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India and the Report of the Simon Commission.

A Cynical Imperialist Document.

By V. CHATTOPADHYAYA.

Whenever British imperialism finds itself in difficulties in any of the areas exploited and plundered by it, or whenever it is forced to expand the social basis of imperialist rule in order to obtain wider native co-operation in its machinery of exploitation and its wars of aggression, it resorts to the appointment of "Royal Commissions" which go out to "investigate" the situation "impartially" and then make "recommendations" of reforms to His Majesty's Government. During the last three years we have witnessed the sending out of many important commissions whose findings have meant more oppression and more intensive exploitation to the natives of the colonies. We need only mention the Hilton-Young Commission for East Africa and the recent Palestine Commission among the most important besides the various Commissions sent to India.

In India British imperialist rule rests mainly on the support of the feudal princes, the great landowners, the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, and the upper strata of the professio-

nal and educated sections (lawyers, journalists, university teachers, etc.) who represent the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords and who supply the leaders in their political agitation. Four separate commissions were appointed to deal with each category, but their work was to be closely co-ordinated in order to secure the best results for the stability of imperialist domination.

The Butler Committee examined the "grievances" of the Indian Princes (of whom there are said to be no less than 680), and the object of the Committee was to separate the area administered by the Princes, constituting one-third of India, from any political or administrative connection with the new reformed India that was to be created. The Indian Princes are now to be placed directly under the Crown.

The interests of the landowners were protected by the "Agricultural Commission" whose terms of reference omitted any mention of land tenure and whose object was to examine how agriculture was to be improved, and the peasant given

more facilities in order to raise his purchasing power and make him a better customer for British manufactured goods and a better tax payer for British imperialist wars.

The interests of the industrialists are being protected by the so-called Whitley Commission on Labour, whose report is expected shortly and whose investigations on the conditions of labour are deliberately aimed at destroying the revolutionary trade union movement and the independence of the Indian working class.

And for the political representatives of the bourgeoisie whose agitation was growing dangerous in so far as they had succeeded in drawing in the masses, the Simon Commission was appointed in November 1927.

The outstanding fact about the Commission was that its seven members, all Englishmen, represented all the three British capitalist-imperialist parties, the Tories, the Liberals and the Social Fascists, and the report they have now published after two years and a half of "work" is ostentatiously declared to be "unanimous on all fundamental matters" and "will be found to be without dissenting minute". In other words, the two "Labour" members of the Imperialist Commission are in absolute agreement with this most cynical expression of imperialist arrogance and hypocrisy, with the proposals for continuing the stranglehold of British capital on the Indian masses, while their chief, Ramsay MacDonald, is giving the Indian masses practical demonstrations every day of air-bombs, tanks and machine-guns as instruments for the "progressive realisation of responsible government in India".

The Simon Commission's Report distinctly points out in its Introduction that the "governing conditions" for all schemes for India were laid down in the pronouncement made on August 20th, 1917, by Montagu, then Secretary of State for India. That pronouncement was made under the direct pressure of the War, and "no challenge was issued by any Party in the State". And what were the "governing conditions" laid down by Montagu with the full support of the Labour Party? He declared:

"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete agreement, is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

This policy laid down by a Liberal Imperialist Minister in 1917 is exactly the policy adopted at the Labour Party Conferences, and it is of interest here to point out how even the language of that imperialist pronouncement has been reproduced in the resolution on India recently passed at the Berlin session of the Executive Committee of the Hind International on May 12th.

The policy assumes firstly, that the British Empire is the last word in human development and that it is eternal and indestructible; secondly, that India is doomed to remain an integral part of that eternal Empire; that by the "increasing association of Indians" in the "administration", i. e., in the machinery of exploitation and oppression, responsible government will be progressively realised in that integral part of that eternal Empire.

Ridiculous as these statements are, they form the basis of the Simon Report. And the document that has now been published has not even the merit of saying anything new or original, or even of supplying any arguments that have not been the stock-in-trade of the imperialist bandits during the last fifty years whenever the question of Indian freedom has been raised. There is not a single chapter which has not been more or less copied from the publications of the Government or been drawn up by the permanent officials of the imperialist administration.

The Report is being issued in two volumes. Vol. I was issued on June 10th and studies "the conditions of the Indian problem", while Vol. II which is to be issued on June 24th will contain the Commission's conclusions and recommendations. The first volume just issued contains the whole imperialist poison needed to create the impression that India is unfit for

freedom and therefore needs British rule. Two weeks are allowed for this poison to soak into the minds of the "British people", that is, especially the British workers, in order to prepare them for the scheme of imperialist stabilisation evolved in Vol. II.

