

# Police Hand Behind Mohurrum Disturbances ?

By wire from Nikhil Chakravarty Calcutta December 8

The role that police plays in riots is revealed very clearly in some of the incidents connected with Mohurrum celebrations in Calcutta, particularly on the last day, December 5. According to the Bengal Government communique, the atmosphere of peace was later marred by frequent exchange of brickbats between processionists and others.

HOW the police behaved is graphically described by Niranjan Sen who since August 16 has been most active in keeping peace and fraternal relations between the two communities in his own area in Maniktola. It was he who brought out one of the first Hindu-Muslim peace squads on August 17.

On December 5, Niranjan Sen as President of the local Peace Committee, took his post on Rajendralal Street, while by Vivekananda Road were passing thousands of Mohurrum processionists.

Suddenly, at about 3-30 in the afternoon, a batch of 15 to 20 broke away from the main body of the procession and, rushing down Rajendralal Street, began throwing brickbats at Niranjan Sen and the Secretary of the Peace Committee, Susil Roy-Chaudhury, who was with him. But they did not move, nor did they allow the people of the locality to come out on the street, even at this provocation.

Soon they found that others from the procession began to drag back these goondas.

## No Police Intervention

Within a few minutes a White Sergeant appeared, brandishing a revolver, and threatened to arrest Niranjan Sen for having thrown stones at the procession. On Niranjan Sen shouting back at him: "It is a lie", he drew back but did nothing to arrest the goondas.

A little later, more armed police and police officers arrived, but in their very presence, the goonda gang set fire to one place and damaged another. They even tried to stop the fire-brigade in the presence of the police.

Meanwhile, the military arrived with machine-guns and indiscriminately began shooting at the roof-tops of neighbouring buildings, from which people were peacefully watching the procession. The Deputy Commissioner of Police (Special Branch), Barnes, led the attack into the neighbouring houses.

From old men to boys no one was spared.

In one place on Vivekananda Road, Barnes with his officers rushed inside a house, indiscriminately batoned and kicked the inmates, some of

## P. G. JOSHI ON ATTLEE'S AWARD

(Continued from page 1.)

Let the Congress make this clear-cut declaration and call upon the British Government to recognise the present Interim Government as the free provisional government of India, or else to face the combined resistance of the Indian people.

Let the Muslim League recognise in this declaration the full guarantee of Muslim rights and Muslim freedom in an Independent India and without any further conditions join the Congress in its demand on the British.

This is the only honourable path to end this humiliating farce of the present Constituent Assembly, to forge a Joint Front of people's struggle based on a democratic way of solving the question of Pakistan—and thus to pave the way for the convening of a sovereign Constituent Assembly based on adult suffrage and self-determination of national units.

whom had to be taken to hospital. In another place Christian residents were badly assaulted. In one flat, Barnes roughly handled ladies.

## Indiscriminate Arrests

Indiscriminate arrests were made, which included Professor Bimal Kunnar Chatterji of the Presidency College, J. K. Sinha, teacher in the Scottish Church School, and even an old pensioner of 60 and an ailing patient.

According to the Government Press note, that day 80 persons were injured and three killed. From our investigations, two were killed by military shooting, and it would not be surprising if most of the injured are found to be victims of police barbarities.

As Niranjan Sen said:

"It was obvious that the main body of the Mohurrum processionists was peaceful and it is significant that the gang of 15 to 20 who threw stones at us were dragged back by the crowd. What struck me as most suspicious was that the goondas were immediately followed by the police who instead of stopping them, let loose atrocities on the peaceful residents.

The disturbances were thus

the result of open police abetment of goondas and police attacks on citizens, and not because of any clash between Muslim processionists and Hindu residents, as Government has tried to make out."

During Mohurrum, Calcutta's working-class not only kept the peace, but there were instances of brotherly solidarity between them.

At the E.S.D. factory, at Jagaddal, Hindu-Muslim workers jointly participated in the Mohurrum.

On December 4, at night, 1,000 Hindu and Muslim workers brought out a procession with the slogans, "Hindu-Muslim ek ho", "Stop Retrenchment" and toured the entire area.

On December 5, 400 Hindu and Muslim worker volunteers turned up to keep the peace in the locality. When the big Mohurrum procession started, this volunteer force together with thousands of workers from the jute and E.S.D. factories came out shouting: "Hindu Muslim ek ho", and both Hindu and Muslim local labour leaders led the procession.

## Workers Keep Peace

At Kamarkhuti which is a big centre of jute workers, the Mohurrum saw brotherly fraternisation between Hindus and Muslims. Under the leadership of Communists Chatur Ali and Ramzan joint Hindu-Muslim volunteer corps kept guard for peace in the area and they moved the local Committee. They also had toddy shops closed to avert any disturbances.

In the Mohurrum processions, Hindu workers, who constitute over 30 per cent of the entire area, participated readily.

# CHITTAGONG RAIDERS CEASELESS ANTI-RIOT CAMPAIGN

By NIKHIL CHAKRAVARTY

Syt. Pyarelal, in an article in the Harijan dated December 1, has referred to Gandhiji's discussion on the Chittagong Armoury Raid with a group, in which one of the Armoury Raiders is said to have participated.

PYARELALJI reports that Gandhiji said:

"That so many of them should have remained living witnesses of the things that have happened, is in my eyes the tragedy of the first order. If they had shown the same fearlessness and courage to face death in the present crisis as they did when they made that raid, they would have gone down in history as heroes. As it is, they have only inscribed a small footnote in the pages of history."

## Interview With Ambika Chakravarty

I interviewed the doyen of Armoury Raiders, Ambika Chakravarty, who had met Gandhiji at Kazirkhil in Ramganj on November 15, and asked him whether he knew to what Gandhiji was referring when he made these remarks. Ambikada said:

"I had no such discussion with Gandhiji as Syt. Pyarelal suggests. It would have been better if Syt. Pyarelal had mentioned the name of the Armoury Raider to whom he referred, because I do not know if any of my Armoury Raid comrades has seen Gandhiji lately, except myself."

Asked about his talk with Gandhiji, Ambika Chakravarty said:

"As soon as I reached his camp, Gandhiji called me in to his presence and smilingly greeted me saying: 'When are you going to have your next Armoury Raid?'"

"I replied: 'This time we are preparing for mass revolution.'"

"After enquiring about us, he was visibly interested to

know about our joint Hindu-Muslim peace efforts in Chittagong. As I narrated the enthusiastic response we had been getting from Hindus and Muslims alike and how we were succeeding in getting both united, Gandhiji listened closely and commented: "That is what I want".

"I told him how Comrade Lal Mohan Sen met his death, trying to intervene and stop riots at Sandwip. Gandhiji remarked:

"That is the kind of the courage I want. We want men like him."

"I placed before Gandhiji two memoranda: one on our work in Chittagong and the other, on our suggestions for Noakhali. He promised to study them and urged me to see him again. He also promised to visit Chittagong later."

## Bhowani Sen's

### Statement

In this connection Bhowani Sen, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of India, has issued a statement in the course of which he says:—

"The Chittagong comrades, as soon as they were released, sunk themselves in an unceasing anti-riot campaign.

"Lal Mohan Sen at once went to Sandwip in the District of Noakhali, and during the trouble in that district, he did not desert his post, but threw himself into the task of organising peace committees, pacifying the hoodlums and saving the helpless minorities. Alone and unarmed, he moved among Muslims, preaching peace fearlessly at the most disturbed time, until he was killed.

"He laid down his life in the same manner as Gandhiji asked others to do, and he did it even before Gandhiji reached Noakhali. The fear of death could not deflect him from his patriotic path.

"Other comrades of the Chittagong Raid, as for example comrades Ambika Chakravarty, Ananta Singh and Ganesh Ghosh, have been leading the anti-riot campaign in Chittagong. They have been holding mammoth meetings in towns and villages, and their meetings are being attended not only by Hindus but also by thousands of Muslims.

"In these meetings, they appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity against our common slavery and denounce fratricidal war. It is in fact their tireless and fearless work that has brought back peace in Chittagong where riots had actually broken out before their arrival.

## What Is Real

### Defence

"They have of course refused to be drawn into any so-called 'Hindu Defence'.

"Comrade Ananta Singh once aptly remarked:

"Real defence is not the arming of Hindus but winning of Muslim brothers for 'maintaining peace'. Through personal example they have proved that this is possible.

"Hoary headed Ambikada is running from village to village together with his other comrades, with his patriotic message for peace, brotherhood and joint struggle for freedom, and has earned the love, respect and confidence of thousands of villagers, both Hindus and Muslims.

"Their untiring efforts have done a great deal to bring together the peace-loving leaders of both the communities and they have succeeded a good deal to knock-out the idea of armed warfare among brothers, either for defence or for revenge."

# RIOT NEWS IN BENGALI PRESS

## Distortions, Suppressions To Serve Communal Ends

Most of the readers of Bengali newspapers read either the Ananda Bazar Patrika, the Azad or the Bharat. Public opinion among Bengali Hindus and Muslims is mainly created by these papers. How have these papers reported the carnage in Noakhali and Bihar?

ON October 15, when Noakhali news was first published in Calcutta papers, the Azad published it on page two in a corner with a single column headline:

"ANARCHY IN NOAKHALI"

On October 16, at the bottom of page three, was seen: "Situation at Feni Under Control".

Yet, the news read:

"A Government Press note states that serious anarchy is continuing in three thanas of Noakhali....Reports of trouble have been received from Habiganj in Tipperah District."

On October 17, they splashed the news about Noakhali on page one, thus:

"Serious Steps To Stop Trouble In the Affected Areas Of Noakhali....Statement of Mr. Suhrawardy".

The actual news about the situation was published on page three:

"The Riot Situation In Noakhali: More Troops Sent To Affected Areas".

The report itself stated that according to official statements "...serious trouble is continuing in seven thanas".

## Azad's Mis-Statements

But the biggest mis-statements came when the Azad's special correspondent went to the affected areas personally.

"The number of killed and wounded cannot be more than a hundred. I have not found a single instance of conversion, assault on women or forced marriages....(these) stories are not only mere exaggerations, but totally without foundation".

This despatch came from the Azad's correspondent on November 8. From now on Noakhali news of exactly similar type started being published prominently next to the editorial or on page one!

Bihar riots were treated in exactly

the same manner by the Ananda Bazar Patrika.

