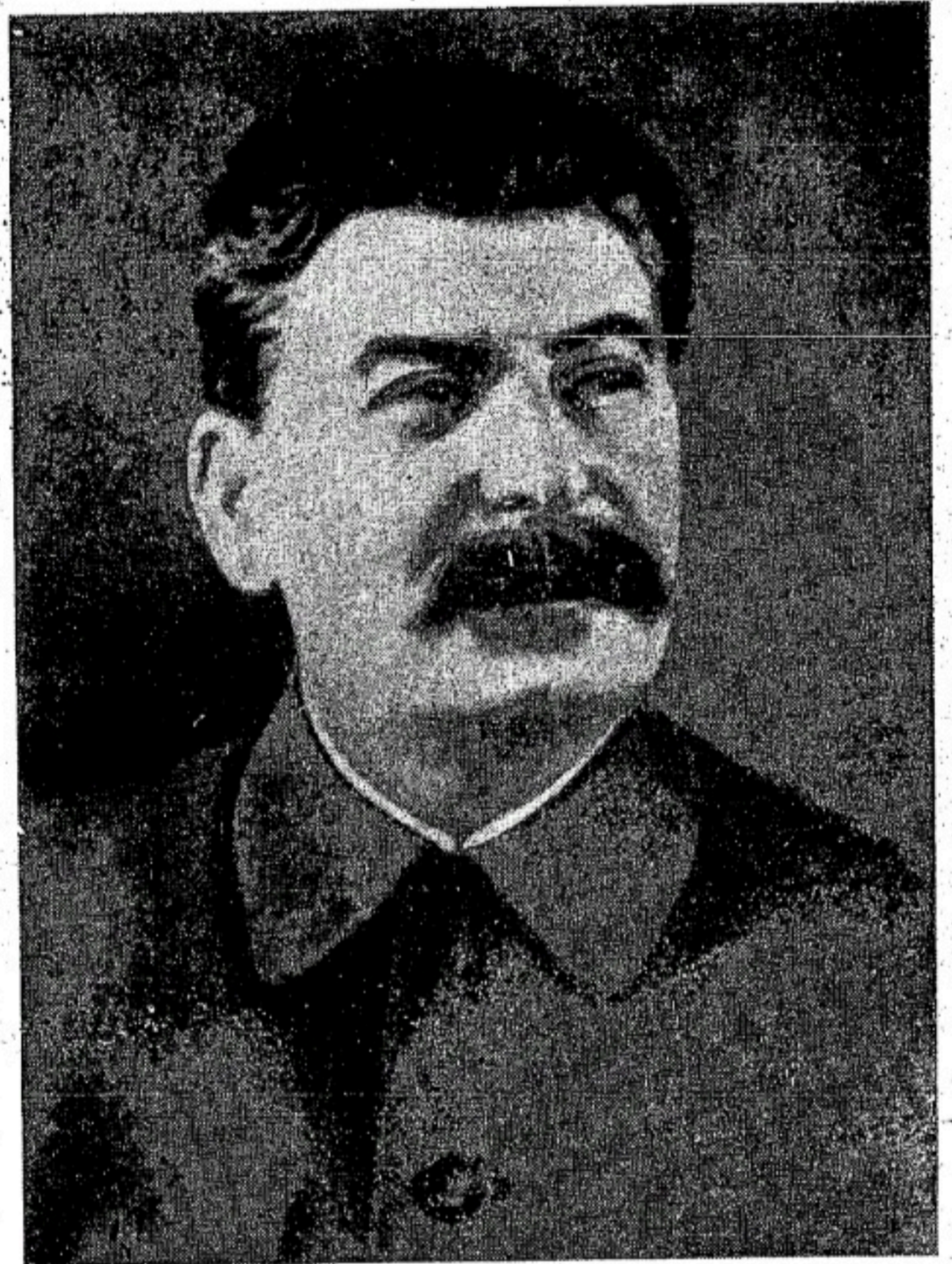
(1917-1946)

**PEOPLE'S AGE**

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# RED ARMY-CHILD OF VICTORIOUS OCTOBER REVOLUTION

## How It Differs From Indian Army—An Imperial Army

(Instead of our usual column, INSIDE THE FORCES, we are for this number giving a special article comparing the Red Army with the Indian Army.—EDITOR.)

**T**HE Red Army is the child of the victorious October Revolution.

It was forged in the flames of the proletarian insurrection which smashed the imperialist army of the Tsars and created an army of the people.

It was steeled in the battles against the German and Allied invaders during the War of Intervention.

The story of the Red Army is the story of the October Revolution, because the workers and peasants who made the revolution, form its hard core.

It was after 25 years of its existence that the Red Army first met the Indian Army in a common fight against the Fascist enslavers. The Germans were once again inside Soviet territory. In Iran the Indian sepoys kept the supply route open to their Red comrades. The Soviet Government recognised their efforts by decorating quite a few of them.

The Army of the Soviet Union is called Red because "Red" (the Red flag) is the traditional colour of labour and Socialism. And the Red Army is not a Russian Army, it is "the army of the workers of all countries". Such an army could not have been born within the framework of a capitalist State. The essential conditions for the creation of such an army is the overthrow of capitalism. And that is exactly how the Red Army was born.

### The Indian And Tsarist Armies

The army of Tsarist Russia was very similar to the British-controlled army of India. It was just a tool in the hands of the imperialist rulers of the country. It was officered by sons of landlords, government officials and feudal chiefs. The Russian officers had all the privileges and the rank and file none. The non-Russians were treated with similar contempt as the Indians are treated by the British.

As in this country the soldiers were kept in subordination by means of threats and punishments. They had no civic rights and were kept in isolation from the people. The majority of them were totally illiterate. They were used as cannon fodder to serve imperialist needs, to crush the popular upsurge against the tyrannical government. In every respect the Tsarist Army was similar to the Indian Army.

### The Red Army Is Born

The armed forces of the October Revolution which smashed up this imperialist army were composed of various elements. The Red Guards formed the most important section. They were working-class fighting formations, which were organised by workers in factories and large industrial centres, in the course of the Revolution in 1917.

Then there were the Red Partisans or guerrilla fighters who came into existence in the countryside during the days of the Revolution and the Civil War to fight against all enemies. Last but not least were the revolutionary elements in the Tsarist Army and groups of revolutionary sailors.

### The Tsarist Soldiers Revolt

These soldiers and sailors rose against their own oppressors, the officer class, in individual revolts in the course of the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions. They were always inspired by the revolutionary actions of the Russian

by  
**Subraia Banerjee**

working-class and the peasantry and soon realised that the only hope of their emancipation lay in the success of the proletarian revolution.

The more militant elements formed themselves into groups under the Bolsheviks and came to the aid of the Red Guards. They supplied them with arms, military informations and instructors. Often whole units came over to fight side by side with them. The sailors were the first to join the revolutionaries as early as 1905 and the Communists had a very strong influence among them. It was thus that they smashed up the imperialist army of the Tsars.

After the success of the October Revolution, these various elements were formally constituted into the "Red Army."

During the War of Intervention this volunteer army became a nation-wide force. Every man fought to defend the Revolution and after four years this improved force of workers and peasants succeeded in driving back all invaders and save the Revolution.

### Proletarian Composition

Thus was the Red Army born, an army which is entirely different from any other army anywhere in the world. It is different not only because it was born of the Socialist Revolution, but also because of its proletarian structure and composition.

It is called the workers' and peasants' army because it was built by the two classes who fought side by side in the October Revolution. And it is composed mainly of workers and peasants and serves their interests. Naturally it is led by the most revolutionary elements in the country.

The majority of the Red commanders fought in the Civil War in which they proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. Not only the lower but the higher posts as well are filled by revolutionaries born in the ranks of workers and peasants.

Marshal Stalin himself, who together with the great Lenin moulded the Red Army, is a cobbler's son. Voroshilov was a metal worker and Zhukov a poor peasant.

### No Isolation From The People

Naturally there is no isolation between the Red Army and the people of the Soviet Union. Actually the closest possible link exists between the two. The soldiers take an active part in the political and social life of the country. They attend the election meetings, take part in workers' demonstrations and not only have the vote but even the right to be elected deputies of the Soviet.

Naturally, too, there is no bureaucratic class discipline in the Red Army which we find in the British-bossed Indian Army where the high class officer caste bosses over the ranks recruited from the oppressed class.

In the Red Army discipline is strong, but it is revolutionary discipline, a collective discipline, which grows out of the consci-



Proletarian Revolution at the Front.

ousness of fighting for the people's cause against their oppressors.

### Emphasis On Education And Culture

Another unique feature of the Red Army is that here the emphasis is not only on military training but equally on education and culture. A network of cultural and educational institutions give the men access to all the achievements of science, literature and art. They have their own song and dance troupes and the singers and dancers are not mere amateurs but have gained wide popularity by their finished performances.

In the last war the Red Army actively entered the fields in the role of a liberator. Stalin gave the call:

"The enslaved peoples of

Europe, under the yoke of the German invaders are looking to you as their liberators. A great mission of liberation has fallen to your lot."

Wherever the Red Army went in Europe, driving the German hordes before them, in Poland, in Bulgaria, in Rumania in Hungary, in Czechoslovakia, everywhere they were welcomed as liberators.

They were not alone. Behind them stood the entire people of the Soviet Union. Together they gave the lie to the Fascist propagandists and proved to the world that the Red Army is the army of the entire people of the Soviet Union. Everywhere behind the German lines sprang up guerrilla formations of the people, who fought side by side with the Red Army. No wonder they proved themselves to be the world's most powerful fighting machine.

### From Where It Derives Its Strength

The strength of the Red Army lies in its three characteristic features.

- It is the workers' and peasants' army of the October Revolution indivisible from the people.
- It is an army for the liberation of the people, not for their oppression; an army for the protection of the gains of the Socialist Revolution.
- It is an army of defence, of peace and friendship among peoples of all countries.

### A Gurkha Soldier's Compliment

The greatest compliment probably ever paid to the Red Army in this country came from a Gurkha soldier of Darjeeling. He had served with Red Army-men in Iran. He said:

"If they would only allow me, I would join the Red Army...."

The Gurkha soldier's wish is the wish of every patriotic soldier, sailor and air-man. It is the expression of the growing will of the patriots in the Army, Navy and Air Force to place their weapons and fighting skill at the service of the fight for India's freedom and independence.

### Birth Pangs Of People's Army Of India

The People's Army of India is in the process of creation.

We have seen its birth pangs in the great naval mutiny of February last, in the streets of Bombay where the workers fought against the imperialist bayonets side by side with the revolutionary sailors, in the streets of Calcutta during the November days of 1945.

We are seeing it even today in the mass struggles in Kashmir, in the peasant uprisings in Basti, in every single struggle against imperialism led by the revolutionary workers and peasants of this great land of ours.



# From Tsarist Slavery To Socialist Freedom

by  
**M. Kumaramangalam**

How was Socialism established in Central Asia? To this question the common answer runs something like this: when the November Revolution took place in Russia (i.e., Moscow and Leningrad), the old State authority was overthrown, a new one came to power; this new Soviet Power, taking the place of the old power, introduced Socialism over all the territory that previously formed the Tsarist Empire, including Central Asia.

The reality, however, is very different; for revolutions cannot be imposed on a people, exported from one country to another; they are made by the people themselves; and the revolution in Central Asia was made by the people who live in that territory.

**U**NDER Tsarist rule, Central Asia was a colony. At the time of conquest (1860-1885), the same policy followed by Britain in India was followed by Tsarist Russia in Central Asia.