It is impossible in the course of a short article to expose all the lies of which the Report is made up, though there is nothing new in these lies and they have been answered in every detail by the widespread revolt of the Indian masses and the solidarity and determination demonstrated by them in their irrepressible fight for independence. But it is necessary to point out that the "statistics" quoted by the Report, mainly from the Census Report of 1921, are deliberately used for misleading the ignorant. This is the statistical picture of India, as presented by imperialism:

Population, 320 millions divided into numerous races and religious communities always at war, viz., 220 millions Hindus, 70 million Mohammedans, 3 million Sikhs, 3 million Christians etc.; of the Hindus 50 million pariahs suffer from the social tyranny of the remainder under the domination of 14 million Brahmins; there are 680 princes; there are 222 languages; 2300 different castes; only 14.4 percent of men and 2 percent of women are literate; etc. etc. Conclusion: It is a crime to withdraw the British army and let the poor people tear each other to pieces, for the Panjabis who supply 62 percent of the imperialist army would destroy the "peaceful unity of a self-governing India" by attacking the "non-martial" races.

Now, it can easily be shown that the Census statistics are wrong and the method of presenting them deliberately misleading. For instance, the Census states that there are 222 "languages" and this figure is repeated by most people without studying the Census report. As a matter of fact, there are no more than 13 languages in India, if the subject is to be politically considered, and it is just imperialist trickery to enhance the impression of diversity in order to show that no "unity" can be possible in India—except united slavery to British rule. We quote this example of languages as a typical instance of the use of statistics by imperialism to justify its existence. But the Indian masses are learning how such problems as languages and national minorities have been solved by the Proletarian Dictatorship:

The main "arguments" presented by the Simon Report are: Hindu-Moslem religious riots; rigid caste system; the "untouchables"; the religious minorities; general illiteracy; princes; external enemies; internal disorder; terrible condition of women, etc.

We cannot go into these questions here. But a few quotations may prove interesting.

With regard to the Hindu-Moslem riots, the Report confesses that things have become worse since the system of separate electorates for the two religious communities was introduced for the municipal, provincial and central legislatures by the "Reforms" of 1919. "The true cause" says the Report, "is the struggle for political power and for the opportunities which political powers confers".

When it is remembered that only 2.2 per cent of the population, representing only the propertied class, have a vote, it is obvious that imperialist policy has deliberately created this system to encourage strife, aided by the machinations of the police.

But in unguarded moments the Report tells the truth. It shows that the "operations of large-scale industry" bring together men of different castes and religions "in the mills and the mines", where these differences do not exist. Similarly, regarding the 260 great landowners of Oudh who belong to both the communities, the Report admits that "their common interests cut across the communal divisions". In other words, in spite of imperialist intrigue, the horizontal class line is cutting across the vertical caste and religious lines, as has been amply shown during the present mass revolt.

The Report deals with illiteracy and refers to urban and rural conditions, to the terrible housing conditions of the workers in Bombay and other cities, to the indebtedness of the peasant, etc. etc. But not even the "Labour" members of the Commission mention a single word to show the connection between these facts and imperialism. When they state that

"any quickening of general political judgement . . . of the average Indian villager is bound to come very slowly indeed", they seem never to have heard of the October Revolution.

The most unblushing part of the Report deals with the army in India. In speaking of the "defence and security" of India, the authors say:

"India has to carry a constant burden of anxiety and provide against actual danger on her north-west frontier which are wholly without parallel in the case of the self-governing Dominions. India throughout history has had to endure a series of incursions by foreign invaders, who have forced their way through the defiles in the north-west and at other points where a gap was found in the immense mountain barrier which cuts off India from the rest of Asia."

So the imperialist bandits that came by sea are now remaining there to protect India against "foreign invaders". Incidentally of course, those gaps and defiles in the mountains of the north-west are useful to these bandits for the reverse process of making incursions into Afghanistan and the Soviet Union!

As far as the reception of the Report in India is concerned, it is described by the Nationalist press as an insult and it may be taken for granted that it will be rejected by the Nationalist leaders as a basis of negotiations with the Government. Not only the National Congress but a number of moderate leaders not belonging to the Congress had boycotted the Simon Commission when it was collecting "evidence" in India, and it is not likely that they will today openly accept the Simon Report. They will demand that the Round Table Conference be called without reference to the Report.

The main proposals contained in Vol. II are likely to be: abolition of dyarchy; provincial autonomy for most provinces; administrative separation of Burma from India; placing of the Princes directly under the Crown; retention of finance, army, police and foreign affairs in the hands of the Central Government; some form of separate electorates for the different religious communities; slight enlargement of the franchise. But no word of "Dominion Status".

These reforms may satisfy the **moderates**, **Liberals** and **some Congress leaders**, but will fail to receive support from the **rank and file of the National Congress**. An intensification of their activities, especially among the peasantry, may therefore be expected during the next few months.

A British Voice on the Report of the Simon Commission.