On October 23, the "Ananda Bazar" published a small paragraph on page five with the headline:

"Two Hundred Houses Reduced To Ashes In Communal Disturbances At Chapra".

On October 23, news of Bihar disturbances appeared again on page five.

It was the same on October 30: "Many Casualties At Saran Due To Riots".

The report read: "Fifty persons have been killed in a village in Chapra district. At Bhagalpur town during a riot one afternoon, 30 persons were killed. It means that riots have spread to three districts of Saran, Bhagalpur and Chapra."

## Explaining Away

On October 29, the Ananda Bazar filled in half of its page two with a report from its Patna correspondent entitled: "Various Problems Of Domineered Bengalis In Bihar", but it had only an unimportant corner for the riots.

On October 31, in an attempt to explain away the gruesome tragedy, the Ananda Bazar headlined Syt. Sri-Krishna Sinha's statement, in bold type:

"Bihar Disturbances—Repercussions Of Goondalism Perpetrated In Bengal." No wonder that entirely different ideas are formed about the riots by the readers of the nationalist and the League Press.

Pandit Nehru gave a statement in the Central Assembly on Bihar riots. This is how the Bengali Press headlined the report of his speech:

"The Incidents Of Calcutta And Noakhali Infuriated The Biharis" (Bharat).

"The Greatest Problem Of East Bengal Is The Rescue of Abducted Women—Bihar Situation Under Control".

(Ananda Bazar). "Bihar Is The Most Shameful Example Of Cruelty And Barbarism". (Azad).

The real crux of what Panditji said was that this dangerous riot situation must be ended and this could be done only if all together try to do that. Not one of these papers pointed this out. Each took from Panditji's statement what suited its factional viewpoint and headlined only that.

## Adoration Of The British

And what is the way out of the riots which these papers suggest?

The nationalist Bharat wrote:

"...The nationalist Indian has pledged his all to free himself from the hands of British Imperialism, but he has never hated the British race. Then why do the British rulers today witness with indifference the greatest sufferings of Bengal and thus lower the prestige of the British in the eyes of the Indians?"

On October 9, the Azad's attitude was "...the guarantee of the peace can be the establishment of friendly and good relations with the majority community and not British bayonets".

But after Bihar it called a new tune: "In our opinion the Prime Minister (of Bihar) should be immediately removed and complete military administration established". (November 9).

Yet at the same time they were daily publishing reports of "military tyranny against innocent Muslims". This very Azad had earlier stated: "The miscreants must be severely punished....(but) innocent people should not receive any punishment". (Editorial on Noakhali Incidents: October 15).

This is the logical result of the factional preaching which these papers indulge in—shameless adoration of our Imperialist enslaver.



# "SPEED UP DEMOBILISATION"

## Rising Demand Of British Troops In India

In the last week of November, the G.H.Q. of the British Army of Occupation in India sent Top Secret instructions to all Commanding Officers that any demonstration must be stamped out ruthlessly with immediate court-martial.

**T**HIS was their reply to the rapidly mounting discontent among British troops at the slowing-down of demobilisation and repatriation. "Send Us Back Home"—is their demand; and this is the Auk's reply.

The exact number of British troops still in India, one year after end of the war, is not known. The Defence Secretary carefully refused to reveal their number in the Central Assembly, on the usual grounds of 'security.'

Even according to Auchinleck, there are in India at least five or six Brigade groups, composed of British infantry and artillery. (Speech at Staff College, Quetta, August 2). This comes to over 36,000 British troops.

### A Lakh Still Here

Of course, there are many more, made up of independent garrison units and individuals in various headquarters. It is probable that out of the 243,000 who were in India, during the war, at least a lakh are still here.

Till now demobilisation in the armed forces has been going on according to age service groups. On June 13, Herbert Morrison had declared that demobilisation would be complete by the end of December. Till recently two and a quarter groups were being demobilised monthly.

Then suddenly came the announcement that the rate was being slowed down, and the new rate means that in the next seven months, only four groups are to be demobilised.

What is the official explanation?

In the middle of November a circular was issued from the Imperial Headquarters to all units explaining the position. The official explanation bluntly states that it is necessary to maintain "an adequately powerful British army" for some time more to fulfil British commitments "throughout Europe and the East."

And what are these commitments? The explanation is that "major problems" of the post-war still remain unsolved and the British army must be there to see that all the loss and toil incurred during the war is not wasted.

### The Real Reason

This explanation carries no conviction to the British soldier in 1946. He knows—as anyone does—the real reason for the slow-down of demobilisation. The Labour-Imperialists of Britain want "an adequately powerful British Army" to crush the rising tide of revolution in the Middle East, India and South East Asia, and to prop up reactionary regimes in Europe, as for instance in Greece.

Hence the discontent among British troops in India continues to grow. It is reported that a strike situation is developing in Delhi, Secunderabad and other camps. Even from far off Hamburg, in the British zone of Germany, has come the news of a strike of British troops.

In Kalyan, the day after Attlee's speech, announcing slowing down of "demob", many British soldiers from the No. 3 Wing BBRG (Artillery) refused to obey orders and the Commanding Officer had to resort to reading the Riot Act to bring the situation under control.

So also in the REME (Engineers) at Kalyan, the men pulled down the Union flag and hoisted the Red flag instead; in

the ostensible cause, of course, was the Moharran celebrations, which did not come off till December 4. But British soldiers know well enough that the order was passed only to prevent the public meeting.

Finally, Auchinleck reached Calcutta on November 26, to attend "investitures". But he took the opportunity to tell the senior British officers to impress on the troops that their presence in India was considered necessary even by the Indian leaders in the Interim Government as only the British troops could keep the peace.

Such false propaganda will not easily stop the discontent from spreading. British soldiers who thought they had fought for freedom in this war, are not prepared to waste their energies in keeping down India in the interest of British capital.

### Auk's Only Weapon

In fact, this sort of propaganda is the only weapon that Auchinleck can use to meet the growing discontent; all he can say to these soldiers is: "Congress wants them to stay!"

But Auk's one weapon must be wrested from his hands.

Three months ago, Pandit Jawaharlal sharply told the Conservative Party Conference that Indians did not want the British troops to stay in India.

But since then with all the riots and the oft-made appeals of League and Congress leaders for "military aid", the conviction is growing among British troops that we—Indians—do want them to stay.

### What Their Stay Means

Let us make our position clear.

British troops staying in India means British power staying, the British game of Divide and Rule continuing, hell for our people and suffering for them.

So let them get out. Let the leaders of India and the Interim Government, let our entire people categorically demand, **WITHDRAW BRITISH TROOPS!**

This will bring both Indians and British soldiers into a common democratic camp, against our common imperial rulers.

Exclusive

By us

Our Correspondent

anger, some men even destroyed furniture.

### Meeting in Calcutta

At Calcutta, a meeting of British soldiers was held recently; representatives from many units stationed in or near Calcutta attended it. A resolution was passed condemning the decision to slow down demobilisation. It further stated:

"This meeting is greatly encouraged by the substantial minority of Labour MPs who recently defied the Government on the question of their conduct of Foreign policy—a policy which necessitates the retention of large numbers of British troops overseas for the protection of Imperialist interests in Malaya, Burma, India, East and West Africa, Greece, Trieste and the Middle East."

British soldiers in Calcutta were also preparing to hold a public meeting at the Ochterlony monument on November 30. The authorities were alarmed and issued a general—"confined to barracks"—order with effect from that date till further notice.

## AUCHINLECK'S LIE

Here is the text of Field-Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck's explanation to his senior officers in Calcutta, telling why the British troops are being retained in India:

"This is a very critical period for India. The presence of British troops on Indian soil is necessary. Even the Indian National Congress does not demand the withdrawal of British troops. On the other hand, it asks that they stay some time more and help India in achieving her independence."

## A PATRIOT'S NOTEBOOK

### Our Troops Abroad

**A** SECRET deal has just been concluded between Britain and the Interim Government, with regard to the future use of the Indian Army outside India.

Details of this deal have been sent to me by a correspondent, who was given the news by a high-ranking officer, somewhere in India.

In a nutshell, this is what the deal amounts to:

The British Government will pay for the training of two mechanised brigades and the maintenance of these and other infantry forces, and in return, the India Government has agreed to the employment of these forces as garrisons in British territory abroad.

I understand that it was pointed out to the Interim Government that training a modern mechanised army is a very expensive business—why not get it done free?

Such a good-hearted offer! Britain wants India to become a first-class power and is merely helping her forward.

The Interim Government, it seems, swallowed this baited fish, and accepted the terms. That is why, while Indian troops have officially been withdrawn from Indonesia, it has been announced that they will stick on in Malaya, etc.

My correspondent goes on to give details of the present location of Indian troops under the new agreement.

Of the two mechanised brigades, one is shortly to be SENT to Malaya, to reinforce the large infantry forces already there; the other will be part

of the Occupation Forces in Japan under Brigadier Thimayya.

### Keeping Empire Safe

As for other Indian forces to remain overseas, here is a list of some of them:

● In Iraq there are two Indian brigades, and the Staff of a division. Officially, only one brigade is there. The other was moved in by night very secretly, and has been carefully camouflaged by being split up into small units in rural areas away from Basra.

● Indian troops are still in Palestine, keeping the British Empire safe, in spite of all the big talk about handing over the mandate to the United Nations.

● Even in Greece, there are still Indian troops, helping the reactionary government against the Greek people, at the orders of British Imperialism.

● It is the same in Egypt.

What sort of deal is this for a National Government to make? Our troops must be used to defend India not the Jolly Old Empire.

Break up this shameful deal, and bring our troops back.

### "Preventive Measures"

**T**HE Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras has issued a circular (very secret, of course) to all District Magistrates, containing "instructions" for "preventive measures" against the "Communist" interference with maintenance of law and order.

This is how this document reads:

"The Government have had under consideration the question of maintaining law and order in the pro-

vinces with particular reference to the activities of the Communists. The Government direct that District Magistrates should take information against Communist activities and in particular their interference in agrarian matters.

"The establishment of Communist nuclei in villages to which Communist doctrines have not so far spread should be effectively prevented. Similarly if there is evidence of the commission of any criminal offences by the Communists, there should be no hesitation in prosecuting them and pushing through such prosecution vigorously."

The document speaks for itself. It will not prevent the Communist Party from growing. But it is a disgrace that in the name of a Congress Ministry, such a stinking circular should be sent out.