Part (Turkestan) was directly annexed and ruled by a Russian Governor-General; part (the Emirates of Bokhara and Khiva) was dismembered, their most productive areas annexed and the remainder left to the old Emirs, to be ruled just as the Indian States are ruled by the Indian Princes.

## Under Tsarist Regime

And just as in India, the basic social structure was left untouched by the conqueror. Land was owned by big feudal lords (beys) who had working under them the peasant (dekans), a virtual serf, who only retained one-fourth of the crop, three-fourths going to the bey.

The Tsarist regime also broke up all the different nationalities in Central Asia so as to keep them weak and divided; for instance, the Tajiks who occupy the mountainous region immediately north of India, were divided between the Emirate of Bokhara and the Russia-ruled Farghana Oblast in Turkestan.

Into this hotch-potch of nationalities came the Russians; Tsarist administrators; Cossack colonisers; poor peasants given land; and workers in the cities like Tashkent. They were all to be Russia's fifth-column among the local enslaved peoples.

## Revolt in 1916

Inevitably under Russian rule, conditions for the people—both native and Russian colonisers—rapidly worsened; taxes were increased; the old handicraft industry destroyed; commercial crops like cotton were more and more cultivated, making the prosperity of the area dependent on the whims of Russian capitalists.

The people groaned under the heavy burden—and revolted too; minor revolts took place in 1885, 1892, 1893, 1898. In 1904, Russian railway workers organised the first revolutionary group—and in October 1905 took part in the nation-wide general strike.

Biggest of all, however, was the 1916 revolt; in this five month-long rebellion against conscription into the Russian Army, eight million of the ten million inhabitants took part, and when it was suppressed, nearly a million fled to Sinkiang.

This revolt was the biggest pre-revolutionary flare-up in all Tsarist Russia and laid the basis among the common people for the revolution in Central Asia.

## Period Of Revolution

Then came the February 1917 revolution in Russia.

In Central Asia too its repercussions were felt. Workers' and Soldiers' Soviets (Councils) were set up in major cities like Tashkent, but the countryside was relatively unaffected.

The Provisional Government of Kerensky, however, did no-

thing. Its Turkestan Committee carried on in virtually the old way, ruling through the Emirs and in Turkestan allied with certain reactionary semi-religious organisations; the Shuro-Islamia, backed by the infant merchant class, and the Ulama, party of the Muslim clergy and landlords.

But the awakening throughout Russia soon spread to these remote areas; militant poor peasants and workers, who in many cases had now returned from the forced-labour in Russia, formed in March 1917 the Ittifiaki, the League of Mohammedan Working People.

Originally reformist, this organisation soon began to see

above, they did not attempt to abolish landlordism immediately—though over all the rest of Russia, land had been taken by the peasants from the landlords and divided amongst themselves.

They knew that this was not possible yet because the traditional reverence for the authority of the beys and mullahs still remained and the peasants themselves did not want division of the land; they contented themselves with certain elementary reforms (abolition of illegal taxes, exactions, etc.) and education in democratic forms of government and building up of peasants' unions.

Simultaneously from Moscow came their biggest weapon.

## Stalin's Manifesto

A fortnight after the revolution came a manifesto—"To all the Telling Mohammedans in Russia and the East"—written by Stalin for the Soviet Government (see page 5 for full text of this manifesto). An answering thrill went through Central Asia, a new awakening began.

In Bokhara had sprung up a new party, young Bokharans, who looked to the West and as-

But time was against them; into Bokhara and Khiva penetrated slowly news of a great change across in Turkestan, of a new people's government in Russia that was holding its own and beating back the attacks of foreign imperialism; simultaneously the oppression of Emirs, vastly increased to meet the expenses of counter-revolutionary war, grew unbearable.

In January 1920 the Bolsheviks captured Krasnovodsk on the Caspian from the White forces of Tsarist generals.

In the middle of the year, the young Khivans (middle-class pro-Bolsheviks) overthrew the Turkmen ruler of Khiva.

## Independent Republics

In August 1920, the Young Bokharans overthrew the Emir of Bokhara.

Even then these new Republics did not become SOCIALIST States.

In Bokhara was established the Bokhara Soviet Republic, in Khiva, the Khorezm Soviet Republic.

The two new Republics, exercising their right of self-determination, decided not to join the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR) but entered into agreements with the RSFSR in which the latter

counter-revolutionary force was Enver Pasha, under the slogan of building a Pan-Islamic State.

## Prosperity Grows

But slowly the new Republics grew stronger.

In 1921 came the land reform in Turkestan—the biggest blow to Enver Pasha and the Emir—consolidating the peasants' attachment to the Soviet regime. And the example of Turkestan was followed over the rest of Central Asia, though only finally completed in Tadzhikistan in 1929.

Now the entire basis of counter-revolution was cracking; Enver was killed in battle; his successor as the Emir's Commander-in-Chief, Ibrahim Bek, was also forced to flee.

Simultaneously, under the new regime, the prosperity of the people rapidly increased. Money and technical aid poured in from Western Russia, from the USSR (the USSR was formed in 1922 (end) out of the RSFSR, Ukraine, Belorussia and the Trans-Caucasian Federation; but even then the "two independent Soviet Republics, Khorezm and Bokhara, which are not socialist republics but people's Soviet Republics, for the time being" (Stalin), did not join the USSR but remained outside, preserving friendly relations with the USSR).

But by the middle of 1924, backward Central Asia caught up with the west.

## Joining The USSR

The peoples of these areas had passed through the hard school of Revolution; through the daily struggles of their newly-formed and fast-growing peasant unions they had learnt who were their real enemies; they were going forward to divide up the land, nationalise their factories, and had learnt in practice that the USSR was no exploiting State (like Tsarist Russia, as the Emir demagogically said), but, really a fraternal union of brother-peoples.

As an inevitable counterpart of this, in 1924 the Bokhara Soviet Republic transformed itself into a Socialist Soviet Republic.

Simultaneously it called for a revision of the frontiers of the Republic so that the nationalities split up by the Tsar might be reunited into their own independent Republics, thus meeting "the profound aspiration of the masses of the people of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan for their own organs of government which shall be close and comprehensible to them." (Stalin).

The Khorezm Republic and the Turkmen Socialist Republic (already part of the USSR) took a similar decision.

A delimitation of frontiers took place. And in place of these three Republics came the Uzbek Republic and the Turkmen Republic (with an autonomous Tadzhik Republic as part of it, which became a full-fledged Union Republic in 1936) and the Kazakh and Kirghiz autonomous Republics inside the RSFSR (which became full-fledged Union Republics in 1936).

## They Saved Moscow

And the two new Socialist Soviet Republics, Uzbek and Turkmen, then voted to join the USSR.

Thus ended the first phase of the revolution in Central Asia—a historic phase that broke the bonds of colonial slavery, and laid the basis for socialist advance.

The people had made their own revolution—with the fraternal aid of the other peoples of the USSR—who helped them to fight back the British-backed counter-revolutionary campaigns of the Emir. And they never forgot this aid.

In 1916 all Central Asia rose in rebellion against the Tsar's attempts to conscript them for war.

In October 1941 when the Nazis approached Moscow, twenty-eight young soldiers from Central Asia, heroes of the Panfilov Division, stopped the German Panzers; they held up fifty-six tanks from breaking through to Moscow—though they died to the last man.

Moscow was never entered by the Nazis.

Thus did the peoples of Central Asia pay back their revolutionary debt to the Russian people.

## The Story Of Revolution In Central Asia

through the bankruptcy of the Provisional Government and its refusal to effect any changes in the life of the people; at the same time its contact with local groups of Communists among the Russian workers turned it more and more towards the revolutionary Bolshevik Party.

## Upheaval In Countryside

By September 1917, dissatisfaction with the Provisional Government was reaching a fever-pitch; innumerable strikes took place and in the countryside round Tashkent, capital of Russian Turkestan, the peasantry and soldiers were widely affected. On September 12, after a mighty people's demonstration, the Tashkent Soviet took over power and illegalised the old Provisional Government's power.

The Government fought back and four days later, on September 16, the revolution was crushed, the authority of the Provisional Government re-established.

But in November when the Provisional Government was overthrown in Moscow and Petrograd, once more the Tashkent workers, soldiers and peasants rose against the Provisional Government and after a bitter four-day battle in the streets, took power.

## Reaction Rallies

Tashkent, however, was the exception; only here and in the surrounding countryside were the Bolsheviks and the Ittifiaki strong enough to take power; outside in Bokhara and Khiva, the rule of the old Emirs still remained intact and to them rallied all reaction—the merchants, the beys, the mullahs—and, of course, the Tsarist ruling-class of Russia.

And for the next four years bitter battles were waged.

The reactionaries slandered the Soviets as anti-religious, desecrators of Church land; they painted them as the traditional heirs of the Russian oppressors and so on.

But the wise policy of the Tashkent Soviet belied this.

Knowing full well that revolutions cannot be imposed from

pired to establish a democratic State; encouraged by the manifesto, they made contact with Soviet Turkestan and asked for help to overthrow the Emir. Help was promised but the Bokharan revolutionaries failed in their objective; most of them either fled to Tashkent or went underground.

At the same time the Emir came into contact with the British, traditional experts at imperial fishing in troubled waters. And from 1918 to 1920 (and later too) bitter battles to annihilate the outpost of revolution in Asia, the Turkestan Soviet Republic, went on.

"recognised the self-government and complete independence" of the two Republics and afforded them economic assistance.

And the two new Republics did not put through a land reform either; once again as in Turkestan, the peasants were not ready for it; only the lands of the Emir and his biggest officials were divided.

All was not clear yet, however; from 1920-1921, the Emir of Bokhara backed by the British, tried to get back to power through the use of armed force; heading this new



(Uzbek Girls studying Botany)

# WHEN THE BOLSHEVIKS TOOK POWER

(Here are a few snapshots of the moving days when the great Socialist Revolution triumphed in Russia and opened a new revolutionary epoch for all the exploited peoples of the world. They are taken from the authoritative documentary 'History of the Civil War in the USSR', Vol. II—EDITOR.)

## THE REVOLUTION TRIUMPHS IN THE CAPITAL

**A**FTER the July days in representing the City Council and the Provisional Government, celebrating its victory over the Bolsheviks, removed to the Winter Palace. The "Socialist" Minister, Kerensky, took up his abode in the apartments of Alexander III. The only change witnessed in the royal apartments and the halls of the Winter Palace was the change of inmates. It was only on the night of October 25 (November 7) 1917, that this ancient stronghold of landlord and capitalist rule finally fell.

The new rulers of the country—the workers and soldiers—mounted the 117 marble steps of the grand staircase. One after another, all the 1,786 doors were flung open before them, and the heavy tread of the Red Guards resounded in each of its 1,050 chambers and halls.

### Red Guards Sweep In

The Red Guards, sailors and soldiers swept into the palace like a torrent and disarmed the cadets who were benumbed with fear.

"Provocateurs! Kornilovites! Murderers of the people!" were the epithets hurled at them on all sides. Nevertheless, not one of them suffered harm.

In a large ante-chamber, guarding the hall in which the Provisional Government had taken refuge, a number of cadets stood stiffly with their rifles at the ready. This was the last group of defenders of the Provisional Government. Their weapons were torn out of their hands.

Palchinsky burst into the hall to meet the invaders, shouting that an agreement had been reached and that a deputation

The hall in which the Provisional Government was hiding was immediately occupied by the revolutionary forces. The Ministers, who were found standing, pale and confused, were likewise placed under arrest. "Why bother with them? They have sucked our blood long enough!" shouted a hefty sailor, stamping his rifle on the floor.