By R. Page Arnot (London).

When the Tsarist armies, flogging, burning and slaying, advanced through Poland in August 1914, a proclamation was issued "promising" self-governing institutions and freedom to the peoples of Poland. In June 1930 while the British armed forces are burning, slaying and flogging in India, British Imperialism, through the Simon Report, renews its "promise" of "self-governing institutions", of the "realisation of responsible government in India".

Once before, in the critical revolutionary year, 1917, British Imperialism, faced with tremendous difficulties, made a "promise" to the Indian peoples. But the promise, when set forth in the **Montagu-Chelmsford "Reforms"**, was seen to be only a judicious arrangement for what was called "devolution" and "dyarchy". Devolution merely meant the handing over of some of the work of the Viceroy to nine subordinate Governors of Provinces, such as Bengal, Burma, the Punjab, etc.

Dyarchy meant that in these provinces (but not in the Central Government) a few of the least important subjects should be transferred to Indian Ministers, while the more important subjects were reserved for autocratic rule.

But neither the Ministers nor the legislative councils from which they were to be drawn possessed even the shadow of power. The purse-strings were held by the Governors. The farcical Indian Legislative Assembly was to be elected by 2.8 per cent of the population. The workers and peasants were left out of account.

So empty were these "Reforms" that the Imperialists turned to the manoeuvre of a promise within a promise. The **Government of India Act of 1919** promised that in ten years there would be another promise, and that His Majesty the King-Emperor would appoint a commission to enquire into the matter and to see if something could be done for "the poor Indians". Now the ten years are up. And accordingly, this **Statutory Commission** has duly submitted its report. The "promise" is renewed.

The purpose of the Simon Commission is therefore clear. It is simply a cunning manoeuvre, designed to fetter the Indian colony closer to British Imperialism.

No pains were spared to make the manoeuvre successful. The Commission of seven "English Gentlemen" was chosen in 1927 from all three capitalist parties. Lord Birkenhead was

able to announce that Ramsay MacDonald had privately agreed with the Tories. The Labour Party whip made it a test question that no one should vote against the Simon Commission—and no one did. The "Lefts" (Maxton, Wilkinson, and Co.) obeyed the whip. The Chairman chosen was the Liberal **Sir John Simon**, the most smooth-tongued and most highly-fed lawyer in Parliament. Everything was done to present a united front of the Imperialist parties.

India, like foreign policy, and now like unemployment, was declared to be "above party", that is, all three capitalist parties were equally concerned in the imperialist swindle.

But in India the case was different. From the moment the Commission landed in Bombay—where it was met by vast demonstrations shouting "Simon, Go Back!"—until it finally left India there was no town it visited without being met by hostile crowds. The name of Simon, like the name of MacDonald, is now hated by the masses of India as personifying the greed and ferocious tyranny of the Imperialist bourgeoisie.

The hostile reception of the Simon Commission in India did not and could not alter the colonial policy of the British bourgeoisie. But it led to the preparation of reserve manoeuvres in support of the Simon Commission manoeuvre. Yet another deceitful promise, of "Dominion Status" this time was announced by the Viceroy of India on 31st of October last; while promises were thrown out of a Round Table Conference, where everything, if need be, could go into the melting pot of discussion.

Meantime the preparation of the Simon Commission's report went forward; and on the 10th. of June, the first part of it, the survey, was published amid the immense applause of the capitalist newspapers.

What is the purpose of this survey? It is a skilful piece of imperialist propaganda, prior to the publication of the Commission's recommendations. It is the preliminary barrage of lies and deception, to cover up the infamy of the colonial regime of exploitation and robbery, and to distract attention from the realities of the Indian situation. The reality is the Indian Revolution and the remorseless attempt of the Labour Government to crush the revolutionary masses by fire and slaughter, by martial law and flogging, by machine-guns and bombing aeroplanes.

Accordingly, the Survey repeats all the familiar falsehoods of imperialist propaganda. India is presented as a country without class struggle, as a sub-continent of ignorant peoples whose religious frenzies would hurl them at one another's throats were it not for the strong restraining hand of British imperialism, were it not for the blameless British officials, uncomplainingly carrying the "white man's burden".

A cunning picture is drawn by Simon (skilled in the art of bull-doing a jury) of British capitalism as the civiliser of India. Not only is the whole picture as false as hell, but almost every page contains mistakements or distorted presentations of the facts.

The infamous massacre at Amritsar in 1919 is referred to in such a way as to suggest that the masses and not the bestial ferocity of the British Imperialist officers, were responsible. Here is the passage:

"... the movement developed in March 1919 into a widespread outburst of mob violence, principally in the Punjab and Gujarat, and culminated in the tragedy of Jalianwala Bagh in Amritsar."