The Congress has always fought for and demanded civil liberties. Today under its shadow, the British are bringing in naked Fascism, almost without the people being aware of it.

### Fifteen Days' Truce

**S**ARDAR Patel was in Bombay last week and spoke at a number of meetings. At every one of these meetings he spoke on the riots.

At Meerut the Sardar had made his now notorious "sword for sword" speech. In Bombay, he made things clearer. On December 1, at a public reception meeting, the Sardar said:

"It is no use threatening us with violence. Violence will be met with violence...."

And again:

"Let it not be misunderstood that I advocate violence for the sake of

## IN UNIT LINES

**T**HE incident described below is typical of what is happening inside the British Army, at present stationed in India; mounting discontent on slowing down of demobilisation is expressing itself in a hundred ways, in protests over bad living conditions, cuts in pay, bad food, etc.

There had been signs of disaffection in a British unit, ever since the announcement in the House of Commons about the slow-down of demobilisation. The Commanding Officer, a regular soldier, had no sympathy for his men. To take their minds off the question of demobilisation, he put them on extra-drill and weapon training parades.

That did not help matters. On November 21, at evening meals, the men were served with two tablespoons each of meat and vegetables. They refused to eat it. Banging the tables with their spoons they shouted, "We want the C.O."

### The C.O. Appears

After a long time, the C.O. appeared. He did not bother to listen to their complaints, but picked upon three men and threatened to put them on a charge for taking part in a meeting. He walked out immediately assuring the men that more food would be ready within an hour.

Next morning found the whole camp covered with slogans. Only two words "SPEED DEMOB" were chalked on the walls of all buildings and even on the C.O.'s staff car.

The following day a Senior Army Officer arrived from the local headquarters. He addressed a closed-door meeting of all the officers and senior non-commissioned officers. What transpired at that meeting is not known. It was announced that the Senior Officer would address the troops on the question of demobilisation.

The report of this meeting and further details are not yet available.

violence, I still maintain that Gandhiji's path of non-violence is today the only way. But when you are faced with brutality of the worst order, the right way would be to retaliate and give the blow. The consequences of Direct Action would then visit upon those who advocate it." (Free Press Journal, December 2).

Such statements as these do NOT help to end the riots and only give the fire clear to the communists. Sardar's call for a fortnight's truce, which was his main slogan in all his speeches sounded not like the call of a leader who wants to end riots completely, but like the orders of the chief of one army calling on his followers to give the other side time to surrender.

### Big Business

**T**HE Sardar also spoke to Bombay's Big Business interests at the luxurious Taj Mahal Hotel.

The Free Press Journal report says that:

"He emphasised the need for looking well after labour and to avoid blackmarketing, for the Communists who were waiting round the corner would step in and take control of the situation, he warned."

One would expect a Congress Home Minister to catch hold of the Big Businessmen by the throat and warn them to stop their blackmarketing and end the exploitation of their workers, if they did not want to be put behind the bars for the rest of their lives. We got instead:

Don't blackmarket, because the Reds might catch you—not because it is a monstrous crime against the Indian people.

Look well after your labour—because otherwise the Communists will make it hot for you—not because it is the workers' right to get a living wage and decent conditions of work.

Ramesh Chandra



# BASIC PRINCIPLES OF AGRARIAN LEGISLATION LAID DOWN

## Greetings To Peasant Struggles All Over India

A six-day session of the Central Kisan Council was held at Calcutta from November 25 to 30, under the Presidentship of Muzaffar Ahmed.

**R**EPORTS made at the meeting indicated that zamindars and other vested interests have started a big offensive against kisans.

Large-scale evictions have been started in the U.P., Bengal, Andhra and other zamindari areas because the zamindars want to make their position secure by the time the Provincial Governments start to implement their promise of abolishing the zamindari system.

The vast area under their possession at the time of abolition, they think, the bigger the amount which they shall get as cash compensation and the larger the acreage that they can grab for their home-farms.

It is not, however, the statutory zamindars alone that are carrying on their offensive against the people. Non-statutory landlords like jotedars in Bengal, mirasdars in Tamilnad, jennis and kannondars in Malabar, etc., are also grabbing all the land they can get, getting tighter grip over the stocks of foodgrains and otherwise dominating rural life, while sahukars of Maharashtra are doing their worst to keep Warlis in conditions of serfdom.

### Repression Against Kisans

Popular Ministries, whether of the Congress or the League, instead of helping the kisans in fighting these anti-social feudal elements, are actually succumbing to them. The Governments of the Punjab, the U.P., Madras, Bengal and Bombay have actually sanctioned large-scale repression against kisans and Kisan Sabha workers.

As many as 3,000 kisan leaders are today being proceeded against for having stood up to landlord oppression and hoarders.

Reports also indicated that kisans are resisting the landlord offensive. Kisans of Andhra and the U.P. are fighting eviction; those of the Punjab have carried on big struggles for water; the tenants of Tamilnad and the Warlis of Maharashtra are breaking the chains of their oppressors; the kisans of Bengal are seizing the hoarders' stocks and distributing them to the people at controlled prices while those of Malabar are fighting for a just system of procurement.

The C. K. C. therefore adopted a resolution greeting these kisans in their heroic struggle. It called upon the Ministries to help the kisans and not to be party to repression.

### States' Peoples And Workers Greeted

The Council also greeted the States' peoples and the workers who were carrying on heroic struggles and saluted the martyrs who had laid down their lives at Golden Rock, Amalner, Coimbatore, Travancore, Hyderabad, Kashmir, etc.

The most important resolution was on 'Abolition of Landlordism' (see another column on this page). This resolution will be further discussed and finalised at the Annual Session of the Sabha when it meets in March next in Malabar.

The C. K. C. did not fail to note the ravages that are being perpetrated by the communal riots and fratricidal war raging in our country. It exposed the Imperialist Plan as the main spring behind these riots and appealed to the leaders of the Congress and the League to reject com-

promise with Imperialism and save the country from the disaster of war of brother against brother.

The C.K.C. issued a call for joint struggle of Hindu and Muslim kisans for their common demands and pointed out that not one kisan base in Bengal or Bihar had been contaminated by the virus of communal war.

### Resolution: Abolition Of Landlordism

**T**HE Central Kisan Council reiterates its demand for the immediate abolition of landlordism in all its forms without compensation.

The intense agrarian crisis which has engulfed the country since the outbreak of the war and the consequent famines, epidemics and country-wide food scarcity have made the question of elimination of all parasitic intermediaries on land one of the most vital and urgent national questions demanding immediate solution.

The intense suffering which the peasantry has experienced as a result of the new forms and methods of exploitation resorted to by the landlords in this period, and the new wave of mass awakening and national consciousness, have brought about a situation in which the burden of landlordism can no longer be tolerated, and the country is on the verge of an agrarian revolt.

In this situation the demand of the Kisan Sabha for the abolition of landlordism has become irresistible.

### Failure Of Congress And League Ministries

The Council notes that although in the last General Election the Congress pledged itself to abolish all intermediary interests on land, and the people gave a clear verdict in favour of such a measure, the Provincial Congress Ministries have so far taken no concrete steps to implement the Congress pledges in this respect.

In fact, all Congress Ministries, except that of the U.P., have virtually shelved the issue for consideration at a later date.

The Governments of Madras, Orissa, Assam and the C.P. have not even passed a formal resolution committing themselves to the principle of abolishing landlordism.

The Government of Bihar has done nothing beyond adopting a formal resolution on the subject.

The Government of Bombay has, on the other hand, placed their seal of approval on landlordism by passing the Khoti Settlement (Amendment) Act of 1946.

The U.P. Government alone have taken some steps in the matter by appointing a Sub-Committee of the Legislature for formulating a plan in pursuance of their resolution on the zamindari system.

The Muslim League Ministries have not even gone as far as some of the Congress Ministries have done, and where the Muslim League is in the opposition, it has taken a most reactionary attitude of openly opposing any measure for the abolition of landlordism.

Neither the Congress nor the League Ministries in any Province have given any thought to the question of abolishing landlordism in ryotwari or Khas Mahal areas where powerful landlord interests have cropped up in various forms.

The Council is emphatically of the opinion that the measures contemplated by some of the Congress Ministries for the payment of compensation to landlords on the acquisition of their landlord interests are totally unjustifiable and against national interests.

The Council is vehemently opposed to the principle of compensation to which the landlords have no moral, legal or economic claim, and which would, in any case, impose an additional huge burden on the already over-taxed peasantry and would furnish the bigger landlords with the means to push their roots again into the agrarian economy.

In view of the fact, however, that there are a large number of landlords and intermediaries who, though landlords in name, have to subsist on very small incomes derived from land, the Council is of the opinion that such small landlords and intermediaries should, on the abolition of their landed interests, be given some State Aid for a specific period in order to enable them to rehabilitate themselves in the new economy of the country.

### Proposed Immediate Legislation

With a view to abolish landlordism on the basis of social justice the Council urges upon all Provincial Governments to adopt immediately comprehensive legislation on the following principles.

1) All agricultural land should in the first instance be declar-

ed the property of the State and then given in permanent ownership to the cultivators in accordance with the provisions given below.

2) All existing tenants in zamindari areas and peasant proprietors in ryotwari areas should be endowed with proprietary rights in the lands under their direct cultivation provided that the maximum amount of land held by any one cultivator does not exceed 25 acres.

### Proprietary Rights On Lands

3) All existing sub-tenants and share-croppers in zamindari areas and tenants in ryotwari areas should also be endowed with the proprietary rights on lands which they cultivate provided that:

a) A tenant in a zamindari area who has sublet his holding in part or in whole, whether on rent or crop-sharing basis, shall have the right to resume possession of his land rented out to sub-tenants if the existing law permits him to do so, but only to such an extent as would enable him to have for self-cultivation an economic holding.

Tenants already cultivating an economic holding shall in no case have the right to eject their sub-tenants.

b) A peasant proprietor in a ryotwari area who has rented or leased out his land to tenants in part or in whole shall have the right to resume possession of his land from the tenants for self-cultivation if the existing law permits him to do so, but only to such an extent as would en-

able him to have an economic holding.

Peasant proprietors cultivating more than an economic holding shall have no right to eject their tenants.

4) The existing landholders both in the zamindari and ryotwari areas shall be allowed to possess land for self-cultivation only up to the maximum limit of 25 acres per landholder.