The other men calmed the sailor. The Military Revolutionary Committee is in command, they explained. There must be no unauthorised action. Amidst solemn silence a list of the arrested Ministers was drawn up, after which they were led out. Every Minister was called by name and then ordered to proceed with an armed soldier behind him. In this way a living chain was formed, which moved along the half-lit corridors to the exit. Crowds of Red Guards, sailors and soldiers filled the dark, damp square. "Where's Kerensky?"—they asked.

On learning that the Prime Minister had fled, they poured curses on his head, and declared their determination to catch him. The "creatures that once were men," were led under escort to the Fortress of Peter and Paul.

With the fall of the Winter Palace, the power of the Provisional Government was utterly liquidated. The great proletarian revolution had triumphed in the capital.

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The Bolshevik Party Centre—Leader of the October Revolution.

decisions adopted by the Soviet Government.

### Main Purpose Of Decree

The vast majority of the peasants had long been waiting for the expropriation of the landlords. This measure, which the bourgeois-democratic revolution proved incapable of carrying out, was secured by the decree on land. In his speech Lenin explained the main purpose of this decree as follows:

"The object is definitely to assure the peasants that there are no longer any landlords

in the countryside, that they themselves must decide all questions, and that they themselves must arrange their own lives."

### Rural Oppression Over

The decree on land proved to the peasants that the Soviet Government was finally and irrevocably abolishing landlordism and its oppression and exploitation in the rural districts. At the same time it was a guarantee that the land would really be placed at the peasants' disposal.

Russia, are protected by the full might of the revolution and of its organs, the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

"Support this revolution and its authorised government."

In the name of the Council of People's Commissars the manifesto announced the complete annulment of the secret treaties for the seizure of Constantinople and the partition of Persia and Armenia.

In their struggle against the October Revolution, the class enemies of the proletariat had spread rumours to the effect that the Bolsheviks were prosecuting religion.

These rumours had a particularly pernicious effect upon the backward nationalities whom the tsarist regime had tried forcibly to convert to the faith of the Greek Orthodox Church and who, therefore, identified their struggle for the preservation of their religion with their struggle for the preservation of their nationality.

This manifesto dispelled the false rumours spread by the enemies of the proletarian revolution. The new Soviet regime publicly proclaimed the cessation of all national and religious persecution.

### A Wide Gulf

The manifesto to Mohammedans vividly revealed what a wide gulf lay between the imperialist and the Soviet national policies.

Tsarist Russia was the bugbear of her weaker eastern neighbours. The Mohammedan peoples of Turkey, Persia and other Oriental countries lived in constant dread of sharing the fate of Turkestan and Transcaucasia, which tsarism had converted into its colonies.

But a new, revolutionary regime was established, which most emphatically declared that it had put an end to the imperialist policy of tsarist Russia once and for all.

## END TO ALL NATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

**O**N November 22, a manifesto, addressed "To All the Tilling Mohammedans in Russia and in the East," written by Stalin, was issued in the name of the Council of People's Commissars and signed by Lenin and Stalin. The manifesto read as follows:

"Comrades! Brothers! Great events are occurring in Russia. The bloody war which was launched for the purpose of dividing up foreign countries is drawing to a close.

### A New World Is Born

"The rule of the pirates who have enslaved the peoples of the world is tottering. Under the hammer blows of the Russian revolution, the ancient edifice of bondage and slavery is being shattered. The world of tyranny and oppression is living its last days.

"A new world is being born, a world of the working people and of those who are being emanci-

pated. At the head of this revolution marches the workers' and peasants' government of Russia, the Council of People's Commissars.....

"The reign of capitalist plunder and violence is crumbling. The soil is burning under the feet of the imperialist robbers.

### To The Tilling Mustims

"In the midst of these great events we address ourselves to you, tilling and dispossessed Mohammedans of Russia and the East.

"Mohammedans of Russia, Tatars of the Volga and the Crimea, Kirghiz and Sarts of Siberia and Turkestan, Turks and Tatars of Transcaucasia, Chechens and Gortsi of the Caucasus, all those whose mosques and prayer houses were destroyed and whose religion and customs were trampled upon by the Russian tsars and tyrants!

"Henceforth, your faith and customs, your national and cultural institutions, are proclaimed free and inviolable. Build up your national life freely and unhindered. This is your right. Be it known to you that your rights, like the rights of all nationalities of

### How It Differs From Other Revolutions

"The history of nations knows not a few revolutions. But these revolutions differ from the October Revolution in that they were one-sided revolutions. One form of exploitation of the working people was replaced by another form of exploitation; but exploitation, as such remained. One set of exploiters and oppressors was replaced by another set of exploiters and oppressors; but exploiters and oppressors, as such remained. Only the October Revolution set itself the aim of abolishing ALL exploitation and of eliminating ALL exploiters and oppressors."

J. V. STALIN

## LAND COMES TO THOSE WHO TILL IT

**T**HE cheering broke out anew when Lenin again rose to speak on the land question, the second item on the agenda.

"I shall read you the points of a decree your Soviet Government must promulgate," said Lenin, and in the silent hall the thrilling words of the "Decree on Land" were heard.

### Landlordism Abolished

"1. Landlord property is abolished forthwith without compensation.

"2. The landed estates, as also all appendage, monasterial and church lands, with all their livestock, implements, farm buildings and everything pertaining thereto, shall be placed at the disposal of the Volost Land Committees and the Uyezd Soviets of Peasants' Deputies pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly."

The decree went on to state that "all damage to confiscated property, which henceforth be-

longs to the whole people, is proclaimed a felony punishable by the revolutionary courts."

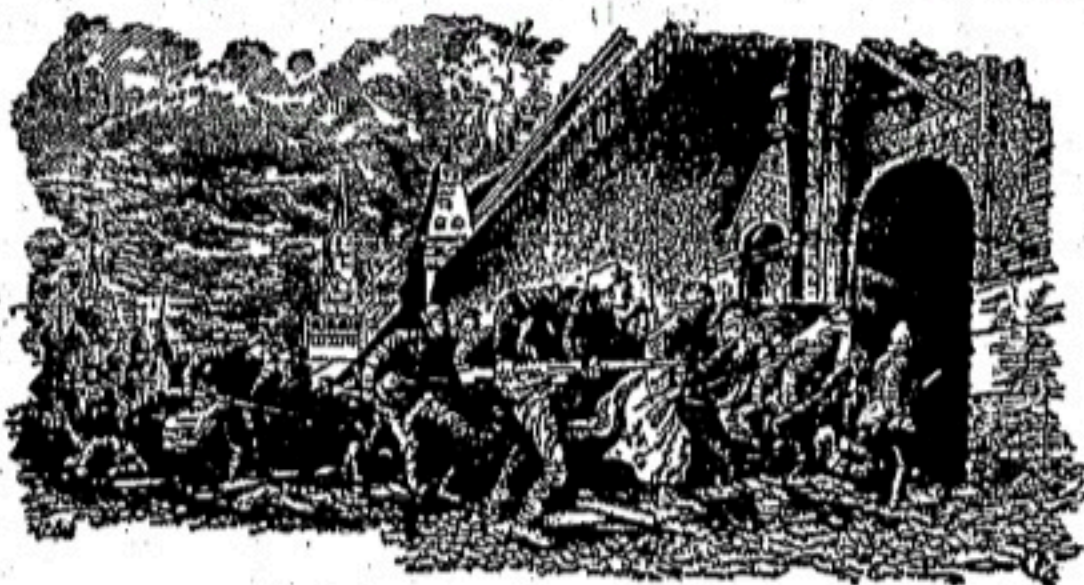
The Uyezd Soviets were enjoined to take all necessary measures to guarantee the observance of strict order during the confiscation of the landed estates and to protect in a revolutionary way all agricultural enterprises that were transferred to the people.

### Peasant Instructions

Everywhere, the work of carrying through the great land reform was to be guided by the 242 local Peasant Instructions which had been published in Izvestia of the All-Russian Soviet Peasants' Deputies pending a final decision by the Constituent Assembly."

The last point of the decree contained the proviso that "the land of ordinary peasants and ordinary Cossacks shall not be confiscated."

The decrees on land and peace occupied the foremost place in the series of important



The Proletarian Revolution in Moscow



The Insurrection in Petrograd

# TOGETHER WITH THE FREEDOM-LOVING FIGHTERS OF THE WORLD!

## FORWARD TO SMASH THE IMPERIALIST PLAN!

The twentieth anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution falls in the midst of the biggest revolutionary upheaval in modern times.

The whole world, all the continents, countries, big and small, have become one vast battleground for a final and desperate fight between the revolutionary people and the exploiting imperialists and their satellites. The end of the Anti-Fascist War has only opened the curtain on this last decisive fight against all oppressors.

**T**WENTYNINE years ago, the great November Revolution unleashed revolutionary upheavals all over the continent of Asia, inspiring the enslaved millions of Asiatics with new hope and confidence. The great victory of the Soviet Anti-Fascist War has once more moved Asia's millions into the firing line and set ablaze the entire continent of Asia.

India, brutally crushed and suppressed in 1942, India humbled and humiliated by the great Bengal famine, rose in rebellious defiance in 1946.

### India Rises In Rebellious Defiance

The demonstration to secure the release of the men of the Indian National Army, which had by now become symbol of armed resistance to Imperialism, became so defiant and led to such bloody clashes, that Imperialism had to order the release of the arrested officers and beat a hasty retreat.

But the defiance and challenge went on mounting. It found its culmination when in February 1946 the ratings of the Royal Navy took to arms in the harbours of Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta and on the high seas, hauled down the imperialist Union Jack and unfurled the Congress and League flags on the rebel ships.

The city of Bombay rose in support of the rebel ratings. The workers declared a general strike. The shopkeepers declared hartal. Barricades were thrown across the streets. Workers manned them and fought the British troops from behind them. Masses of Hindus and Muslims mingled their blood in the common fight against the butchery of British troops which killed in two days not less than 250 citizens.

Never before in the history of British rule in India had there been such defection in its armed forces; never before had the army and other forces so decisively voted for the people and echoed their sentiment.

There would have been nothing left of Imperialism, had it to defend it and maintain it, had the popular parties supported this movement, and called the people on the streets for a final blow. The old tottering structure of Imperialism would have collapsed without much resistance.

### Imperialism Hits Back

The imperialist masters of India read the writing on the wall. They had opened negotiations with the Congress leaders even before the mutiny. They sent the Cabinet Mission and dragged the Congress into the Interim Government—for one purpose only—to stem the tide of the mounting revolutionary upsurge, which no number of British troops and bullets could control or crush.

They held the bait of transfer of power and Constitution-making Body before the Congress leaders to make them accept the burden of maintaining 'law and order'—that is, of suppressing the rising forces of revolution.

At the same time, they exploited the Congress-League differences to make the Viceroy supreme in the Constitution-making

making Body, and prevent a united front against Imperialism.

In the Constitution-making Body they plan to forge a joint front of all vested interests—landlords, Princes, capitalists—against the Indian people and their Revolution.

In the wake of this comes the biggest counter-offensive against the people's forces—of communal warfare which every time develops into civil war, murder and arson.

Imperialism thrives on Congress-League differences. The reactionary communal policy pursued by the League leadership, and the policy of the Congress leaders which fails to win over the Muslim masses, and, in its frustration, ends in anti-Muslim bitterness and communalism from the other end—these enable

the enemies of Indian freedom to use more and more the weapon of communal carnage as the last battering ram against the irrepressible forces of Indian freedom.