On one page the report carefully enumerates the score of policemen killed by the masses of peasantry and their attack on the police station of Chawri-Chaura in 1921; refers to the Moplah rebellion of the same year as "outrage and arson"; and carefully omits all reference to the British atrocity of the Death Train when a hundred Moplah prisoners were done away with under circumstances far worse than the fabulous "Black Hole of Calcutta".

At times the lying is barefaced; as when the Survey accounts for the fact that not a single Indian soldier is recruited from the fifty millions of Bengal and Assan (it is because they dare not) by the statement that they are not a martial race.

But the significance of the Survey is not so much in that it is compact of falsehood, as in its foreshadowing of recommendations to be published in ten days time and consequently in its indications of the direction of imperialist policy.

There are two matters stressed in this survey: the so-called Indianisation of the army and the position of the Indian princes. As plain as can be, the Survey tells the Indian peoples that while they may be allowed a toy army with Indian officers, the British army will remain in India because "extreme defence" is to be considered as "affecting the integrity of the whole Empire and as bound up with general imperial policy".

It could not be put more clearly. British imperialism will not release its grip.

But more important still is the reference to the Indian princes, whose domains cover one-third of India, and whose feudal interests are bound up with the maintenance of imperialist rule. Hitherto, these despotic monarchies, rotten to the core, have been in the background. Now British Imperialism is moving towards an assertion of its reliance upon the most reactionary forces, the princes, landlords and money-lenders.

This is clear from the Survey: and is even more clear from the fact that the Indian princes are asked to take part in the Round Table Conference, dated for October 20th.

But before October 20th much will happen. The revolution developing in India is hidden from us by the strict censorship. But we know that the masses are fighting on unbeaten; that martial law (shewing the desperate need of the British) still reigns in Sholapur; that on the North West frontier all the devastating bombs of the Air Forces have not yet defeated the reinforcements from the hills. Against all the atrocities of the Labour Government, the shootings and floggings, the fight of the masses goes on.

But the fight is our fight. And now is the moment for the British workers to form Hands Off India Committees in the workshops, to expose the lies of the Simon Report and together with the workers in all imperialist countries to demonstrate their solidarity and join with the workers and peasants of India in the struggle for overthrow of British imperialism.

POLITICS

The Fight over the "Placing" of the Young Plan Burdens in Germany.

By Erkun (Berlin).

The first Young Plan loan is now arranged. The German capitalists will receive nominally about 1,400 million Marks loaned at 5½% in order to facilitate the payments under the Young Plan. Apart from the "victor" countries, Holland, Sweden and Switzerland also took a part in the business. The loan however was floated at 90%, and in consequence the Germans will receive only 1,200 million Marks.

Two-thirds of this sum will be paid into the Bank for International Payments to the credit of the German government, or in other words in order to fulfil the Young Plan payments. The remaining third will be paid over to the German government for its own free use. 240 million Marks of this sum will be paid to the Reichs Railway Company and 160 million to the Reichspost. The hopes of the German industrialists to obtain large portions of this third of the loan in the form of large orders have dissolved into nothing in the meantime. In the first five months of this year the Reichs Railway has had a loss of income compared with the previous year which fully makes up for its share of the Young Plan loan. The financial situation of the Reichs Railway Company is worsening steadily with the intensification of the economic crisis, and the directors have announced that nothing will remain of the company's share to give any special orders to German industry. The German Reichspost intends to use its share of the Young Plan loan to improve the check system and to extend the automatic system. Here the capitalists will gain and the post office employees suffer. Both the Reichs Railway Company and the Reichspost are preparing feverishly for a general attack on wages and salaries. The Reichs Railway Company is expending a portion of its share in extending and strengthening the armed protection for the railway, new armoured trains, etc. and other strikebreaking measures.

The two-thirds which are destined to be used as payments under the Young Plan relieve the German Reichs budget by 800 million Marks. Under the Müller-Severing government the Social Democrats promised the German capitalists that they should enjoy the Young Plan Loan in the form of tax reductions etc. The finance reform plan worked out by the Social Democrat Hilferding for instance, provided for a reduction of 300 million Marks in the special taxation on industrial obligations. Trade, building and ground taxes were to be reduced by 10%. Income tax, capital tax and house rent tax were also to be reduced so that a total of 1,370 million Marks would be cut down on taxes affecting the bourgeoisie, whilst a sum of 700 to 770 million Marks should be raised from the masses by increasing indirect taxation ((beer and tobacco), the introduction of a poll tax as a municipal "contribution to administrative costs".

The insane profit urge of the various sections of the bourgeoisie led to such a storm on the "public" treasury that a serious financial shortage was the result.