Such land for self-cultivation should in no case be acquired in zamindari areas by ejecting tenants or share-croppers but should be taken only from that part of the landlords' estate which has hitherto been directly under his own cultivation.

### State Aid For Rehabilitation

5) No State aid for rehabilitation shall be paid to the landholders who are able to retain 25 acres of land for self-cultivation from their existing estates as per clause 3.

6) State aid for rehabilitation shall be paid only to those landholders who lose their means of subsistence, whether partly or wholly, as a result of the abolition of landlordism and who are unable to retain 25 acres of land for self-cultivation.

Such State aid shall be paid at the rate of the net annual rental lost upto the maximum of Rs. 500 a year, for a period of 10 years only.

7) Renting out of land shall be legally prohibited.

8) While the right of cultivators to sell or transfer land shall be recognised, such sales or transfers shall be effected at a just and fair price only through State agencies.

9) The present system of land taxation should be replaced by a system of graduated agricultural income tax with a tax-free minimum.

10) All lands released as a result of the abolition of landlordism should be redistributed among the cultivators in accordance with a plan which would ensure adequate relief to the landless and poor peasants.

### Cooperation With Peasant Committees

11) All the above-mentioned reforms should be carried out with the help of and in cooperation with peasant committees democratically elected on the basis of adult franchise for the cultivators of the soil.

The Central Kisan Council urges the Provincial Governments to adopt the following measures pending the passing of legislation for the total abolition of landlordism in order to foil the attempts of the landlords to defeat the object of such legislation.

i) All ejections should be declared illegal with retrospective effect from the date of the formation of popular Ministries in 1946. This rule to apply also to the tenants of Sir, Khudkasit, Bakasht, Khas, Home Farm lands, etc. All arrears of rent should be cancelled.

ii) All transactions in land by landlords such as sales, mortgages, transfers, etc., should be legally stopped and declared null and void as from the date of the formation of popular Ministries.

iii) All enhancement of rents should be declared illegal and the existing rents or tenants in the ryotwari areas should be reduced to the maximum of one-fourth of gross produce or double the land revenue inclusive, whichever is less.

The Council calls upon the Provincial Kisan Sabha units to make the abolition of landlordism the most urgent and immediate issue of the kisan movement and build a powerful campaign among the kisans and the people in support of it.

## NEHRU'S INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY TO BLAME!

### Congress Reactions To Attlee's Statement

From A. S. R. Chari December 8

"The British have thrown a monkey wrench into the works"—this is the dominant reaction of Congressmen here in New Delhi as the Constituent Assembly meets.

**T**ALKING to the Congress delegates of the Constituent Assembly, I found amongst them various reactions to the Attlee statement.

Two of them were of the opinion that the 'interpretation' given by the Cabinet Ministers should have been accepted by the Congress earlier "with good grace". One of them said: "If we don't accept it, then our labours will be useless because all that we shall succeed in doing will be to produce another Nehru or Sapru report."

A few Congressmen said that the latest statement has only made explicit what had always been implicit in the Cabinet Mission's statement.

### Radical Alteration

I understand that all members of the Working Committee are of the opinion that Attlee's statement has radically altered the State Paper of May 16. Many of them have expressed strongly their opinion that the Cabinet has NO RIGHT to alter the Paper without reference to the Congress.

While these are the reactions, there is intense speculation regarding the REASONS for this "sudden change of front" by the British.

Right-wing Congress leaders of Sardar Patel's way of thinking openly say that Nehru's Foreign policy is to blame.

They accuse him of "prematurely" hurrying the Krishna Menon-Molotov talks, of getting the Indian delegation to the

UNO to take a clearly independent stand.

All this, allege Sardar Patel's followers, threw the British Government into a panic, the "inevitable" result being their lining up against the Congress and for the League.

### No Anger Against British

This shameful theory has meant that most Congressmen are blaming either Mr. Jinnah or Pandit Nehru for the Attlee Award, and the British conspiracy has not roused that degree of anger against it, as might have been expected.

I also understand that another grievance made against Pandit Nehru is that he did not raise with the British Cabinet the issue of the League being thrown out of the Interim Government.

A Patel-Nehru battle is expected in the Working Committee. The Patel group is putting forward the bankrupt theory that the Congress could, by agreeing to support British Foreign policy, secure British support against the League.

The slight hubbub in top Congress circles which has been created by the appointment of Mr. Asaf Ali as Ambassador in the United States is the result of the same attitude of the Patel group. They feel that Mr. Asaf Ali will pursue Pandit Nehru's independent Foreign policy and further "annoy" the British.



# Military Raj In Nallagonda

## HYDERABAD STATE LEADERS' ANSWER TO AUTOCRAT'S COMMUNIQUE

Mr. Pulla Reddy, President of Hyderabad Andhra Conference, and Mr. Makhdoom Mohiuddin, President of the All-Hyderabad Trade Union Congress, have issued the following statement:

**T**HE Nizam's Government has issued a communique denying the declaration of Martial Law in Nallagonda. On the other hand the same communique asserts that military forces have been sent to this district to counteract "subversive actions of Communists" in that area.

Military forces arrived in the district on November 11. The first onslaught on the villages was carried out on the 15th. Two were killed on the spot, 10 injured and 170 arrested.

After that there were a series of military raids on villages one after another, without any respite. The Nizam's Government made every possible effort to prevent news of these outrages reaching the public outside the district or State.

But all their efforts could not prevent the voice of the wailing people being heard outside far and wide. So the Nizam Government, anxious to draw a thick curtain on the shameful attacks on the people, has come out with this communique.

### Inhuman Outrages

The horrifying and inhuman outrages perpetrated on the people from November 15 to December 12—26 days of uninterrupted attacks on the people of Nallagonda by armed military forces of the British and the Nizam—are evidence enough of the existence of Martial Law in the district. The people know that this is an undeniable fact staring in the face of all.

There were 19 raids in all within these 26 days. Hundreds of soldiers are concentrated everytime on each village. Total deaths were 13 (excluding two villagers shot dead previously), 200 people were wounded in all; 900 villagers are under arrest. Among the dead there are two women; more than 50 women are among those wounded.

Figures of casualties given are those which have filtered through the iron curtain flung round the district by the State Government as we have yet to

## SUPPORT TELENGANA

**S**WAMI RAMANAND TIRTH, President, Hyderabad State Congress, has issued a statement condemning the military atrocities in Suryapet taluk. Swamiji made a tour of some of the villages, including Balomula and Pata Suryapet, the scenes of two of the most vicious military attacks.

In the course of his statement Swamiji says:

"The excesses committed by the military are quite out of proportion. I have no doubt that this is simply to terrify and crush the spirit of the people who are raising their heads against the yoke of the autocrat."

"From what I have heard and I have no cause to disbelieve what the peasants told me, I can confidently state that the corruption and bribery and loot persistently carried on by Government officers and their village henchmen, the great harassment to which a peasant is put... the situation that the peasant had to face—all these have made him stand erect and say things without fear."

"I wish Government stops this major military operation..."

**T**HE Andhra Provincial Congress Committee has appointed a Committee to go to Telengana and make a full report on the police atrocities being committed there.

receive news and facts from other areas raided by these forces. And still they are going on—shooting, deaths, arrests. So far as we have been able to ascertain, five taluks are under military-raj.

Today the people of Nallagonda are subjected to indescribable military repression. Hundreds of soldiers surround villages during nights suddenly and arrest hundreds of people. Among the arrested it is not uncommon to find old men, women and young children. In the villages anybody found in the way of the soldiers is beaten mercilessly. Women are forced to struggle hard to save themselves from shameless attempts of the military to rape them.

This repression has made life in every village insecure. So

whole villages have been evacuated by the people to escape from the clutches of these brutes—the military and the reserve police. There are several cases of pregnant women being confined in woods.

Fields ready for harvesting have been found rotting and going waste, having been forsaken by the terror-stricken ryots.

### Looting Of Villages

Added to all this are lootings of villages by these very soldiers. They are taking away from houses everything on which they can lay their hands—money, jewels, vessels.

Despite all this terror and repression the people of Telengana have not been humbled. They are boldly resisting and fighting all these onslaughts to free themselves from the tyranny and oppression of the deshmukhs. They are not afraid of jails. They are fighting to the last facing the rapacity of the military and the goondas.

Can the naive statement in the Nizam's communique that "there is no Martial Law" deceive anybody in the face of this orgy of repression, carried out against the whole people of five taluks by the concentrated force of over four thousand soldiers?

## IN THE STATES

### GWALIOR

**T**HE Maharaja of Gwalior has been faced with a growing people's movement, ever since the notorious incident when he opened fire on a workers' procession, last January and murdered and wounded indiscriminately.

To counteract this popular upsurge he introduced 'reforms' and offered to appoint two 'popular' ministers. But all parties in the State led by the State Congress rejected this offer, demanding nothing short of full Responsible Government.

The Maharaja Sahib is then reported to have made a dash to New Delhi and pleaded with Sardar Patel to persuade the State Congress to accept the Reforms. In return the Maharaja is said to have talked of getting Princes' support for the Congress against the League in the Constituent Assembly!

What was the upshot of this conversation is not known, but Svt. Laldhar Joshi, President of the Gwalior State Congress, was called by Sardar Patel and given certain instructions with regard to the Reforms and the attitude the State Congress should adopt towards them.

### No Call For Action

The result of the instructions was apparent at the Annual Session of the State Congress held in the first week of November.

The official resolution while demanding a Constitution-making Body for the State, the installation of an Interim Government and the sending of elected representatives to the All-India Constituent Assembly, gave no direct call for action against the Reforms and, in fact, "congratulated" the Maharaja for accepting Responsible Government as his "ultimate aim."

When rank-and-file delegates moved some thirty-five amendments which sought to close all the loopholes in the resolution and thus prevent any possibility of a shameful surrender to the Maharaja, the Right-wing leaders declared that the A.I.S.P.C. had given a mandate against such amendments.

Svt. Laldhar Joshi even threatened to resign if the amendments were not withdrawn.

Only all these threats and mandates made the delegates withdraw their amendments.

But they insisted that the resolution should contain the time-limit of December 31 for the demands of the resolution to be met, failing which the State Congress should launch a movement.

The Right-wing were compelled to accept this amendment, so strong was the sentiment inside and outside the session.