Calcutta, Bombay, Noakhali—they constitute the counter-offensive of Imperialism against a people who only a few months ago sent a wave of terror among the British masters. They betray the desperation of Imperialism: they reveal the bankruptcy of the bourgeois leaderships of the two parties.

Notwithstanding the organised butchery and communal carnage—during which the imperialists and their troops adopt the pose of non-violence—the struggle of the people grows and rises to new heights to the great chagrin of Imperialism.

### Working Class Wages United Battles

The struggle of the working-class—waged unitedly by Hindus and Muslims—the strike-struggle against hunger, starvation and exploitation—reaches new heights. Workers face bullets, lathi-charges, arrests and terror directed under the regime of popular Ministries; but they march ahead, defying terror, defying jail and persecution.

Textile and railway workers, coal miners, sweepers, press workers, steel workers, bank clerks, Government peons and servants—postal and telegraph workers—all unitedly join issue with Imperialism and hurl their challenge against its exploitation.

When Calcutta was still in the throes of organised communal butchery—when Hindus were killing Muslims and Muslims were killing Hindus—40,000 South Indian Railway workers—Hindus, Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Christians—staged a most glorious strike in defence of their rights. Four thousand Golden Rock workers, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, faced firing and terror, to demand the release of Ismail Khan, the leader of the Golden Rock workshop.

The Indian peasant, the rack-rented, debt-ridden, famine-struck peasant of India, is striking back as never before. A spontaneous movement for occupying the land

stolen by the landlords, for withholding all debt payments, and boycotting the bloodsucking money-lender, starts and develops into big mass movements—with hundreds arrested or jailed, even under popular Ministries.

Tanjore, Basti—constitute the new outposts of the peasant movement—which is determined to break through the shackles of Imperialism and Landlordism.

### States Peoples Fight Autocracy

And lastly move into the firing line the peoples of the Indian States—the feudal serfs of the Indian Princes.

The people of Kashmir, led by the heroic Sheikh, Abdulla, heralded the new movement—the fight to the finish phase—when they rose against the tyrannical Ruler, during Imperialism's negotiations with the Congress. Their struggle continues unabated.

The Nizam of Hyderabad, who rules over an area as big as France, gets the first serious challenge from the Telengana peasant who rises against the tyrannical rule of His Exalted Highness and his landlords.

## NOVEMBER DAY

# MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Mass terror, rape, beatings, have been let loose on the heroic peasants of Telengana—who have for the first time shaken the main bastion of feudal order to its foundations.

The heroic working-class of Travancore leads the battle of the Travancore people for freedom and against the autocratic and blackguardly rule of Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer. For daring to strike in the name of popular liberty, for upsetting his plan of fake reforms, Sir C. P. has declared Martial Law and directed ruthless terror against the workers and citizens of Travancore.

But the rebellious spirit of the people is not going to be crushed.

The Princely Order, the main bulwark of Imperialism, is challenged by a people in revolt at every stage. It is doomed and not all the troops and tanks of British Imperialism can save it.

### The Whole Of Asia Ablaze

This is India of 1946—defiant and rebellious India—impatient of imperialist domination—marching forward to freedom though obstructed and often hurled back by flames of civil war.

The twentieth anniversary since the November Revolution have tightened the noose round Imperialism so completely that it cannot escape strangulation.

The whole of Asia is ablaze. If India is rebelling, if India is witnessing the first skirmishes in the big armed battles, other countries of Asia have already raised their arms for a final fight against imperialist rule.

The millions of China—India's neighbour—are being dragged into a protracted civil war by American imperialists, in collaboration with the treacherous leader Chiang Kai-shek.

A free China, a democratic China will mean the final exit of Imperialism from Asia—from the world. It will also mean that the real masters of China will be the Chinese people, and not the exploiting vested interests.

As in India—Imperialism and the vested interests conspire to stem the tide of popular revolution and sidetrack China into a civil war. Anti-Communism, the

cry of the Chinese vested interests, is also the cry of American Imperialism to subdue the revolutionary movement and enslave China's millions. The bourgeois leaders of China divide the people, incite civil war and play the game of American Imperialism.

But the revolutionary movement, led by the Communist Party of China, fights on—notwithstanding all the tanks, machine-guns and equipment placed at the disposal of Chiang's army by American imperialists.

The heroic people of Indonesia are putting up a brave fight against the joint front of Anglo-Dutch Imperialism, and are defending their republic with arms.

Unnerved by the prospect of developing revolutions in Europe and Asia, the Anglo-American imperialists make repeated attempts to form a bloc with reactionary ruling circles—a bloc against the rising power of the revolutionary peoples of the world, against the Soviet Union, against the freedom struggles of Asia's and Europe's millions. They support the Franco regime in Spain, they support the reactionary classes and parties in other countries.

They hide this conspiracy

ing crisis which might knock millions out of employment. It knows the results. The starving workers who faced Hitler's bullets are not going to spare the exploiting classes.

The fight of the world working-class for Socialism, for abolition of the rule of Capital, enters the most decisive stage with America and Britain set for the most gigantic crisis of the capitalist world and the entire world in revolt against imperialist domination.

In each country, the immediate task is to overthrow the rule of imperialists and its allies; fight vacillation in people's ranks and carry forward the struggle to the bitter end.

In each country the people must fight their own reactionaries who act in unison with the imperialists and free the road to freedom and Socialism.

### Against The Imperialist Plan

In India where the decrepit imperialist structure is tottering before our eyes, but for the support lent by popular parties, the first and foremost task is to lead a united attack against the Imperialist Plan.

To compromise with the enemy of Indian freedom, to accept the glittering tinsel of Interim Government as real power is nothing short of a crime against the people.

It is with the instrument of the Interim Government that Imperialism attempts to suppress the Indian Revolution. The game of Imperialism must be foiled and the path must be cleared for unrelenting struggle.

The Indian working-class and people must defeat the incendiaries who want to burn the Indian Revolution to ashes in the fire of civil war. The joint struggles of Hindu and Muslim workers and peasants; the rising and united struggles of the oppressed, must be the reply of the common man against communal disruptors, against bankrupt politicians, who cannot unite the masses.

On the strength of this, the Indian people must compel the leaderships of the two organisations to forge the mightiest joint front against Imperialism—a joint front for freedom, self-determination of nationalities and democracy.

### Forward To United Freedom Struggle!

Every honest man must fully support and extend the growing struggles of workers and peasants, of the States' peoples and others and fight the compromisers who denounce these struggles as anti-national. All must demand that the popular Ministries and the Interim Government use their power not to suppress the people but help them and attack Imperialism.

No Compromise with Imperialism!

No Compromise with the Imperialist Plan!

Forward to United Freedom Struggle!

Full Support to the Workers and Peasants and States' Peoples' Struggles!

These must be the slogans of the people on November 7 this year.

The working-class of the world is more than ever determined to put an end to the capitalist-imperialist order.

The colonial masses are more than ever determined to wrest freedom from Imperialism.

The noose around Imperialism tightens in every crisis, every moment.

India must do her duty now, and finish the task laid out by the November Revolution for the continent of Asia.



# OUT OF NOAKHALI'S FORBIDDEN ZONE

From  
Our Correspondent

## Kisan Sabha Worker Brings First Report

Round the disturbed area of Noakhali, an iron curtain cuts it from the outside world. A fortnight after the outbreak no newsman had actually broken the blockade, and the tales of the refugees remained the only source of information.

But on October 17 Moni Rakshit, a Kisan Sabha organiser in Noakhali, actually got into this forbidden zone and three days later arrived at Noakhali with the first direct story of what was happening in the devastated areas.

From Sonalmuri just over ten miles North of Noakhali town, Rakshit tried to get into a police boat carrying rations, properly armed, going to the interior. But as he was refused, he began walking along the bank by the side of the armed boat. Later, the men in the boat let him come into it. Below is the story as told by him:

Near Panchgaon, we saw a man with his dhoti worn like a lungi and a newly-made white cap on his head. He gave out that the hooligans had forced him to change his faith and looted all that he had. Hundreds in his village, he added, had met with the same fate.

### Looted Bazar

At Panchgaon Bazar half the shops were burnt down and many others looted. Those untouched were still carrying on and the Muslims in front of them clustered in small batches. We came across a few more forcibly converted, and all of them had discarded their old clothes and changed into lungis and caps. Everywhere, even on top of the devastated market, there fluttered the green flag of the League.

We rescued the Headmaster of Chatakhill School, Sgt. Atul Datta, who with his entire family had been converted but their lives were spared; the rumour about his daughter's forcible marriage was found to be incorrect.

### League Flag

The Dasghuria bazar was found to be empty, over half the shops having been gutted. Yet over here too one could see the League flag flying.

On the 18th at midday we reached Ramganj Thana: here was felt the worst blast of the attack; and here too did the trouble first break out.

At the police station about 3,000 refugees, men, women and children, had collected and from them I could get the story of how the storm broke out.

On October 10, ex-MLA Golam Sarwar, held a big meeting, followed immediately by simultaneous raids on Karpara,

Shahpur, Narayanpur, and Dasghuria. In two days, the whole of Ramganj area and parts of Begaumganj and Lakshmipur were in flames.

### Goondas' Slogans

Golam Sarwar's men at first got together all the village roughs who took up three slogans:

"Calcutta Must Be Avenged!"  
"Hindus Have Kept us Poor!"  
"Government is on our side: troops won't shoot us!"

And the simple Muslim villagers were roused also by the additional slogan: Conversion is a holy job!

The handful of Muslims who stood up against such barbarities were terrorised into silence by the organised bands of goondas.

### Fury Unleashed

Thereafter, an infuriated mob of five thousand set out on an insane orgy: homes were ransacked and stripped of all the belongings; big houses were burnt down; mass conversions were forced on the victims, who were made to put on new white caps:

change of faith saved them from being slaughtered but did not save their property which was thoroughly looted by the mob. And in many cases, after conversion, goondas forced them to pay, in the name of raising donations for the League.

It is difficult to make any estimate of the dead; from among the refugees I checked up twelve cases of murder from four villages. And I got the report of two forced marriages. But here I came across refugees from about 20 villages out of over 200 in the whole of Ramganj area.

The plight of the refugees is staggering. Bereft of any means of living and without any shelter, many are forced to stay in the open, exposed to gold and rain. In a room at the Telegraph Office, 15 feet by 15 feet, 80 of them, men and women, were huddled together like cattle.

### Dazed And Terrorised

Terror is writ large on their faces. Life has gone out of men; women stupefied seemed to have lost even the sense of shame; and the little kids with a haunted look do not even stir. With no arrangement for cooking, many cannot even use the ration that they are being given, and hunger will soon decimate their numbers. Ten babies were born in this state, of whom two were still.

## THE BATTLE AGAINST NOAKHALI BEGINS

### Calcutta Workers' & Students' Call

While the news from Noakhali has led to a sudden re-credescence of stabbings in Calcutta streets and a more violent bickering in the Press another and more arduous battle has begun among workers and students to fight the flames of fratricidal war.

### 'Tears Will Destroy Our Unity'

WALIULLAH, a Muslim tram-worker, wrote a letter to Swadhinata:

"I found a Hindu conductor going to Noakhali with tears in his eyes. His home is in the riot devastated area and he has no information as to the fate of his wife and children.

"If we, Muslim tram-workers, cannot wipe off his tears, then those tears will destroy the unity of Hindu-Muslim tram workers. I pray to Allah, may his family be safe. I appeal to all Muslim tram workers that if we cannot do anything more let us at least donate our mite to help those Hindu tram workers who have suffered in Noakhali riots; because it is the Muslims who will have to shoulder the responsibility for Noakhali.