Hindenburg made his consent to the Young Plan conditional on the granting of a considerable section of the sum received by the Reich to the agrarian capitalists in the East of Germany on the Polish frontier. In the German Nationalist Party which organised a people's referendum against the acceptance of the Young Plan, the agrarian wing forced participation in the Brüning government in return for tremendous increases of the agrarian tariffs at the expense of the workers and poor peasants. Herr Hugenberg also abandoned his nationalist opposition in return for monetary considerations and fine words. The Bavarians succeeded in obtaining the reduction of the beer tax and demanded special financial assistance from the government both for the west and for the east.

The Reichswehr needed 800 million Marks, and the nationalist press declared that the building of the social democratic armoured cruiser series was a part of the Eastern

Assistance Program! The Zörgiebel police also needed more money.

Everywhere affairs of special urgency demanded money. In the meantime unemployment increased and topped the three million Mark and there was not enough money to pay out the unemployment support. In the struggle to pass on the burden of the Young Plan all sections of the bourgeoisie had fed themselves so full with tariff and taxation subsidies, Reichs subsidies, auxiliary sums etc. that funds in the treasuries of the Reich and of the States were very low. In addition there were the smaller swindlers of the type of Sklarek and Busch.

The aim of the bourgeoisie was therefore to fill up the treasury again, to economise and to introduce new taxation. The economy was to take place of course at the expense of the workers and in particular of the unemployed who were to be whipped into wage cutters by hunger and misery. More money was therefore necessary for the Reichswehr and the police and the various legal and illegal semi-military formations in order to strengthen the chains which hold down the proletariat.

The Finance Minister Moldenhauer worked out the economy programme together with Stegerwald the Labour Minister and leading light of the Centre (Catholic) Party. The body of the program was the cutting of benefits under the unemployment insurance scheme, the cutting down of the period during which unemployed workers receive support and the limitation of the numbers entitled to unemployment support. From 150 to 200 million Marks are to be saved at the cost of the unemployed workers. A further 100 million Marks is to be saved at the cost of the health insurance benefits. Further, the lower officials etc., are to be subjected to a special levy amounting to 4 % of their gross salaries. And then the capitalists are making an all-round attack on wages and working conditions in alliance with the Social Fascists who are doing their utmost to disorganise the resistance of the workers.

As a result of the general economic crisis it transpires that the sums calculated as income from taxation have been placed too high in the budget, so that a further deficit of several hundred million Marks must be reckoned with. In addition the municipalities have no money.

The loan which has just been floated will thus have no practical effect because its yield has long ago been divided amongst the German capitalists.

The fight is continuing. The Volkspartei (People's Party), the party of heavy industry and finance capital, is not satisfied with Moldenhauer's program. It demands that even more should be economised at the cost of the unemployed workers, in order to make them more ready to act as strikebreakers during the coming great offensive of the capitalists against wages. The fight for the placing of the Young Plan burdens, in other words for the placing of those burdens on the shoulders of the workers, is proceeding with particular bitterness on the industrial front where gigantic struggles of first rate importance to the world proletariat are being prepared. Should the German capitalists succeed in defeating the German workers, then a wave of wage reductions will sweep over the whole world. As a result of the tremendous reparations burdens, the German workers are of course subjected to the strongest pressure.

The Communist Party of Germany will do everything in its power to organise a counter-pressure and to mobilise the proletariat in the struggle for bread and work for the overthrow of capitalism.

Landbund and Heimwehr in Austria.

By Guido Zamis (Vienna).

The growing antagonism between the Party of the Austrian agrarians (Landbund) and the Heimwehr shows clearly that it is not merely a battle of intrigues around the person of the Minister of the Interior for Austria, Schumy, who belongs to the Landbund and whom the Heimwehr would like to replace with one of their own nominees, but the expression of real class contradictions, although these conflicting class interests are falsified and caricatured.

At the introduction of the Disarmament Law in the Austrian parliament, Schumy made a speech in which he expressed respect and admiration for the Heimwehr idea, but declared himself opposed to the new formulation of the Heimwehr oath.

He openly accused the Heimwehr leaders of exploiting a "healthy movement" in order to climb to power on their own account. He referred to "political import articles" and meant the **Italian Influence on the Austrian Heimwehr movement**. On the same day Schumy resigned his membership of the Heimwehr giving as his reason that the Heimwehr leaders had adopted the idea of the Fascist dictatorship.

The Heimwehr leaders took up the challenge and they are now conducting a bitter campaign against the Minister of the Interior with all possible means. The most recent act in this struggle was taken on Whitmonday when Schumy was booked to speak at a meeting organised by the Landbund in Kühnsdorf in Carinthia. The Heimwehr however called in its fighting gangs on motor-lorries from the whole surrounding neighbourhood, occupied the meeting place and prevented the meeting. Not much would have been required and Schumy, a minister of the Schober government, would have been beaten up by the fanatic Heimwehr guards. In a triumphant report published by the **Christian-Social** elements he is said to have escaped this fate only by beating a hurried retreat.