## BANKRUPT MOVE TO DIVIDE AND SUPPRESS POPULAR MOVEMENT

### P. C. Joshi On Nizam's Ban On Andhra Mahasabha And Communist Party

P. C. Joshi, General Secretary, Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

**T**HE Nizam's Government has declared the Andhra Mahasabha and the Communist Party illegal. It is a clever but bankrupt endeavour to divide and suppress the popular movement, before it becomes united enough to challenge successfully the fake 'reforms', which even the Right-wing leaders of the State Congress have rejected and which the Congress Working Committee has refused to recommend for acceptance, in spite of the pleadings of Sir Mirza to the Congress High Command.

The Nizam holds in slavery peoples of three nationalities—Maharashtrians, Kanarese and Andhras. The Andhras inhabit half of the Nizam's domains, the part called Telengana. They constitute 90 lakh out of 170 lakh subjects of the Nizam.

It is here that the people's movement is most advanced. It is led by the one-lakh strong Andhra Mahasabha, inside which the Communists have played an active part. The Nizam has struck at this vanguard of the popular movement before a joint front with the State Congress could develop against his reforms.

And he is not attacking the Communists alone. Twenty State Congress workers in Usmanabad have already been arrested.

The attack is all round. There is a great upsurge among workers in all industries in Hyderabad, both Hindus and Muslims. They have recently organised themselves into the 50,000 strong All-Hyderabad Trade Union Congress.

Twenty trade union leaders have been arrested. Any worker going to any trade union office is promptly picked up by the police. Legal trade union functioning has been made impossible, because joint Hindu-Muslim unions smash the basis of the Nizam's game to provoke communal riots to divert the popular movement.

### What The Nizam's Rule Means

The Nizam's rule means the hierarchy of mediaeval feudalism with the Nizam himself owning as landlord 8,000 square miles of the best land. Below him come the jagirdars, owning lakhs of acres and exercising criminal and civil jurisdiction over their tenants, and then there are the Deshmukhs who own from a few thousand acres to a lakh and thirty thousand acres.

In Telengana the Andhra Mahasabha is organising the mass of the peasants against forced labour, for restoration of their own forcibly seized land, and similar very elementary but burning demands.

The popular movement is growing like a wild fire, despite the lack of all civil liberties. Peasants are organising village committees with their own volunteers and demanding democratic liberties, the end of serfdom, the right to live a human life.

The Nizam tried to suppress the movement through the reserve police, and today virtual Martial Law prevails in the district of Nallagonda, where 4,000 troops—both the Nizam's and British—are operating with machine-guns, tear-gas and hand-grenades.

### Martial Law In Action

The Nizam has issued a communique saying that there is no formal Martial Law but the military officers have orders to shoot at sight. This is Martial Law in action all right.

Warrants of arrest against 200 popular leaders have been issued, but they are continuing their work underground. Two thousand have already been arrested and daily more arrests are taking place.

Hyderabad has followed close upon the heels of Travancore. The issues are the same: people's right to live, and will the right of self-determination.

I am sure the State Congress will promptly rally to the aid of its brother organisations and demand the removal of the ban, withdrawal of the military, and full civil liberties, so that a joint front is forged to enforce the popular demand for the establishment of a Popular Interim Government, instead of the Nizam's autocracy, to hold elections for a Constituent Assembly, through which the people may exercise their sacred right of self-determination.

### Foil British Game Against Indian Independence

Telengana is aflame against the rule of the Nizam—the biggest British puppet, just at a moment when the British are actively planning to make the Nizam's dominions their biggest military base in the South, which will menace not only India, but every South-East Asiatic country.

I appeal to the Interim Government to intervene, so that the people's movement is not drowned in blood and the British game against Indian freedom is not allowed to succeed.

I appeal to Svt. Prakasam to intervene as the Premier of Madras on behalf of the people of Andhra Desh, whose blood would go on boiling at the barbarities against their own blood-brothers across the border.

I hope that what happened in the case of Travancore will not be permitted this time and the Princes' Protection Act will not be applied to ban the solidarity movement in British Andhra.

I appeal to all patriots and popular organisations to express their solidarity with the people's struggle of Telengana and demand the withdrawal of terror measures.

The Nizam's purse is big enough to influence the Indian Press and keep the people ignorant, but the Communist Party is pledged to see that the people's voice is raised against the Nizam, who is shameless enough to take pride in styling himself as "Britain's faithful ally."

This decision of the State Congress has thrown the Maharaja and his satellites into a panic. A secret conference of Ministers and mill-owners of the State was held and decided to launch an immediate intensified attack on the working-class movement.

At the same time attempts have begun to create communal riots. Stabbing cases have occurred.

The Maharaja is himself touring the State mobilising the jagirdars and officials to launch an offensive against the Kisan Sabhas and all militant elements in the countryside.

December 31 is fast approaching. The Maharaja's aim is to crush all fighting sections of the people before that date, in order to prevent the launching of any struggle and to pave the way for another effort at getting the State Congress to work his "sawdust" reforms.

## MUST CONGRESS MINISTERS SUPPRESS STATES PEOPLES' STRUGGLES?

P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, has issued the following statement:

On November 4, the Calicut Police arrested T. K. Verghese Vydhar, a Communist leader of Travancore. The next day he was brought before the Magistrate who remanded him for 15 days. The 15 days over he was once again produced in court and remanded to jail. For a third time now, he has been remanded for 15 days.

The Calicut police say that they themselves have no case against him, but that the Travancore police have informed them that he is wanted. They are expecting an Extradition Warrant, pending which they want to keep him in custody.

As if this violation of a Travancorean's civil liberty is not enough, the Government of Madras has notified that the Princes' Protection Act will apply to Malabar. This means that the District Magistrate of Malabar can prohibit anybody in the district doing anything by way of expressing solidarity with the struggle of the State's people for civil liberties and the establishment of a democratic government.

It is clear that this is meant to prevent the people of Malabar from helping their brethren in Travancore. The District Magistrate can prohibit meetings to express solidarity with Travancore, as well as the making collections for the relief of victims of police terror or in any other way helping the Travancore struggle.

This struggle is not a "Communist rebellion" as the Government of Travancore tried to make out. It is a struggle in which Communists, Socialists and State Congressmen are taking part; nearly 50% of the members of the State Congress Working Committee are already in jail.

It is a total repudiation of our entire national democratic tradition that under these circumstances, the Congress Ministry of Madras should allow this to take place.

I, therefore, appeal to the Madras Ministry and the Interim Government to take steps to end this state of things.

I also appeal to the Congress Working Committee to issue instruction to all Ministers that they should not use the Princes' Protection Act or allow extradition of political workers from States.



## ● Victory For India at UNO ● Anglo-U.S. Alliance Over Germany ● Confusion Remains In France

**L**AST week India scored a memorable victory in the General Assembly of the United Nations when the French-Mexican resolution on the treatment of Indians in South Africa was carried by 32 votes to 15, with seven abstentions; and the Indian delegation deserves the warm congratulations of everyone of our people for the great and uncompromising struggle it put up in order to attain this victory.

The resolution categorically states that the treatment of Indians in South Africa should be in conformity with international obligations under agreements concluded between the Governments of India and South Africa and with the relevant portions of the United Nations Charter and requested the two Governments to report to the next session of the General Assembly the measures adopted to this effect.

### Analysis Of Voting

By this victory, the long battle waged by India during this session of UNO came to a triumphant conclusion.

All the efforts of the South African delegation, conscious of the essential weakness of its case, to bypass the entire issue by raising the 'legal' point whether UNO was competent to discuss and decide this issue, totally failed; and this, despite the heavy and solid support they received from the leaders of the Anglo-American bloc, to whom the decision of the Assembly "came as something of a surprise."

In the final voting the clear line-up inside the Assembly once more became apparent.

On the South African side were the closest satellites of Britain and the U.S.A., the Empire countries, Belgium, Holland, Greece and certain Latin American satellites of the USA.

On India's side were the Soviet, France, China, the relatively more independent Latin American countries, the countries of Eastern Europe and most of our neighbours of the Middle East, excluding Turkey, which abstained—probably out of fear of offending its financial patron in England and the USA.

### Disarmament And Troops

A number of key issues yet remain before the UNO Assembly before it finally ends this session.

Of major importance is the question of the census of troops. Here to the Soviet proposal for a census of all troops outside their home countries, the British have moved an amendment that the census should also include the number of troops at home.

The Soviet countered—by saying that a census of the number of troops at home would be useless unless it was combined with an investigation of the arms they carried, i.e., of the general problem of disarmament. This, however, has been rejected by both the British and the Americans.

As the Manchester Guardian correspondent from Moscow reported, the Russian argument is simple: "They want us to give information about our troops, but they won't give any on their armaments. We are prepared to give information on both, but they are not." (Hindu, December 4).

Other important issues are over the setting-up of the Trusteeship Council and the approval or rejection of draft trusteeship agreements for a number of countries. Here it appears that the Anglo-Americans in the face of strong Indo-Soviet opposition are using their utmost influence to put through agreements which are directly contrary to the UN Charter in that they do not advance these people to self-government but lay the basis for the continuance of colonial rule.

This session of UNO has, however, cleared the international air more than any other—showing an every key issue that the dividing line is not between two imperial

by  
**M. KUMARAMANGALAM**

bloes but between two policies—one aiming at continuance of imperial power-politics, the other aiming at international collaboration, based on the recognition of the freedom and equality of all nations.

### U.S. Big Business Triumphs

**T**HE sponsors of the theory that the U.S. must become the dominant Power in Western Europe have registered a major triumph with the signing of the agreement between Britain and the U.S. for the merger of their two zones in Germany.

This agreement has been hailed both by American and British reaction as a big step towards the emergence of a United Germany.

In fact, all it does is to hand over Western Germany to American Big Business.

In the words of the New Statesman and Nation:

"It has been stressed that the one objective of this merger is to reduce our (British) financial commitments. This can only be done on the assumption that American Big Business is encouraged to obtain controlling interests in German industry and the German Trusts (i.e., German Big Business) are reconstructed on American credit." (October 19).

Thus, the real meaning of the merger is that U.S. Big Business will become the ruling authority in Western Germany.

The second argument advanced to justify the merger is that since the British zone is mainly industrial and the American dominantly agricultural, merger of the two zones will result in the establishment of a unified area with a balanced economy.