"I am a Muslim and I too come from Noakhali. That is why I feel the burden all the more. I have enrolled myself as a volunteer of the Relief Committee for rescuing the distressed in Noakhali. I shall try if I can find out the lost family of the Hindu tram worker brother."

### Corporation Workers

The Corporation Workers' Union, condemning the Noakhali outrage, announced:

"Our Union has a number of Noakhali Muslim workers, especially at pumping stations who did magnificent work by carrying on water supply during Calcutta riots. These workers are simply shocked and pained over the happenings of Noakhali."

The Union is sending a Muslim workers' squad who are inhabitants of Noakhali to the affected area.

### Muslim Labour Leaders' Appeal

Mohammed Ismail, Corporation Councillor, Dr. Maruf Hossain, Mr. Rahman Khan, Abdul Halim Khan,

Seriful Rahman, Abdur Razzak Ansari and Chatur Ali, who have led both Hindu and Muslim workers under the Red flag, appealing for shelter and aid for the distressed, say:

"We express our strongest abhorrence at this barbarism and savagery in Noakhali and appeal to all healthy and honest-minded Muslim youth and public workers to ponder over it. All must stake their very lives in building up a solid wall of resistance against leaders who are conspiring to bring disgrace upon the Muslim community."

### Muslim Kisan Leaders' Call

Muzaffar Ahmed, President, All-India Kisan Sabha, Abdulla Rasul, Joint Secretary, All-India Kisan Sabha, and Mansur Habib, Secretary, Bengal Provincial Kisan Sabha, criticising the League for not yet doing their utmost to save the victims, enjoin the kisans:

"All Hindu and Muslim kisans, particularly members of the Kisan Sabha, must not forget that all kisans are their brothers and they must stand by their brothers in distress. If they deviate from this primary responsibility, their unity will be shattered, and they will have to face greater oppression by their class enemies."

### Muslim Students' Lead

Shah Ahmed Khan, President, Burdwan District Students' Federation, Anwar Hossain, member of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Students' Federation, and Saleh Ahmed of the Post-Graduate Students' Federation, Calcutta, have called upon the League leaders to stand up against Noakhali barbarities and have appealed:

"In the name of democracy and civilisation we appeal, especially to the Muslim students to come forward and try to check the vandalism, to organise relief squads, to rescue the helpless Hindus from the disturbed localities and rouse the voice of the entire Muslim people against Hindu-Muslim riots."

the neighbouring villages. The same story of horror we heard from the refugees. Out of another 200 villages in this area, we met the refugees from about a dozen villages and they narrated how thousands were still marooned in the villages.

Here despite acute food shortage, we found some Hindus and a few Muslims jointly doing relief work while the youngmen from among the refugees themselves were working as volunteers.

### Bandit Chief At Large

At Ramganj I heard that on October 17 the District Magistrate and the Police Superintendent had come and met Golam Sarwar and invited him to a 'peace meeting' of Hindus and Muslims. Golam Sarwar promised to come but did not turn up. Later on, Goffran Saheb, the Civil Supplies Minister, addressed the meeting instead. And throughout all these days, Golam Sarwar was known as staying openly at his own place without being touched by the police.

When I reached Noakhali on October 20, the story was repeated to me by a very reliable shelter at the thana here from source.

### Deserted Villages

On the 19th I set out with a relief party for Lakshmipur. On both banks of the canal, not a soul stirred on the roads or in the fields. Villages, which only a few weeks ago I had seen humming with life, looked like a desolate waste. On the canal not a boat did we pass, nor a single fisherman.

Later in the evening we reached Lakshmipur. Though the place itself escaped the outrages, four thousand people took shelter at the thana here from source.

## RED HASANABAD--IMPENETRABLE STEEL WALL AGAINST NOAKHALI'S HELL

In Tipperah District a whole belt of one hundred and eighty villages, right on the border of the Noakhali inferno, stands like a mountain barrier preventing the hell fire from spreading.

When the history of these grim and glorious days is written, the kisans of these hundred and eighty villages will find their names in golden letters among those who fought hardest and best for India's freedom, against the machiavellian machinations of the imperialists and their agents.

### Under The Red Flag

This belt of villages stretching round Hasanabad, Barura and Galimpur runs to the south of Comilla, right up to the borders of the black zone. Eighty thousand Hindu and Muslim kisans live here. Since 1930, they have fought together against the zemindars, together they have faced the bullets of the police.

United in the Kisan Sabha under the Red flag, they have stood shoulder to shoulder against their enemies, fought the blackmarketeers and hoarders, striven to build a new life for themselves.

Even before the general outbreak of the terror in Noakhali hundreds of Hindu middle-class families had come over the border into Tipperah—fugitives from death and horror.

In Hasanabad, they found another world. The kisans—Muslims and Hindus both—welcomed them, gave them shelter, did whatever they could to make their misery easier. Here in Hasanabad, they found that they need not be afraid any more.

### Beating Up The Goondas

From across the border came warnings from the goondas. "We shall wipe out your villages, murder your leaders if you dare to shelter the fugitives from our 'justice'!" The kisan army defied them to come.

The goondas sent their advance scouts to Muzafarganj and Barura Bazar. Here they spread the rumour that riots had begun. Shop-keepers, both Hindus and Muslims, began scampering off in a panic, leaving the goondas to loot in peace.

But immediately the Kisan Sabha volunteers rushed to the spot, threw the goondas out, and brought the shop-keepers back, undertaking to guard the bazar on the hat (market) day.

The Kisan Sabha also held open meetings and warned the goondas that it would never permit them to bring their hell into Hasanabad.

One thousand volunteers—Hindus and Muslims together—stood guarding the villages, day and night. The goondas attacked, they were beaten back. Again and again. The steel wall never broke.

The goondas appealed to the Muslim kisans—"We are not fighting you, join us against the Hindus in this holy crusade!" The Red flag Muslim kisans throw them out, standing ever more promptly on guard.

### Relief Work

When the general outburst came in Noakhali, a regular stream of refugees rushed into Hasanabad. Panperised though they were, the kisans organised relief kitchens and between them fed and sheltered FIVE THOUSAND KISANS.

Communist kisan leaders—Yakub, Chandrasekhar Das, Phani Majumdar and Ebadatullah—are moving from village to village raising more volunteers and helping in the relief work. They are also endeavouring to rescue wherever possible those who are marooned inside the black zone.

From Murain, a village in Noakhali, came three refugees and reported that 300 villagers were in danger of being killed unless rescued at once. Hastily collecting 12 boats, the Red volunteers rushed to Murain and heroically rescued 250 of the marooned villagers.

Hasanabad continues its battle. Its kisans—Hindus and Muslims—send their message across to all India.

"This is the way to fight the hell creators—together, fearlessly. This is the way to defend our Motherland from the British-planned riots."

If Noakhali is our shame, Hasanabad is our pride!

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# NOAKHALI—POISONED FRUIT OF THE BRITISH PLAN

## League Hate Campaign Lights Flames Of Civil War

Hell has been raging in Noakhali, within an area of 500 square miles, involving one lakh persons. All possible crimes against humanity have been committed—murder, loot, arson, conversion, abduction—in a manner and on a scale that has never happened before in this land of ours. Every decent Indian, irrespective of differences, has been shocked as he has never been before in his life.

THE Communist Party expresses its heart-felt sympathy for the countless victims and takes the pledge to direct all its strength and activities to ensure that never again shall there be another Noakhali in our countryside, wherever a Communist lives and works.

We know we shall get the ready support of Hindu and Muslim peasants and common men, who need political leadership to fight the people's enemies and not political provocateurs to set one section of the people against another.

### Rays Of Hope

The Communist Party pays homage to the countless heads of Muslim households in Noakhali who resisted. Muslim hooligans and helped their Hindu neighbours to escape into safety; whose existence has been blacked out by Press propagandists.

The Communist Party pays its tribute to the local Congress, League and Communist leaders of Noakhali who established and kept together a Joint Peace Committee in the key-town of Choumahani and prevented the flames of fratricide spreading to the other half of the district.

The Communist Party glorifies the example of the Hasanabad peasants, both Hindu and Muslim, who beat back the repeated efforts of big bands to trigger the riot to their side of Tipperah District, and who are now running a relief centre for the refugees, despite their own great poverty.

The Communist Party glorifies the example of Calcutta trade unions, whose members, both Hindus and Muslims, are going to Noakhali in joint delegations to help in relief measures, to demonstrate and express in deeds the fraternal solidarity of the workers with their peasant brothers.

The Communist Party is proud of its aged leader, Muzaffar Ahmed, who has gone to Noakhali to lead personally the Party's activities on the spot. He is the only Bengali leader who has the honour of having Hindu colleagues by his side and at the same time, a Muslim rank and file which is daily risking its own life, going into dangerous areas to rescue the Hindus.

These examples are the rays of hope in the dark horizon of today. They come from the ranks of the organised working-class and peasant movements. They constitute the challenge of the forces of the Indian Revolution against the forces that unleashed civil war. They give faith and strengthen determination in the hour when we need them most.

### British Hand Not Seen

The Press is full of atrocity stories and the responsibility for Noakhali is being debated in a manner as if the British were our neutral allies. The Congress and the League are blaming each other with a passion worthy of a better cause, while the arch-criminal has manoeuvred himself into the position of the judge. The hand of the British imperialists is not seen at all.

Let us close our eyes and recall the mounting hatred against British domination that swelled within Hindu-Muslim breasts

and the popular urge for Congress-League unity. Gandhi and Jinnah met and failed. If it is necessary for us to note why they failed, it was necessary for the British to note that they had met, to note that as a signal that they could not take Congress-League disunity for granted.

### A Few Months Ago

Let us recall the same Calcutta and Bombay only a few months ago. In Calcutta whether it was the Congress or the League that gave the call, there were unprecedented joint Hindu-Muslim demonstrations for the INA heroes. In Bombay, where neither the Congress nor the League gave the call, there was a complete Hindu-Muslim strike and haral in solidarity with the RIN. And so on, all over the country. Indian Revolution was on its legs. Indian disunity was only at the top. The British noted the signs

by  
**P. C. Joshi**

League remained out to exert pressure through threat of direct action. The League has now gone into the Government without gaining any extra concessions and all that the country got was a round of riots.

Let us contrast with what promptness Martial Law is declared in Travancore with the way the British Viceroy, the British Governor, the British Army chiefs feel helpless to intervene against communal riots!

Where a united people rise, British method is suppression; where people fight among themselves, the British method is drift. Not helping to suppress the riot but letting the riot spread, has been the policy of the bureaucracy.

This got proved in Noakhali more clearly than ever before. The issue of growing tension in East Bengal was raised in the Bengal Assembly a month earlier and the Army chiefs had declared that their military arrangements were perfect.

### Method In Tardiness

The local authorities in Noakhali were duly informed of the activities of the hooligans a month earlier, yet no action was taken.

## UNITED STRUGGLES OF COMMON PEOPLE ONLY WAY FORWARD

of the time, and hatched their master-plan.

The present riot wave is the imperialist way out of the revolutionary upsurge, in the grip of which they found themselves.

They sent a Cabinet Mission to work out anew the traditional strategy of divide and rule. They worked out a plan that would tie up Congress-League differences into an irreconcilable knot. They created the impression that they were prepared to quit and it was only a question in whose favour they abdicate.

### Imperialist Trap

They successfully trapped the Congress and League leaders into acceptance of the British Imperialist Plan: the Congress leaders saw in it the "stepping-stone to freedom"; the League leaders saw in it "the seeds of Pakistan". Having accepted the British Award, the stage was set for what followed.