It is characteristic for the political condition of Austria that exactly that Minister whose task it is to see to the carrying out of the so-called anti-terror law with all its stern provisions against the breaking up of meetings, is not even able to protect his own meetings against the terror of the Heimwehr.

The Landbund in Carinthia has now answered the Heimwehr coup by ordering its members who are also members of the Heimwehr to leave the latter organisation. Those Heimwehr groups in which the Landbund members have the majority have been affiliated corporatively to the **Peasant Defence League**. In the future the Peasant Defence League will take over the defence of the meetings of the **Landbund** so that such incidents as occurred in Kühnsdorf will be impossible, according to the announcement of the Landbund. In any case, frequent collisions between the two organisations are to be expected.

Alone the fact that the Landbund is utilising the conflict with the Heimwehr in order to strengthen the Peasant Defence League shows clearly that the Landbund is not interested in any real struggle against Fascism as a governmental form, but itself intends to play an important rôle in the Fascist camp, for the peasant defence detachments are nothing but typical agrarian-fascist bands used by the rich agrarians to intimidate the landworkers and the poor peasants. The Peasant Defence League was founded in January this year when the Landbund had its first great conflict with the Heimwehr.

The Landbund stressed at the time that the formation of the Peasant Defence League was in no way an act of hostility towards the Heimwehr, and that the new organisation would gladly "co-operate with the Heimwehr in the struggle against the enemies of the State and of the people". The Heimwehr leaders however rejected the hand offered to them, and the conflict has been steadily intensified. To-day the Landbund often defends its position with energetic anti-fascist phrases. For instance, a resolution adopted at Whitsun at a conference of the Austrian Young Landbund in Klagenfurt reads:

"The tendencies at present showing themselves in our Fatherland towards the setting up of a dictatorship demand great watchfulness and preparedness from our youth movement if we are to maintain the heritage of the great peasant emancipator Hans Kudlich, i. e. the political and economic emancipation of the German peasants . . . Austria's free peasantry will not let itself be suppressed by the methods used against the peasants in Croatia, Bulgaria and other countries."

When one reads such sentiments, one can only conclude that the masses of the peasantry do not want to have anything to do with Fascism, and that the Landbund must give way to this pressure if it wishes to retain its mass basis. Much more important for the characterisation of the opinions of the Landbund leaders than this resolution is the fact that the German Agrarian Minister Schiele took part in this conference.

The poor and middle peasants clearly observe the decisive rôle played by the feudal rich landowners in the Heimwehr movement. All the great and famous names of the pre-war Austrian landed aristocracy, the lifelong feudal members of the

House of Lords, the Princes Liechtenstein, Starhemberg, Dietrichstein, Schwarzenberg, the Counts Clam-Martinitz, Stürghk, Czernin, Colloredo-Mansfeld and others are to-day all in command of Heimwehr battalions. The peasants feel clearly that a victory of Fascism would be a victory for the rich landowners and the rich usurers and in consequence the defeat of the peasantry with the exception of a small stratum of rich peasants. For the peasants Fascism would mean the return of their old dependence on the rich landowners.

The masses of the poor and middle peasants are beginning to organise resistance against this possibility. They can be a loyal ally of the working class in the struggle against Fascism. The Landbund however is attempting to make itself the leader of these elements in the village, (as also is Social Democracy to a certain extent) to utilise the anti-fascist tendencies of the peasants for the formation of the Peasant Defence League and thus to use them again in the interests of fascism. The comedy in which Schumy Steidle and Starhemberg are now playing, each with their special roles, will then be at an end.

However, the conflict between the Landbund and the Heimwehr is actually a part of the class struggle in the village although its form is grotesque as though reflected in a distorting mirror.

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

The Intrigues against the Soviet Union in Poland.

How the Polish Government "Investigated" the Outrage against the Soviet Embassy.

By P. (Moscow).

Six weeks ago the dynamite attempt upon the building of the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw was prevented by a fortunate but fortuitous circumstance. For six weeks now the Polish authorities have been searching "energetically" for the criminals who prepared a murderous attack upon the diplomatic representatives of a country with which Poland maintains normal diplomatic relations. The working masses of the Soviet Union, who want peace, are carefully studying the development of affairs in connection with this matter, because they are well aware of the danger to the maintenance of peace represented by the activity of the anti-soviet elements in Poland.

The Soviet government was compelled to draw the attention of the Polish government to the seriousness of the situation in its notes of the 28th April and the 31st May of this year, and to place the full responsibility for the safety of the Soviet representation and for the creation of normal conditions for its work, upon the Polish government. In its answer the Polish government assured the Soviet government that the investigation of the attempt on the Soviet Embassy was being pursued with all energy, and although it was meeting with many hindrances, the Polish government expressed the conviction that it would be "crowned with positive results". The Polish government declared, referring to the safety of the Soviet Embassy, that it was well aware of its duty.