This is total nonsense. As a commentator in the very Tory London Observer wrote:

"The fact is that the two zones are not economically complementary. Each zone must import about forty per cent of the goods it needs; and apart from a few exceptions, it cannot get these goods from the other zone... The two zones cannot even form a partnership of the lame and the blind who together set out on a journey." (October 6).

### Total British Surrender

The truth is that Britain has been faced with a deficit of £50 million in running her zone; to get out of this, she had two paths:

One of restoring German economy on the basis of destruction of German reaction, i.e., the nationalisation of key industries and the division of big landed estates, as has been done in the already self-supporting Soviet zone.

The other of placing the burden for rebuilding German reaction as the chief anti-democratic force in Europe on the shoulders of U.S. Big Business.

By agreeing to the merger of the two zones, the Labour-imperial rulers of Britain have decisively chosen the second path—and this can also be seen from the fact that the joint German ministries for the unified area are to be named exclusively by German "Catholic Right-wingers," protégés of the American administration, while not one ministry is to be held by the Social-Democrats, Britain's favourites.

### French Socialists Waver

**T**HE situation in France remains confused.

Biggest events of last week were two decisions of the French Socialists, taken in the face of virulent opposition by its Right-wing headed by Leon Blum:

(i) To support the candidature of

Communist leader, Maurice Thorez, for Premier; the voting was 2121 to 245.

(ii) To take part in any French Coalition Government which included the Communists and was not alien to the Socialist Party programme; the vote was 2242 to 2145, with 55 abstentions.

Despite this, however, it is clear certain Right-wing Socialists refused to carry out their Party's decision; Thorez obtained only 270 votes when the combined Socialist-Communist vote in the National Assembly is 289 (183 and 106). In the words of the Free Press Paris correspondent:

The tactics of the anti-Communists to prevent a Communist-led Government coming to power "have been successful owing to the vague and undecided attitude of the Right-wing of the Socialist Party." (December 8).

It appears now that the most probable Government is one that is led by a Radical or a Socialist Premier and includes the Communists in leading positions.

### Upper House Election Results

This has been confirmed by the results of the elections to the French Upper House, in which these three parties have won 133 seats (Communists 61, Socialists 37, and Radicals 25) as against 83 seats of the Right (MRP 62, PRL 8, and Independent Republicans 12) with the nine other seats divided among other minor parties.

The Upper House, therefore, will almost exactly reflect the position in the National Assembly and will not change the relationship between the parties.

December 12.

### Secret Deal

**T**HE war is over. We are told we are standing on the threshold of freedom. Yet service overseas for Indian troops still continues.

The Interim Government has recently concluded a secret deal with the British, agreeing to the employment of Indian troops to garrison British territories abroad.

There are already over 20,000 Indian and Gurkha troops in Malaya and more are to proceed shortly.

These heroic sons of India, anxious to play their part in the liberation of their own country, are being sent abroad to carry out the dirty job of keeping down the people of Malaya for our common imperialist rulers.

And what are they to expect when they get to Malaya?

Here is a picture of the life of the Indian soldiers in Malaya, a life of insults, ill-treatment, poverty and starvation.

early as 4 P.M. and if anyone dares to come later than five he has to go without food.

In the evening one cannot do any reading inside the tents or barracks, as there are no lights. The trouble is there is nowhere to go. The places of entertainment in Singapore are too costly for the Indian sepoy, and army recreation facilities are insufficient.

Of course, everything is laid on for British troops. But all that Indian troops get are two cinema shows a week. This they have to pay for. But the pictures are so disgusting that few people like to spend any money on them.

They can go to the YMCA and read a bit. But they cannot get Indian papers. The books in the library are all cheap novels. They cannot get any political books at all, though their British comrades get them some time.

### Aid To Civil Power

When after a lengthy stay at the Reception Camp, spent mostly in useless parades, they go to the units, life becomes worse. They are given training for "aid to civil power", which, in plain language, means shooting down the Malayan people fighting for their freedom and breaking strikes of Malayan workers struggling for their right to live as men. It is simply sickening!

Least the Indian troops are affected by the political movements of the local people, every step is taken to disrupt their unity. The disgusting system of communal kitchens is strictly enforced. But that is not all. Men of different communities are given key jobs, where they can be used against their rival communities. Members of one community are made to spy on the other. In this way communal feelings grow strong.

After the coming of the Interim Government, the British military bosses have intensified their efforts at communal disruption.

Such is the life in Singapore! Such conditions will continue in our army as long as the British control it; for their policy is to divide the men and train them to shoot at their own brothers.

—OUR FORCES CORRESPONDENT

### Discrimination

It starts as they leave the shores of their homeland. On the ship all the best accommodation naturally goes to the British officers first, then to the Indian officers. All British other ranks get second-class accommodation. The left-overs, if any, go to the Victory's Commissioned officers. All Indian other ranks are given the worst accommodation possible.

On arrival at Singapore, the Indian troops are herded into No. 2 Transit Camp. The officers, of course, get comfortable tents. Only four men can sleep comfortably, eight are put in. The barracks are equally bad. The charpoys are so closely packed together that there is scarcely room left to stretch one's legs.

Water for bath is practically unavailable. There is only one tap for 500 people. As a result, regular baths are impossible, because one has very little spare time.

### Bad Food

The food, of course, is bad. All they get is dal, rice and chapatties. Many pay something extra from their meagre wages and get special vegetables prepared. Rice and chapatties however continue to be made of rotten material and are usually full of stones. Evening meal time is as

# World Labour In Action

### Yugoslav Five Year Plan

**M**ARSHAL Tito, Premier of Yugoslavia, announced on November 29 that his Government was drafting a five-year plan to help to transform Yugoslavia from a predominantly agricultural into a powerful industrial country.

Heavy industries, he said, would be built throughout the country; the supply of electric power would be tripled, and new railway lines and concrete roads would be built.

### Repression Against Trade Unions In Iran

**R**EZA Rousta of the Iranian Trade Union Confederation has cabled Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions, protesting against large-scale repression against trade unionists in Iran.

In the cable, Rousta accuses the new Ghassem Government of terrorising and disenfranchising workers, particularly in Khuzistan (South Iran), where, at the bidding of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, for the last four months, trade union work has been virtually banned and worker-candidates for the coming elections have been deported.

In Isfahan, police opened fire, on a railway workers' demonstration and wounded eight workers, killing two.

To protect against this, the workers hit back with a twenty-four hour general strike in Teheran, in which 50,000 workers took part.

The Iranian TUC has appealed to the WFTU to send a Commission composed of British, French, American and Soviet Trade Union members to visit Iran in order to see in practice the "dictatorial" actions of Ghassem's Government and to rouse world opinion against them.

Saillant in reply has pledged the full

support of the WFTU in fighting back repression.

### Czech Social Insurance

**A** NEW national insurance law, which will protect every Czechoslovak coal miner from the hazards of disability, old age and death, will be put into effect before the end of this year.

The new law provides a minimum pension of 1,200 crowns (Rs. 72) a month, with graduated increases up to 80 per cent of the working income for a miner who worked 30 years. In addition an injured miner will get an educational allowance for every child under 18 years old. Old-age pensions start at the age of 55.

Disability pensions provide payment of Rs. 300 a year plus 20 per cent of the miners' average earnings during the last 120 months he worked. Lowest possible pension income would be Rs. 824 a year.

In terms of the Czechoslovak cost of living, these sums are substantial. Rent, for example, averages about Rs. 6 a month for good quarters. Food costs are also far below prices prevalent in other countries. Most miners, in addition, own land plots for food cultivation.

The law covers all mine employees, including clerks, and the health insurance provisions also embrace miners' families.

### Jap Workers' Battle

**T**HE increasingly weak position of the anti-labour Yoshida Cabinet is the best indication of the essential success of our autumn strikes", President Katsuni Kikumami of the Japan Congress of Industrial Unions (CIU) told Allied Labour News in Japan.

Kikumami predicted that in December, labour would put even more pressure on the Yoshida Cabinet. He outlined the following current and pending developments:

1) Communication workers' rail-

road workers, teachers and workers of various government departments are spearheading a new drive against Yoshida's reactionary economic policies.

The unions, which represent nearly one million workers, have presented stiff wage demands, threatening strikes if they are not met.

2) The Japan Federation of Labour (JFL), the conservative wing of the labour movement which until now has opposed strike action, has announced a "winter offensive" for higher wages and is beginning to cooperate with the CIU.

Prospects for an eventual merger of the two groups have brightened somewhat. Fifty-six CIU and JFL unions have jointly demanded Yoshida's resignation.

3) Nationwide protest demonstrations, tentatively set for December 9, are being organised by the CIU in cooperation with some JFL unions, farmers and other groups.

### CIU Unions' Significant Gains

Despite mistakes and failures, the CIU unions have made significant gains this autumn. Kikumami said: For example, in October, 132,000 CIU workers won their first collective bargaining contracts.

The total number of workers who obtained contracts in all the preceding months of the occupation was 490,000. A much larger number of the 1,390,000 CIU members won wage increases this autumn.

"The autumn strikes had a progressive political effect," Kikumami added. "The efforts of the Yoshida Government to suppress them revealed its reactionary character. The Government has tried to make out that the strikes were mere political intrigue, but the hard facts of inflation and unemployment have caught up with it.

"Today a broad coalition of labour, farmer and medium and small industry groups directed against Yoshida is becoming more and more possible."



# CAPITALIST WORLD FACING ECONOMIC CRISIS

## Soviet Academician's View

(We give here an abridged version of an article by Academician Evgeni Varga, leading Soviet economist, in Pravda, organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, November 25, 1946.—EDITOR.)

At the height of probably the greatest "boom" ever experienced by the USA, the fear of an approaching new economic crisis is rapidly growing in the capitalist world.

This fear is perfectly justified.

With the exception of the United States of America and Canada, all the capitalist countries which fought in the war emerged from it much poorer.

Britain lost about 25 per cent of her national wealth both at home and abroad. Germany lost about half of her national wealth. The volume of production in European countries ranges from between 30 and 80 per cent of the pre-war level, dependent on the extent of war damage, and, consequently, it is much lower than during the gravest crisis.

### Increased Wealth

In contrast to the devastated European continent, the USA emerged from the war with increased wealth. This year's industrial production in the USA exceeds by 50 per cent that of 1938, and thus has reached boom level.