The more the Indian parties fight to twist the British Award in their favour, the more the British will emerge as arbiters of Indian differences and get the chance to guide the course of events in their own imperial interests and ensure that India will remain safe as their imperial base.

The more the Indian parties rouse their own mass followings against each other, the quicker will the fast developing united Hindu-Muslim upsurge against British rule be transformed into large-scale Hindu-Muslim riots which will lead more and more to the demand for the British military to restore peace and pave the path for the permanent retention of the British Army in India as the only neutral peace force!

Looking-around, anyone can see that this is how events developed. Both the Congress and the League leaders accepted the Imperialist Plan and began manoeuvring to get into positions. The Congress outmanoeuvred the League by getting in to the Interim Government. The

Inspector General of Police and the Commissioner flew to Noakhali one week afterwards, later than even the popular leaders from outside!

There is a method in this British tardiness. Let Indians kill Indians. The British Army will be sought for to restore peace. British Governors will be appealed to intervene against the popular Ministry. The British Viceroy will be appealed to act against autonomous Provinces. They will emerge more and more as the masters of the situation. This is what they had planned and this is what has happened.

The British are the arch-criminals not only because it is their political plan which paved the way to riots, but it is they who are emerging stronger; their army of occupation is being wanted to restore peace among Indians; the Governors and the Viceroy are being appealed to exercise the autocratic powers. If this is so already, what will it not be in the Constitution-making Body?

### Lesson For All Indians

These riots are only the first poisoned fruit of the British Imperialist Plan. The one lesson out of them for all Indians is that the more the Indian leaders function within its framework, the more it will be a war among Indians and mastery of the British in our land.

These riots are the direct result of the League threat of "direct action" not against British Imperialism, but to get the Imperialist Plan itself modified in its sectional party interest and in a more reactionary direction to ensure the Viceregal veto and the compulsory groups.

If a campaign of hate is launched against the Hindus and the Congress, Interim Government called Hindu Raj and Muslims roused to rise against it, what else could have happened except communal riots of the type we have had?

The League leadership denies its responsibility but it stands revealed in the simple atmosphere of the Noakhali villages more clearly than in the complicated atmosphere of Calcutta and Bombay.

● It is the League banner that the gangs carried.

● It is with the League slogans that they roused the Muslim masses in their support.

● It is in the name of collecting League subscription that they did the looting.

● It was in the belief that the League Government would not interfere with them that they got their courage.

It is noteworthy that neither the Bengal nor the All-India leadership of the League condemned the Noakhali atrocities (which began on October 10) BEFORE the League entry into the Interim Government. It was on the 15th that the League entered the Interim Government.

\* It was on the 16th that Premier Suhrawardy came out against "lawlessness".

\* It was on the 19th that the Bengal League Working Committee "condemns lawlessness, violence and murder".

\* It was only on the 24th that Mr. Jinnah thinks of 'humanity'.

It is an old trick in Indian politics, among its upper-class

tion and produce results.

The Congress Working Committee has come out against retaliatory measures which is a great step in itself but there is no positive lead.

The League campaign is rightly held responsible for Noakhali, but as long as the Congress does not come out unconditionally for national self-determination, the Muslim masses would not see any alternative to the separatist and religious Pakistan of the League.

As long as the Congress itself remains wedded to the British Imperialist Plan "in its entirety," it does not acquire the moral status to attack the League for being pro-imperialist.

As long as the Congress itself does not break with the Imperialist Plan and come out with an offer to the League to frame the Constitution of India on the principles of complete independence, full national self-determination and true democracy, we shall have charges and counter-charges of Anglo-Muslim and Anglo-Hindu conspiracy from the top, and Hindus and Muslims ranged in two warring camps at the bottom, with the British succeeding in piloting their Plan through.

### The Alternatives

The alternatives are just two: either advance towards a Joint Front and joint struggle against the British Plan or get drawn deeper and deeper into civil war.

The Congress line of merely condemning the League, expecting the Viceroy and the Governor to help keep peace and asking the people to defend themselves as best as they can is bankruptcy all-round.

The situation is so serious that among the Bengalis the Hindu Mahasabha is suddenly becoming popular, its way appears more militant! All over the country the Congress following itself is being swept by the slogan "Avenge Noakhali!" The aftermath of Noakhali is already Chapra and Ludhiana. Bombay and Calcutta remain where they were, even worsening. The riot situation exists all over.

Only the organised working-class is yet keeping itself united. Its responsibilities are the greatest. It must show the way out to the common people.

● It must come out in demonstrations denouncing the British Plan as a plan of riots.

● It must take the initiative to form Joint Defence Committees pledged to resist all aggressors and guarantee safety to all within its own locality.

● It must play the foremost part in relief and rescue work in all riot areas.

● It must speed up its own battles and demonstrate to the people how Hindu-Muslim unity works in practice in common victory.

● It must make fervent appeal to the Congress and League followings to see that freedom does not come through fratricide but differences among Indian parties can and must be solved in a fraternal manner on democratic principles; the first need is to break with the British.

The British Plan has unleashed riots and the bankrupt Congress-League leaderships have no alternative policy except drift deeper and deeper into them.

The growing strike wave of the workers, the peasant actions against landlordism and the new upsurge of the common people of Telangana and Travancore which began just between the great holocaust of Calcutta and Noakhali, show that despite the riot wave, the militant mass upsurge is also growing side by side. If the former shakes, the latter should strengthen faith that Indian Revolution shall triumph despite the British Plan. The job is to do our bit.

Resist the riots, they bring nothing more than police and military rule!

Start united struggles of workers, peasants and common people for common demands and thus blast the way forward!



# AMALNER LIVES TO FIGHT AND BE FREE

## Interviews With Martyrs' Families

Amalner! Red Amalner! Amalner of the nine martyrs—of Shripat Patil and his co-martyrs, Amalner of Maharashtra's new worker, death defying, irrepressible, men, women, children, . . .

**T**HE firing of August 29 here did not, could not, kill the Red worker. No, it has given birth to countless more Red homes. Nine hundred are coming forward to take the place of one who are gone.

To know Amalner, you must see it, meet the men and women, young and old, whom the martyrs have left behind. To know them is to know the new India, that is being born out of working-class and peasant struggles, out of the firings, lathi-charges, murders, that follow almost every major battle of India's underdog today!

### His Brother's Duty

Visit Amalner! Visit the little house of martyr SHANKER DHONDIBA. He was a member of his class Party, the Communist Party of India, a member of the Managing Committee of the Girni Kamgar Union (Red Flag). Barely two months before his death, Shanker had married. His wife had not yet been brought to his home. He had not even paid the first in-

stment of his marriage debt. Here in his home, you will meet his mother, his uncle, his young brother, Maruti. Maruti works in the same mill as Shanker once did. Mirajkar and I went to his house to pay our respectful homage. The walls were painted all over with pictures of working-class leaders in India and abroad. This was Shanker's legacy.

All were at home, but not Maruti. I asked where he was. His mother replied: "Maruti is on duty at the hospital."

On duty? What duty? When I met him later it turned out that he and some others had just taken on their own initiative, quietly and without telling anyone, the job of nursing the seventy workers who had been wounded in the firing.

"What shall I be doing at home? After Dada's death the work of the Red flag must be carried on. And see, Brahme, you must give me the work that Dada did in our Union. I have a right to it. Of course, you must test me first and see if I am fit for the work."

### Martyr's Widow

SHANKER BARI was one of the leading organisers of the Union, Chairman of the workers' cooperative society. Leading men of his community visited his house to offer their condolences to his wife. Shanker had left behind his

wife and three children and there was no one to look after them. The visitors seemed worried over the maintenance of Shanker's family. The only way out was re-marriage, they felt. And after all, re-marriage was permissible. So, why not open the topic? And they did open it, though guardedly.

Wild with indignation Shanker's wife sprang to her feet. She, a martyr's wife, to be talked to thus? She thundered: "How dare you say that? Re-marriage for me? Impossible? Who can be a greater hero than Shanker? No, I shall be what I am, his widow, all my life. His name shall give me strength to feed myself and our kids. And you need not worry for me. Shanker's Union is strong enough to do that and I shall stand by and work for his flag."

She sent for me and said, "My husband used to sell 'pan'. I can as well do that job. That will be enough to

feed me and my children. Don't spend Union money unnecessarily on me. Use it instead for a more needy comrade. If the Union loans me Rs. 100 to get going I will manage. I will pay it back soon. I shall never be a burden on my husband's Union."

And she has started her job in right earnest.

### A Photograph

GANGADHAR BHILA was the Vice-President of the Union. Amalner's citizens had proudly returned him to the Municipality. No wonder his death came as a great shock to his younger brother.

For days he would not stir out of his home. Then came the campaign for September 27, the BPTUC "Amalner Day". We were busy, very busy. And just then Gangadhar's brother stepped into the Union office.

"Brahme, give me a photograph of Stalin", he said, as soon as he entered.

"Why Stalin's, comrade?" I asked him, a little puzzled.

"For 15 days I have been thinking", he replied, "who will work after Gangadhar Dada? Who from our family? And then I decided I must. And I have come to take his place. I shall work hard, very hard. I promise you."

by Shantaram Brahme

Pointing to Gangadhar's little child whom he was carrying in his arms, he continued,

"I shall work till this boy, Gangadhar's child, comes of age, to do his father's job. I swear by him that I shall not fail. Let me work for the flag. And give me Stalin's photograph. I shall put it up by the side of Gangadhar Dada's."

### He Did Not Die Of Fever

Come to Mokal Zumkiram's home. An old guard of his flag, this 50 years old stalwart put to shame many a youth as he worked. He was the shock brigadier of August 27, getting workers in his ward ready in time for the procession of the day.

The bullet that claimed his great life shot him through the eye and head. His body lay at his house. All the martyrs' buddies were to be taken out in one funeral procession. It was a heart-rending wall that went up in many houses. And Mokal's was no exception.

Mokal's sister-in-law wiped the tears that were gushing forth from her eyes:

"Why weep? Did Bhanji die of fever? He died fighting like a great hero of the Red flag. All Amalner will honour his death. All will march in his funeral procession. And you crying here? No, we also shall march and honour his memory."

And she did march. Taking all his relatives and his two sons along, she marched, marched on at the head of the funeral procession, 15,000 strong, defying death, defying police, defying their ban on processions.

### The "Karan"

The tenth day is a day for offering ablutions. The ceremony is called "Karan". It meant expenses and not all the martyrs' families could afford it. But the way out was found. Perform the "Karan" in the Red flag way!

About 800 workers gathered in a meeting by the river. Balls of rice were placed in the name of each of the nine

# GIRIDIH MINERS' GLORIOUS VICTORY

## 19 Days' Strike Ends With Major Demands Conceded

**G**IRIDIH's miners have won. After 19 days' strike, during which the Indian railways did not receive a single lump of coal, the White sahibs of New Delhi's Railway Board, already badly badgered by the S.I.R. strikers, have been compelled to concede a number of the major demands of the strikers and refer others to special enquiry committees.

This historic total strike has made the first glorious dent in the inhuman existence which imperialism and its brutal agents have carved out for Giridih's coal miners. This victory will inspire the Indian working-class to new battles for decent living conditions. It will sow terror in the hearts of the imperialists and the vested interests all over the country.

The strike was complete (see last week's People's Age). Despite all forms of police terror, threats, intimidation, the strikers remained firm.

On October 23 and 24, representatives of the workers — BARIN DEY, CHAPAL BHATTACHARYA, ALIJAN MEAH, TALLO CHOWDHURY and BAIJ PANNEY — met the Railway Board sahibs in Calcutta, and with the organised might of the strikers behind them brought the bureaucrats to their knees.