The working masses of the Soviet Union cannot content themselves with such a formal and evasive answer. The question is much too important and involves too deeply the vital interests of the Soviet Union for the working masses to be satisfied with the assurances contained in the Polish note. It is not the first time that the Polish government has assured the Soviet government that all measures necessary for the prevention of criminal attacks on the diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union had been taken. Despite all official assurances however, attempts on the lives of the representatives of the Soviet Union have become a common feature of Polish political life. This fact is undeniably connected with the policy of responsible circles towards the Soviet Union, a policy which creates an atmosphere in Poland favourable to the activity of the anti-soviet terrorist organisations. The Polish news service and a number of Polish press organs closely connected with the Fascist camp are zealously keeping this atmosphere.

As far as the latest terrorist attack upon the Soviet Embassy is concerned, the efforts of all factors hostile to the Soviet Union have produced a situation which not only does not assist in the clearing up of the circumstances of the attempt and in the discovery of the guilty persons, but which actually encourages the terrorist elements who are spurred on to continue their criminal activity by the peculiar passivity of the Polish authorities towards them.

The Soviet note points out that the silence and the passivity of the Polish authorities in connection with the attempt, nourish the provocative and unreliable rumours casting suspicion on the Soviet Union and its representatives. Although these rumours are senseless and outrageous, they have not been denied by the Polish authorities, although it is the duty of the authorities to protect the representation of the Soviet Union against such provocative attacks. The most varied rumours have been put about, commencing with the statement that no attempt at all had been made and that the alleged bomb was actually filled with sand, and proceeding to the slanderous suggestion that the Soviet representatives themselves organised the attempt in order to cause the Polish government complications.

On the day the Polish answer was handed to the Soviet ambassador in Warsaw, the Cracow newspaper "Kurier Codzienny Ilustrowany" published an article dealing in the most provocative fashion with the suggestion that the attempt had been organised by the Soviet representatives themselves. The formal answer of the Polish government was contained in the note handed over by Zaleski, the real answer however, was given by the "Kurier Codzienny Ilustrowany" which belongs to the government camp and which is the organ of Department II of the Polish General Staff. The Polish secret police spread anti-soviet slanders through the medium of this paper not for the first time. It will be remembered that in 1928 this newspaper was prosecuted for libellous attacks on the Soviet Embassy, whereupon Department II openly came forward and defended the newspaper.

Up to the present the Polish authorities have published no material whatever concerning the results of their inquiries. This however does not prevent the "Kurier Codzienny Ilustrowany" from sabotaging the inquiries by publishing false information and libelling the Soviet representatives in Poland outrageously without the Polish authorities taking any action against its editors.

There are good reasons to suppose that this time also the newspaper in question drew its encouragement and its "information" from the Polish Okhrana.

We are faced with two Polish answers: The one is contained in the note of the Polish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zaleski, and the other is contained in the insolent and provocative article of the "Kurier Codzienny Ilustrowany" and inspired by the Polish Okhrana. Under such circumstances there is no reason to believe that the inquiry being conducted by the Polish authorities will do anything to abolish the causes of a situation which produces repeated attempts upon the lives of our representatives in Poland. We have no guarantee that the Soviet-Polish relations will not be submitted to new tests in the future. The main question is not the absurd and foolish provocations of the Polish Okhrana which is feverishly working to remove all traces and to draw general attention away from the doubtful rôle it has played in these happenings. The main question is that systematic activity is being conducted in Poland with a view to destroying the peaceful relations between Poland and the Soviet Union and to establishing a state of war.

The Soviet government will of course insist upon a satisfactory reply from the Polish government, satisfactory not in form, but in substance.

The dark elements who aim at provoking war are continuing their work despite all the efforts of the Soviet government. Polish governmental circles obviously encourage these elements in their work against the cause of peace. This fact is proved again by the particularly active campaign in connection with the tenth anniversary of Pilsudski's march on Kiev, the activisation of the Petlura bands etc.

The working masses of the Soviet Union and of Poland must pay close attention to the criminal intrigues being conducted in Poland with the encouragement and support of Polish governmental circles.

The White Terror

Pilsudski's Forest of Gallows.

New Death Sentences in Poland.

By K. Leski (Warsaw).

Thousands of revolutionary workers and peasants are dying a lingering death in the prisons of the bourgeoisie of Fascist Poland. But that is not sufficient to satisfy the blood-lust of the Polish dictator Pilsudski, the bloodhound of the Polish bourgeoisie and of international imperialism.

On the 12th June a field court in Lemberg sentenced comrades Hirsch, Jugend and Proper to death by hanging on charges of high treason.