In war-time, production in the USA more than doubled as compared with that of 1938, and enabled the USA to meet not only war requirements but the needs of her population as well.

Besides, America also accumulated considerable wealth invested in newly-constructed factories and ships.

Of great importance is the fact that the USA entered the war later than other countries, that before 1944 she had not put large forces into the field, and that the territory of the USA did not suffer any damage during the war.

### Boom Not Normal

As a result of the different effect of the war upon the USA and Canada on the one hand and European and Far East capitalist countries on the other, now, as was the case after the First World War, world capitalism does not experience uniform economic conditions.

But even the American "boom" is not normal. Despite the "boom" there are 2,500,000 unemployed and 1,500,000 demobilised soldiers still living on their gratuity.

This year industrial production declined by more than one-third as compared with 1943. The real wages of the workers decreased as a result of the rise in prices.

The abolition of all price controls will bring about a further rise in prices and a corresponding reduction of purchasing power. This will speed the end of the "boom" and mark the advent of a new economic crisis.

### Crisis Approaching

Three facts indicate that this crisis is approaching in the USA.

Firstly, stocks are growing. According to data of the Department of Commerce, stocks in industry as well as in the wholesale and retail trade have grown by 1,000 million dollars.

The Department has declared that this record growth of stocks is "fraught with definite menace to further economic development."

Secondly, Stock Exchange

by  
**E. Varga**

prices of raw materials abruptly dropped in October. The index of raw material prices experienced in one week a drop unprecedented since 1933.

Thirdly, industrial shares declined rapidly between mid-May and mid-September. The total value of shares registered at the New York Stock Exchange sank from 34,000 million to 65,000 million dollars.

Experience shows that such a slump usually begins twelve to eighteen months before the advent of an economic crisis, as a result of well-informed captains of the financial oligarchy beginning to sell industrial shares.

All this proves that a new economic crisis may be expected in the United States in the near future, probably not later than in 1948 or even earlier.

### Affects Entire World

Certain quite different factors, such as big expenditures on armaments, big loans granted to other countries, prolonged strikes, cannot delay the crisis

for more than a limited time, greatly affect conditions in the other capitalist countries. The approaching economic crisis in the USA will inevitably deal a

telling blow to post-war rehabilitation in these countries, which forms a heavy burden on the people. The destructive effect of this crisis will probably not permit them to attain a period of economic prosperity.

Varga points out that in the capitalist countries the transition from war to peace-time is inevitably linked with a sharp narrowing of the markets, a fall in the production level, the closing of enterprises and a growth of unemployment.

### Stable Soviet Economy

"Only the Soviet country does not know such phenomena," he says.

"In the Soviet Union there is absent the anarchy or production characteristic of capitalism, which leads to alternate boom and crisis period shaking the entire system of economy to its foundation and creating constant insecurity of the morrow of the working people."

In conclusion the author quotes the words of A. A. Zhdanov one of the leaders of the Soviet people, who speaking on November 6 said:

"The Soviet people confidently marches forward, without fearing an economic crisis or unemployment, because it relies upon a different, higher, Socialist system of economic organisation, one which does not know any crisis or unemployment."

## GROWING PROSPERITY OF SOVIET

### Budget Figures (1946-47)

The Soviet budget for 1946 reflects the growing strength and prosperity of the Soviet State.

THE total volume of the 1946 expenditure is 319,500 million roubles as against 298,000 million roubles in 1945, a 6 per cent increase.

The increase in investments in national economy however is considerably more, from 64,000 million roubles to 102,237 million roubles, which is more than 59 per cent.

So also expenditure on social and cultural requirements has increased from 66,100 million roubles to 83,249 million roubles, an increase of 24 per cent.

In comparison, expenditure on the armed forces has drastically decreased, from 137,900 million roubles to 72,208 million roubles, i.e. nearly 50 per cent decrease.

Expenditure on raising the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people has also been greatly increased.

State expenditure on cultural and communal requirements of the Soviet people has increased 32.7 per cent.

29,339,000 boys and girls will attend school this academic year, 1946-47, a 13.9 per cent increase on the 1945-46 figures.

The total enrolment in universities is 639,000, a 22.6 per cent increase and in technical schools 1,030,000, an increase of 22.9 per cent.

Expenditure on increasing the skill of the working population and the knowledge and strength of the Soviet State has also been increased; on scientific research the increase is nearly two and a half times; on health protection and physical culture, the increases are 29.1 per cent and 64.6 per cent.

The budgets of the National Republics have increased even more than that of the All-Union budget, amounting to 69,327 million roubles, or a 36.9 per cent increase on the 1945 figure.

These figures show well why the Soviet Finance Minister concluded his speech introducing the Budget for 1946, with these words:

"The USSR State Budget for 1946 is a powerful weapon in raising the national economy and ensuring new victories on the front of Socialist construction, towards which we are guided by the great Stalin."

# CZECHS AND POLES PLAN THEIR FUTURE

IN Czechoslovakia the people are girding themselves for the new and great tasks before them.

While in the west, in England and America, the increasing fear of unemployment and economic chaos is beginning to cast its ugly shadow over the people, in Czechoslovakia all eyes and minds are on the Two Year Plan.

### Ambitious Objectives

It is an ambitious plan; it aims, in two years from January 1, 1947 to December 31, 1948, to raise the output of practically every basic product above the level of 1937—despite the losses caused in war and despite the expulsion of 750,000 German workers, sent back to Germany.

This Two Year Plan was passed as a law a month ago.

Here are its objectives in cold figures:

	1947 Objective	Today's Level	1937 Level
Hard Coal	16.7 million tons	117	100
Brown Coal	23.9 "	121	133
Steel	2.2 "	138	100
Electricity	7,400 million Kilo-watts	135	175

Equally large increases are also being planned in agricultural production; milk production is to rise 75 per cent; butter by 10 per cent; eggs by 50 per cent; and so on.

### Call To The People

Of course, this is not going to be done easily. And the government, headed by Communist Premier Gottwald, has warned the people that much will be demanded of them:

"We must carry out," a gov-

ernment proclamation has stated, "a widespread mobilisation of labour for agriculture and industry. It is impossible to raise the people's standard of living without a new influx of workers for our industrial and agricultural production."

The base for moving ahead is, of course, the nationalised sector of industry which covers all the biggest factories, including the huge Skoda armament factories and the Bata Shoe Factory; in all this amounts to about 70 per cent of industry.

Already the way has been cleared for the success of the Two Year Plan.

### Basis Already Laid

Industry is steadily on the upgrade, brown coal production

person which was 17.68 Czech crowns in 1939 is today 74.85 crowns, more than four times as much.

Unemployment is absent—the problem being of finding more labour for industry and in the rural areas.

Foreign trade is also on the upgrade. Here are the figures for this year.

	Imports	Exports
January	330	343
April	571	708
July	758	1380

### Confidence In The Future

The Czech people therefore face the future with confidence, born out of their achievements in the eighteen months after liberation. In the words of Premier Gottwald:

"We have already advanced a certain distance on our specific Czechoslovak road to Socialism. We have learned to walk on this road and shall go forward towards our aim with still greater determination."

### Poland Has A Plan

RIVALING the Czechoslovak Two Year Plan is the Polish Three Year Plan which is to change the face of a country that suffered more from devastation by Hitler's armies than any other outside the Soviet Union.

Yet the figures of the Three Year Plan are impressive:

	1948
Production per head	215
National Income	125
Heavy industry	168
Coal production	220
Steel production	130

The only part of the nation's economy that will not catch up

on the 1938 level are light industry (which will be only 83% of the pre-war level) and agriculture (73% of 1938 level).

Even agriculture however will increase relatively to the population which has dropped from 35 million to 24 million, making the 1949 agricultural level per head 110 per cent of the 1938 level.

### Transforming The Country

All this will turn Poland from being a country, predominantly engaged in agriculture into one which will be about equally divided between agriculture and industry.

This advance in Poland is planned on very much the same basis as in Czechoslovakia; here also the biggest industries—mines, iron and steel, railways, railroads, agricultural machinery, large textile factories, fuel, chemical and power concerns—are nationalised.

Here also production is rising fast; coal, crude iron and steel, cement and agricultural machinery have already reached their pre-war level; more locomotives, railway wagons, electric power, and metal goods are being produced more than before—the war.

Wages too have kept parallel with prices while inflation which threatened to overwhelm the country nine months ago has been completely checked.

### Spirit Of Co-operation

Much yet remains to be done; particularly in the devastated cities, where housing has been very badly affected by bombing and artillery fire, the workers' conditions yet remain bad.

But they know also that the regime is theirs, run in their interest—and so, in the words of even The Economist, the policies of the Government with its emphasis on reconstruction of heavy industry, "appear justified largely through the Polish workers' remarkable patience and spirit of cooperation." (October 12, 1946).



# BENGAL'S SHARE-CROPPERS RESIST NEW ONSLAUGHT OF ZAMINDARS

## Hindu-Muslim Kisans Wage Battle For Tebhaga

In ten districts of Bengal today—some with Hindu, others with Muslim majorities—the adhiars (share-croppers) have begun a new battle against the age-long extortion and exploitation of the zamindars and jotedars.

**F**ORTY-ONE per cent of the total number of kisans in Bengal are share-croppers, and together they cultivate fifty per cent of the land.

by  
**Krishnabinode Roy**

They have no tenancy rights and can be thrown out at will. There is no legal contract with the landlords and as soon as they harvest their crop, they have to pay out the following dues.

- Half their crop goes immediately to the landlord as his 'share'.
- Interest on the paddy they borrowed earlier has to be paid at the rate of 100 to 300 per cent.
- Apart from this, illegal exactions of at least ten different sorts are made.

The result is that the adhiar is left with hardly a maund of paddy per bigha of land.

### Since 1938

Against these inhuman conditions Bengal's kisans have fought since 1938, demanding that they should be protected by law and allowed two-thirds of the crop as their rightful share.

In 1940, the Kisan Sabha in a memorandum to the Flood Commission (Land Revenue Commission) put forward the demand for legislation guaranteeing two-thirds of the crop to the adhiar. And the Commission actually recommended that the adhiars be given tenancy rights and that not more than one-third of the crop should be legally recovered by the landlords.

This recommendation was and is supported by every single political party.

But all these years, the Government has failed to pass any legislation to protect the adhiar from the exploitation of the jotedar.