The demands among others which were met were:

- \*1) Interim relief of 11 pice to all workers daily and Rs. 63 retrospective payment.
- \*2) Reinstatement of 33 workers discharged from the workshop.
- \*3) Assurance of no retrenchment.
- \*4) Payment of Dearness Allowance and wages of contract labour under direct supervision of the Colliery Administration.
- \*5) Right to contribute to the Provident Fund for workers having a pay of Rs. 15.
- \*6) Minimum wage level eight annas.
- \*7) Rates of women workers to be increased.
- \*8) No further extension of contract system.

Other demands like abolition of contract system, revision of grades, increase in basic wages, unconditional recognition of the Union, enquiry into non-payment and short payment of Dearness Allowance have all been referred to various enquiry committees.

martyrs. Each ball carried a tiny Red flag and a tiny placard bearing the martyr's name. These were garlanded. The "Karan" ended by two Union leaders speaking for them all to pledge themselves to carry forward the battle of these heroes. This is only a passing glimpse of this Red City, this mine, producing rare gems and jewels. Amalner lives to fight and be free.



Wife and Daughter of Ratan Patil, an Amalner martyr.



Giridih Miners

# INSIDE STORY OF PT. NEHRU'S TOUR OF TRIBAL AREAS

## Our Special Correspondent Exposes Political Dept.'s Machinations

By Wire.

Lahore, October 26.

Pandit Nehru arrived at Peshawar aerodrome at 12.30 p.m. on October 16. Outside the aerodrome, the Muslim League held a demonstration, shouting abusive slogans and carrying black flags and spears. The average Pathan did not like this demonstration. A Muslim tongawalla said, "I am a supporter of the League, but why this noise against our guest? We Pathans are well-known for our traditional hospitality."

At the head of the demonstrators stood Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan. When he was asked why they had arranged this demonstration, he angrily remarked: "There might be peace elsewhere, but there will be a fight in the Frontier."

BACK in the city, I heard common folk talking. They were also discussing Pandit Nehru's impending visit to the Tribal Zone. And the only question they asked was: "Will Panditji bring about a new orientation in the Tribal policy? Will these Political Agents go?" But what they meant and what was behind this concern of common Pathans could only be understood when one visited the Tribal Zone.

At 8.30 in the morning on October 17, Pandit Nehru accompanied by the Khan brothers, left in a Dakota plane for Miranshah in North Waziristan. Twelve journalists, Indian and foreign, went with them. The Frontier Gandhi told Pressmen:

"For the first time, the blockade between us and our Tribal friends is being removed. The age-long iron bars against which we dashed our heads in vain, are giving way. Though it might be a conducted tour, we shall be in a position to establish contact with our brothers, separated from us by our foreign overlords."

Here I was told of the Political Department's desperate efforts to dissuade Pandit Nehru from undertaking this tour. The visit of the Frontier Governor, Sir Olaf Caroe, to Delhi just before Nehru's tour was not to prepare his programme, but to appeal to the Viceroy to impress on Pandit Nehru the "futility" of going to the Tribal areas at this time. But Pandit Nehru remained adamant.

### 'According To Plan'

The Political Department then started the second round of the plot. All Political Agents were called to Peshawar and a plot was hatched at the Government House. The tour would be conducted "according to plan". Jirgas were tutored by Political Agents.

Addresses to be delivered by these stooges of the Political Department were prepared and handed over to them, rehearsed. I understand that some of these addresses, with unimpeachable evidence of their origin in the Political Department, are in the possession of Congress leaders.

From here, the party went to Razmak where the first surprise awaited them. An advanced fort about a hundred miles inside the Tribal Zone, Razmak was being shelled from the morning. The Political Department officers and the British military officers cleverly enough pretended to be anxious.

"We do not know what will happen to Nehru. We are so very worried about his safety", they started saying. They gave out to Pressmen a big story of Razmak being sniped from nearby mountains on a big scale from a 21 m.m. gun stolen by a Lieutenant of the Fauj of Ipi. "Vengeful Tribesmen are out to shoot down Nehru's plane", etc. Some Pressmen swallowed the story, while others were cau-

tious.

But their real concern was revealed when the Political Agent told Pressmen: "You have been making such a noise over bombing a few villages in Waziristan. Now look how dangerous these people are. They must be kept under check and we people with our experience alone know how to do it."

So that was what it was. The whole game of the Political Department was to engineer sniping, etc., to impress on Pandit Nehru the necessity of continuing the policy they have been pursuing.

Both the Khan brothers laughed at this sniping story and said: "We know what it is, and we cannot be bluffed."

At both—the Jirgas, Miranshah

and Razmak, Malik said exactly the same thing. The purport was—leave us alone; don't interfere with our freedom.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan remarked: "A queer paradox. These Government-paid agents talk of freedom."

Everyone in the party then began to see through the game. "Are these pitiful pensioners your Afridis?", said Nehru to the Political Agent of Razmak. Of course the Dawn correspondent, Henesey of the Kemsley chain of newspapers and the representative of the Conservative Daily Mail of London started flashing stories of Tribesmen being anti-Nehru and pro-League.

But not a single Pressman really had any doubt about the reality behind the fake jirgas, manufactured by the Political Department.

### From Bombed Waziristan

At the Razmak jirga, came Malik from bombed Waziristan villages. Shanti Swarup Dhanu of the A.L.C.O. office rightly pointed out:

"These Tribesmen come from villages where thousands of tons of bombs have been recently dropped. But curiously enough not one of them had a word to say against these atrocities, while they related stories about the Interim Government's responsibility for killing Muslims in Calcutta and Bombay. They were particular in avoiding issues which would be more

live to them, but for which the Political Agent Bahadur would be held responsible."

Pressmen here got an inkling of the real character of the Malik at Razmak when they went round and visited the local market. A Mahsud working as a coolie related the whole story. The Tribal Zone is a deficit area. The food produced there is hardly sufficient for three months. The Central Government reserves a quota of food-grains and cloth for the Tribal people and Political Agents are responsible for its distribution.

### Stooges Of Political Dept.

They in their turn, give contracts to certain favoured Malik who make a huge profit out of them. Besides, these Malik secure huge subsidies from the Government every month. While the common Tribesmen live in small huts or caves, there are big pucca houses for Malik and often they own lands in the area. They would always say whatever the Political Agents asked them to say. They are neither with the Congress nor the League, but just stooges of the Political Department.

The Political Agent of Razmak actually admitted: "I had to spend one thousand rupees to call this jirga." Asked whether they were all his yes-men, the Agent replied: "I do not know what you actually mean. But they are obviously under my influence."

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

### The Eighteen Hundred

ONE of the most confidential military secrets lie behind a great deal of hush-hush activity taking place in the reinforcement camp near Bombay. This camp is making arrangements to receive almost immediately EIGHTEEN HUNDRED guests.

The secret lies in the fact that these guests are to be British troops—straight out from Britain.

Since the end of the war, there has NEVER been such a large number of British troops coming into India all at once. Soldiers returning from leave—the usual arrivals from Britain—are never more than a hundred or so at a time.

Even for confirmed liars like the British Imperialists, it is a little difficult to reconcile all their solemn assurances that they are quitting with the arrival of these large reinforcements.

Sardar Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister in the Interim Government, was talking the other day of speeding up the Indianisation of the Army. If this is his way, it is certainly not very convincing. Our own trained men are being demobilised, while the army of occupation is being increased in numbers.

Altogether a striking commentary on the "freedom" we can expect from the British Plan.

### Long Period

TALKING about Indianisation, I was interested to read a farewell message to the Royal Indian Air Force from Air Marshal Roderic Carr, Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief in India, on the eve of his departure from this country. This is what he said:

"The Royal Indian Air Force which achieved notable success in the World War II is growing rapidly in stature, and the time is coming when it will be completely independent of its sister service, the R. A. F."

Hurray for Indianisation, for our own Air Force! Good old Roderic! But WHEN will all this happen, and

how? The Air Marshal is very specific:

"Only by total and unceasing endeavour by all ranks over a long period can the force be built up to such a standard that it will be capable of taking over the Air Defence of India unaided."

"Over a long period"? How long, Air Marshal? And why? Under your regime, so many of our Air Force men—fully trained in the war—have been demobilised, sacked, sent back to civilian life. Why? Just in order to make Indianisation take "a long period" of time?

These British Generals and Admirals and Marshals talk so sweetly of Indianisation that one is almost taken in. But the rate at which they envisage Indianisation to take place is always slow enough to ensure that at least during their life times, the Union Jack will continue to fly over India. And most of them have eaten so well at India's cost that they expect to live to a hundred at least!

### Playing The Game

THE Jam Sahib of Nawanagar comes of a family which is famous for playing that very British game—cricket. The name of Ranji and Dulepsinghi are known all over the world, wherever cricket is played.

These days the Jam Sahib doesn't play cricket. His most urgent occupation is the building of a magnificent new port—SIKA—which it is planned to make big enough to be on a par with Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Madras, Colombo—one of the SIX biggest ports in India.

The Jam Sahib is very, very anxious that the port should remain in his hands and not pass into the hands of the people. And he is taking all sorts of precautions to keep himself securely on his gadi. Some of the steps he is taking in this direction have been reported to me by a friend:

The Jam Sahib has decided to build an asphalt road from Ahmedabad to Sika, and another from Sika to Veraval (in Junagadh State). This way, HELP can always be rushed by friends in the shape of troops, if ever the Jam Sahib's Palace is sur-

rounded by a people who want to be free.

● Twenty Dakota planes are now at the Jam Sahib's command. Just in order to bomb Jamnagar's people if they get too vociferous about Responsible Government and other silly things like that.

● Jamnagar's State forces (infantry) are being rapidly expanded. Already they have reached the figure of ONE THOUSAND fully mechanised troops—quite considerable for little Jamnagar.

● Jamnagar's aerodrome has been recently equipped with night landing facilities. Just in case it is necessary to take out the Dakotas at night to bomb the people while they are asleep, in order to teach them a lesson or two when necessary.

### The Team Spirit

All very strange activities for a mere cricketer. But if you ask the Jam Sahib, he will explain it all to you. He isn't bothered about himself and his own gadi. It's the "team spirit". He is merely "playing the game".

And at present the British game (after all his team is the one that flies the Union Jack) is to make SIKA the biggest and most important port, at which the Imperialists can continue to dump their goods and their troops, when Bombay and Calcutta and the rest have hoisted the flag of independence and refuse to allow the Empire to make use of their harbours any more.

If Jamnagar passes out of the hands of the cricketer Prince into the hands of the people, then Sika will be no good to the Imperialists. For the people, unlike the Prince, don't know how to play the game, and might, like the people of Bombay and Calcutta, refuse to allow the use of their port by the Empire.

And so, the Jam Sahib is busy playing the game, in the good old British way...all for the sake of the old team.

Romesh Chandra

I cannot call hostile because they would never come."

From Razmak, the party turned in a convoy to Miranshah. Accompanied by armed cars and soldiers, the party drove through Waziristan land of 'guns and gold'. There was only guns which the people saw. Pandit Nehru suddenly decided to visit Jandola, which was originally not in the programme.

The poor Political Agent no time to tutor the N.C. For the first time, Nehru we sympathetic Tribesmen. We discussed with them their problems in a friendly way. They demanded that Pandit should help Tribesmen in raising their economic standard by starting cottage industries, opening schools and hospitals.

On the 20th, while Pt. Nehru party was returning to Peshawar after visiting Khyber, the "Tribesmen" fired at the party near Landikotal Fort.

A "pitched battle" was fought for five minutes between Shinwari Tribesmen and Frontier Riflemen. Shots were fired at random. Some "Tribesmen" crossed the road and attacked Pandit Nehru's car, breaking the glass-screen. Only Hooper Reuters and Henesey received slight injuries.

It looked like a well-staged drama. Khan Sahib remarked: "Ask the Political Agent what is. I am old enough to go through this game."

Some Pressmen said that while the sniping was going they were on the roof of a lorry but no one was hurt. One of them looked at the Political Agent and said with a smile: "Your Tribesmen seem to be very bad marksmen, quite contrary to their fame."

The Political Agent had nothing to say.

### Panditji Injured

The next morning again when the party was returning from Malakand, Pandit Nehru's was attacked only a few yards outside the Fort area. It was a surprise to all. The Political Agent went ahead in his lorry without bothering about what was happening to Panditji his party.

Panditji received two cuts on the face while Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan received several wounds by stone throwing.

The party was again attacked outside Dargai Fort. After assaulting the leaders, the demonstrators came back in lorries, passed in front of Malakand Fort and no attempt was made to stop the lorries or to apprehend them.

It looked like a well-planned in which the authorities and demonstrators were in complete agreement.

### 'They Wanted To Kill'

At Sardaryab, a Red Star centre, both Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan made a reference to the demonstrators the same evening. Frontier Gandhi said:

"They wanted to kill us. They have seen through the game. Yesterday the Political Agent of Malakand came to Peshawar and a plot was hatched. I hold every British morally responsible for the attempt on our lives."

Thus ended Pandit Nehru's five-day Tribal Area tour which in his own words, he gained "experiences sweet and bitter." Has the tour been a success? That will depend on how he utilises his experiences.

The Political Department has tried to pass off their stooges as Leaguers, the conflict between their paid agents and the mass of anti-British Tribesmen as a League-Congress conflict. Their whole conspiracy has to be blown up.

The only way to end the misery of the Tribal people and reunite them with their Pathan brothers in the NWFP is to disband the criminal Political Department. Has the Interim Government the power to take this step?

A real National Government would put Badshah Khan at the head of a new Political Department with the Frontier Gandhi as his assistants. Then alone can all the promises made by Panditji to the Tribal people be fulfilled.

# SIKKAPI—KISAN HEROINE OF KHIZAPASALAI

## She Fought To Defend S.I.R. Strikers And Honour Of Red Flag

This is the story of Sikkapi, the kisan girl whose picture you see on this page, and the heroism with which she and her sisters defended their flag—the Red Flag. It speaks of the new fearless fighting spirit that is surging up from below, from among the millions of mazdoors and kisans of our land, the surest guarantee of freedom for India and social justice for our people.

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

They sent word to the mirasdar to organise the meeting. Word was also sent to the police that at the meeting on the 7th

marketees and their goondas, members of the Youth Congress, led by "Atom Bomb" Aiyya. This Aiyya before the meeting began was seen by the kisan women taking inspiration from a bottle of liquor. Emboldened by the liquor and the Police officer near-by Aiyya thundered to the audience:

"We have finished the Communists in Manamadurai. We have finished Churchill. There are only four Communists in this village. We will finish them and tear down the Red flag and trample it under our feet."

Saying this, he rushed towards the flag.

But suddenly Sikkapi, a peasant lass of 20, rushed forward with a broomstick and hit the drunkard on the head. The police rushed to the help of the "Atom-Bomb" who was in trouble. Many kisan women with broomsticks rushed to Sikkapi's help. And then a battle royal began.

### Goonda Gang Put To Flight

Five hundred men who brought shame to the Tricolour, assisted by the police on one side, and a batch of 30 fearless kisan women defending the honour of the Red flag from foul-mouthed drunkards and his blackmarket patrons on the other.

Soon reinforcements arrived for Sikkapi's battalion. And it was a sight that would have gladdened the heart of every freedom-fighter.

Aiyya's gang of 500 and the police party including the Sub-Inspector who had tried to terrorise and beat down the kisans were put to flight and chased for a distance of three furlongs, Sikkapi and her sisters leading the chase.

Fat blackmarketees who had not bargained for this fell on their knees and begged the kisan women not to beat them. They offered a rupee for safe conduct. But the bribe was unavailing and they had to run as best as they could. It was an ignominious flight too shameful to talk to anyone about.

The Manamadurai gang and the police went straight to the Reserve Police at Manamadurai with an urgent S.O.S. And while the kisan men and women of Khizapasalai were laughing and exchanging notes about the bat-

tle, the punitive expedition arrived in a special train from Manamadurai which stopped near the village.

Sikkapi who had expected this and had kept a watch-warned the whole village but she herself, the brave girl, decided to stay behind in hiding to keep a watch on what the police were doing.

### neti Let Loose In Village

The police entered the village, firing their guns to terrorise the kisans. They let hell loose in the village. Old men and women were beaten, pots and pans in every kisan house smashed. Harijan girls were molested and the village was in the grip of police terror. They searched everywhere for Sikkapi, the girl who had put them to shame. They could not find her, though she was still hiding in the village.

By beat of gong they announced a reward of Rs. 100 to anyone who gave information about Sikkapi's whereabouts. Not one came forward to betray Sikkapi, their heroine.

The next day in her hide-out kisan women pleaded with Sikkapi that it was dangerous for her to remain any longer in the village. Sikkapi had full information now about the police atrocities. She agreed to leave saying, "I am not afraid of death. But these brutes won't just kill me. I am afraid of the other things they will do."

So, dressed in male attire she escaped the iron cordon that the Reserve Police had put round the village and walked ten miles to safety in another village.

The police occupied the village for a whole fortnight. They allowed the mirasdar's men to set fire to the houses of Kisan Sabha militants. They ravaged the village, ate up all the fowl till as a Kisan said, "there's not even a cock left to crow."

They put the kisans to a loss of ten to fifteen thousand rupees! They have arrested nearly 40 innocent kisans.

But Khizapasalai is not defeated. The kisans and railway workers around Manamadurai speak with pride and joy of Sikkapi—their heroine.

Sikkapi typifies the new spirit, the birth of a new people who are not afraid of fighting police terror or landlord tyranny. It is these fighting people that will win the freedom of our land.

**K**HIZAPASALAI is a village lying close to the South Indian Railway line, not far from Manamadurai. It was for long dominated by the mirasdar M. S. Ramaswamy Iyer, a Banatani and one who boasted of being a Congressman, and by the village Karnam, also a Bahmin.

The kisans had no rights of occupancy, no security of tenure. The mirasdar had also made a rule that the Harijans would not even be seen in the village—the Brahmin monopoly.

### Red Flag Awakens Kisans

In 1943 for the first time, the Red flag of the Kisan Sabha went to the village with its message of organised fight for kisan rights. From it the kisans got their first lesson that no rights are won unless they are fought for. The Kisan Sabha membership soon rose to 850. The village became a Red vil-

The mirasdar's practice of hanging the land from the hands of one kisan to another, to oust the militant kisan, was put an end to by organised might of the

**T**he Harijan kisans asserted elementary human rights, the ban on their free movements and marched in processions through the Agraharam. The kisans had even courage to demand a half-ton in the produce. The militant used to rob them hither-till 2/3 of the entire produce! July 21 last the Kisan Sabha workers even exposed the village tyrant, the Karnam, as a hard and a thief of people's food. Forty seven bags of rice were unearthed from his

The mirasdar and the Karnam were furious and desperate. The kisans of the village, men and women, boys and girls, loved the Red flag, the flag brought them this new strength, this new life. On July 21 the village exploiters, and the mirasdar conspired to burn several kisan huts, to terrorise the kisans. They set fire to the huts at night and caused a loss of Rs. 6,000. But the kisans were not cowed down.

### Solidarity With S.I.R. Strike

When the great South Indian Railway strike began, the kisans of the village rose solidly in its support. There were 11 railway workmen in the village of whom only six were on strike. Adimulam, the Secretary of the village Kisan Sabha, held a meeting and the kisans took a pledge that they would do house to house propaganda and make the strike complete.

They approached those who were not on strike and pleaded with them to stand out along with their brothers.

The mirasdar said, "If I lose and lose my job, who is to feed my wife and children?" The kisans said, "We will. We will give you part of our land. We have no fear."

The mirasdar said, "My house is burnt down (by the mirasdar's hirelings). No one has helped me to rebuild it. How can I rely on your word?"



SIKKAPI

About twenty kisans immediately started building the mirasdar's cottage and completed it by nightfall. The kisans removed the mirasdar's doubts and brought him into the ranks of the strikers.

On September 2 heavy rains had caused the railway embankment, not far from the village, to sag. The railway authorities brought blacklegs from outside to repair it. Two kisan women went up there and appealed to the blacklegs:

"Our men in the village are on strike and starving. Aren't you ashamed to come from outside and snatch away their food?"

### Rowdies To Rescue Of Police

The blacklegs went away quite ashamed.

The village was thus a stronghold of the strike as well. It was the first example of a fighting alliance between workers and peasants. The kisans helped the strike organisers, gave them shelter from the police and fed them. The police could not break the strike in this village or arrest the organisers. The whole line in that area was unusable.

On September 5 a meeting was organised by the Youth Congress of Manamadurai and the main speaker was one Anukunda Aiyya, the first name being Tamil equivalent for atom bomb. This Aiyya was a confirmed drunkard and a big thumper and was, therefore, dubbed the atom bomb.

He said, "In Khizapasalai, the kisans have been invited by the Communist fellows to demand half share of the produce. They also support the railway strike. The village is a Red flag stronghold. We must go there, smash the bones of Adimulam and the other Communists and we must put up the National flag there."

Aiyya tried to rouse national feeling by talking of the National flag. But he was cheered only by the local blackmarketees who were his patrons. It was decided to hold the meeting in Khizapasalai on the 7th.

Aiyya would tear down the Red flag from the Kisan Sabha Office, that the underground leaders were bound to come out to resist it and could thus be easily arrested by the police.

On September 7, the police party came to the village. The kisan militants were asked by the Sabha not to go to the meeting. The police began to search every house, beat up old kisans to catch the underground Kisan Sabha-cum-strike organisers. The police and the Karnam attempted to pull down the Red flag but eight kisan women went up, guarded the flag and said, "We'll never allow you to take it down!" The police Sub-Inspector looked at the women and knew they meant it. He gave up the attempt.

Later a big procession of 500 came from Manamadurai with big Tricolour flags to hide their real character. These were not real Congressmen but black-



Some of the women who under the leadership of Sikkapi (centre) fought in defence of the Red Flag.



A typical Basti kisan.

Photos:—SUNIL JANAH



United—happy and proud of their own strength—two kisans, Hindu and Muslim, of Basti.



The Kisan Volunteer Corps marches to protect the crop from the landlords.

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**THE NEW BASTI (U.P.)**

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**Here Hindu-Muslim  
Kisans Fight  
Together**

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## EVERYWHERE IS NOT NOAKHALI

It is not Noakhali everywhere in India's villages. Not everywhere have the bureaucracy and the landlords, the war profiteers and the hoarders succeeded in driving the common people of the countryside into communal frenzy, as has happened in Noakhali. There are other places where the Hindu and Muslim kisans have stood together battling against their common oppressors, despite all attempts to divide and transform their determination, to build a new life, into fratricidal war.

Among such places are Basti (pictures of which you see on this page) and other eastern districts of the United Provinces, where the kisans — united — are battling against the age-long oppression of the landlords.



Basti's children give the Red Salute.