### The New Offensive

On top of everything, the zamindars and jotedars have begun a new offensive.

Their control over the land used to give them in the past a net income of ten crore rupees from rents. But with the approach of famine, land meant food and crores more could be earned by hoarding.

In 1943, the zamindars and jotedars made an illegal profit of 150 crores out of the monopoly in food grains.

They greedily wanted to grab more and more land. With this end in view, they planned mass eviction of tenants and share-croppers.

When any adhiar came to them for a loan, they insisted that he sell them his land and cattle.

Harassment and extortion of illegal dues were continued, till tenants were almost forced to leave their land to the vulture-zamindars.

### Fight For Existence

Against this eviction campaign, in ten districts, the kisans are fighting back since November. It is a fight for their very existence.

Their slogans are:

- We will not leave our land.
- We shall take two-thirds of the crop—and not a grain less.

Here are glimpses of this new battle—the battle for Tebhaga

(two-thirds' share) as the adhiars call it.

On the last Bakr-id-day, fifteen hundred Muslim kisans assembled in the mosque in Durgapur Union in the district of Jessore, to say their prayers. After the prayer was over a Muslim jotedar spoke on the need for 'separate defence' for Muslims.

But Nurjalal, the leader of the Sub-Divisional Kisan Sabha and the President of the Union Board, sprang to his feet and announced:

"In a united meeting of the Namasudra and Muslim kisans, we have decided upon a campaign of Tebhaga and have formed a joint volunteer corps for the purpose. That joint corps will guarantee our crops as well as our defence."

Enraged, the Muslim jotedar declared that a Tebhaga campaign at this time would lead to communal riots and must be abandoned.

Nurjalal demanded that the matter be decided by vote. The Imam counted the votes. Only five were against Tebhaga and for separate defence.

### Joint Committee Formed

After the meeting, Nurjalal came out to meet Bholanath and other representatives of Hindu kisans who were eagerly waiting for them. On November 15, fifteen hundred representative Hindu and Muslim kisans from 40 villages spread over nine unions assembled to take the final decision about the Tebhaga campaign.

The decision was taken, a Joint Committee for running the campaign was formed and under it a joint volunteer corps and a Tebhaga Fund were started.

Cash was raised then and there and the Committee started functioning. The movement spread fast in several other thanas and sub-divisions.

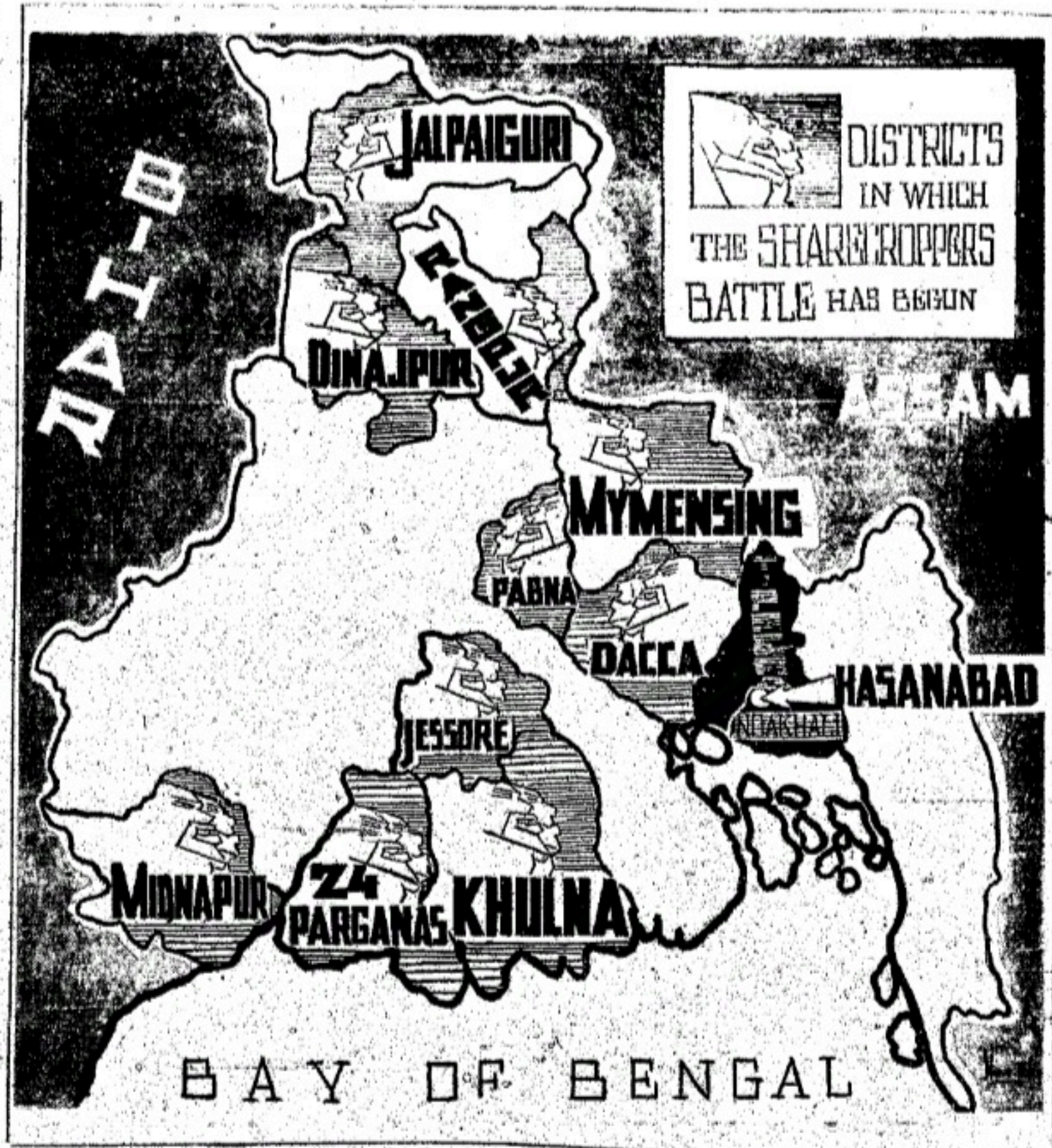
Within three days, the kisans were harvesting and carrying the paddy to their own homes. "Every man or woman a volunteer" was the slogan and every village gave 100 regular volunteers. The volunteers began marching from village to village, holding baithak meetings and harvesting the paddy wherever it was ripe.

### Zamindars Organise

Babu Dharendra Nath Roy, former Congress M.L.A. and his family are the zamindars of Narail. They organised a meeting of zamindars, jotedars, tenure holders and usurers to devise ways and means to crush the movement.

Besides seeking police help, they requisitioned the services of one Chandra Kanta Bose, a Congressman of Faridpur, who had organised the excavation of canals for the kisans and wielded some influence over Hindu kisans. He went from house to house to incite Hindu kisans against the movement.

But the trick did not work. They had learnt the meaning of uniting with their Muslim



brother-adhiars, and with the Red flag flying they marched in thousands from union to union carrying the new message to the kisans.

On November 18, in the Sundarban (within 24-Parganas), 7,000 Hindu-Muslim and Santhal kisans assembled in the Dak Bungalow maidan of Kakdwip to take a decision regarding Tebhaga.

Two thousand Hindu-Muslim volunteers, with lathis in their hands came marching for 20 to 30 miles with the slogans—"We want Tebhaga". The decision was taken even before the formal assembly met.

The zamindars and jotedars were at their wits' end. They hired lathials and sent them to forcibly take away the ripe paddy of Jatin Maity. On reaching the land, the lathials saw kisans with Red flags guarding the crop.

But the lathials are themselves kisans; though of a different locality, the message of the Red flag had reached them too. They saluted the Red flag and went back.

A few days later, the zamindar mobilised local Congress leaders to carry on a slander campaign against the Communists. And simultaneously they sent another batch of lathials to reap the crops of a leading kisan.

### No Going Against Samiti

They failed again. The local kisans exposed the whole game to the lathials and appealed to them in the name of the Kisan Sabha to go back for the sake of the common interests of the kisans.

The lathials again said: "We cannot go against the Samiti".

and went away.

But the zamindars would not stop. A kisan of village Shib-rampur had carried his own paddy to his own thrashing yard. Suddenly the chakdar (the landlord) sent a gang of his hirelings to the house of the kisan. He was physically seized, tied with a rope and carried away to the office of the zamindar.

But the news spread, and instantaneously 1,200 sturdy volunteers with lathis marched to the zamindar's office, surrounded it and threatened the zamindar's men with extermination, unless their comrade was released immediately. They marched back in a procession with their comrade.

### Sobering Effect

This incident has brought some of the landlords to their senses and they are trying to come to terms with the Kisan Sabha.

In Kishoreganj and Netrakona sub-divisions of Mymensingh, the Tebhaga demand is being taken up by the kisans, and in union after union kisans are uniting against the zamindars' injustice.

The zamindars are raising the communal bogey and taking police help. The Hindu and Muslim kisans are using the weapon of social boycott of the landlords and carrying on their harvesting.

Lalit Bagchi, a big jotedar, has recently written a letter to the District Kisan Sabha appealing for the withdrawal of the boycott. His servants have left him; his washerman has refused to wash his clothes; the fisherman won't

sell his fish to him; the milkman would not go to his house. Unable to bear this any further, he has surrendered to the Kisan Sabha.

In the districts of Dacca, Pabna and Howrah, similar struggles are going on.

In the North Bengal districts of Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri and Rangpur, paddy is not yet ripe for harvesting, but thousands of volunteers and lakhs of kisans are preparing for the coming battle.

There is a Muslim League Ministry in office in Bengal.

But the Ministry has not found time to pass legislation embodying even the recommendations of the Flood Commission and save the adhiars from starvation.

While the Ministry sits tight, the police and the bureaucracy are unleashing all their forces against this kisan upsurge. Already more than 500 kisans and Kisan Sabha workers have been prosecuted and yet more are to come.

### "Nothing Can Stop Us"

But the kisans shall not falter nor fail. Bachha Mia, a Muslim kisan of Jalpaiguri, told me:

"We must fight on because we cannot live without fighting. We must reap our paddy and deliver it safely to our family, and in doing this, face jail or bullets. If we die, we are saved from our present sufferings; if we live and are seized by the police, we shall ride the Red motor and march into jail. Nothing can stop us."