What was the "crime" of these accused?

According to the indictment it was that they had distributed appeals issued by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine in connection with the International Day against Unemployment on the 6th March last.

During the course of the twelve years since the foundation of the new Polish State the police has murdered revolutionary workers and peasants almost daily, at every possible opportunity, during strikes, at demonstrations. In 1920 during the war against the Soviet Union the field courts of Pilsudski passed death sentences on a mass scale against workers and peasants who were suspected of sympathising with the "enemy", the workers and peasants Red Army. Comrade Hybner and a number of other members of the Polish Young Communist League were executed following sentences of the normal penal court some years ago, because they defended the revolutionary movement against the foul activities of spies and agents-provocateurs. But three death sentences for no other charge than that of having distributed communist literature — that is something new even in Fascist Poland. It represents the opening of a new stage in the endless chain of crimes committed by the Polish bourgeoisie, the announcement that still more brutal repressive measures are coming.

The revolutionary movement in Poland, where a tremendous economic crisis is paralysing industry and commerce, is growing from day to day. The national-revolutionary struggle of the working masses in Western Ukraine and in West White-Russia is growing in energy and intensity. The workers and peasants are fighting with increasing determination against the danger of war on the Soviet Union, the war which the bourgeoisie of Poland and the international imperialists are preparing. They are opposing more and more openly against any attempt at a repetition of the drive to Kiev. All these factors represent a threatening danger for the Fascist dictatorship and for the anti-Soviet plans of Pilsudski.

Pilsudski is therefore adopting ruthless terrorist measures and directing the most severe measures against the Communist Parties of Poland, Western Ukraine and West White-Russia as the organisers and leaders of the workers and peasants in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship and against imperialist war.

The fact that this latest act of brutality hits Communists of Western Ukraine, the fact that Pilsudski has erected his gallows in Lemberg reveals the special military significance of these sentences.

Western Ukraine will be the nearest "Hinterland" for the imperialist armies marching on Kiev in the next war. Pilsudski therefore wants to establish a graveyard peace in this district in advance. Pilsudski negotiates with the Ukrainian counter-revolution and concludes agreements with it, and in return this reaction which sails under the flag of "freeing" Soviet Ukraine from the "Moscowite yoke", countenances the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine and seeks to sell the workers of Soviet Ukraine to international capitalism. On the other hand Pilsudski seeks to crush the resistance of the workers and peasants of Western Ukraine with a terror such as that imposed in time of war. The workers and peasants of Western Ukraine however see the only way to freedom from the yoke of Polish slavery in unification with their brothers over the frontier in Soviet Ukraine. Pilsudski has therefore erected his gallows in Lemberg in order to terrorise the masses of Western Ukraine.

Western Ukraine represents a base of operations for the Polish and the international bourgeoisie in their campaign against Soviet Ukraine. This is the reason why Pilsudski's servants pass such frightful sentences on communist workers, although up to the present the guns are still silent.

The death sentences in Lemberg are thus not only a bloody act of terror committed by Fascism against Communism in general, they also represent proof of how far Pilsudski's preparations have advanced for a repetition of the 1920 drive against Kiev. His reign of terror in Western Ukraine to-day has its object in Soviet Ukraine to-morrow.

The workers of the whole world must join with the Polish proletariat in a powerful action to rescue the victims of the Lemberg death sentences from the hands of the hangmen.

This action will be much more than an attempt to rescue the lives of three comrades. It will be a stage in the struggle of the workers and peasants of the whole world to defend the first Workers and Peasants State!

A New Sacco-Vanzetti Case in the South.

By A. Bosse (New York).

The severe unemployment resulting from the economic crisis in the United States and the evident determination of the workers to struggle against it have frightened the A.F. of L. and the bosses in the South to such an extent that they have answered with an unprecedented campaign of lynching and burning of Negroes and a savage terror against all militant workers. A new Sacco-Vanzetti case has resulted, with six young white and Negro men and women workers being prepared for the electric chair. There is this difference, however, from the legal burning of Sacco and Vanzetti in Massachusetts — they were framed up in conspiratorial fashion, whereas these six workers are being openly and directly done to death for militant working class organising activity. No charges of robbery, assault, etc. are made. They have been indicted, in the twisted jargon of the law, for having "assembled a crowd, made speeches and by persuasion and by circulating books, pamphlets, circulars and literature for the purpose of calling, assembling, bringing together certain persons, in order to incite, to organise and establish combined resistance to lawful authority of the state of Georgia".

Divested of all circumlocutious verbiage, the charge is simply that these organisers of the Communist Party, International Labor Defense, National Textile Workers Union, and American Negro Labor Congress tried to organise the white and Negro workers of the South to struggle for decent working conditions, for the right to organise into militant trade unions and defence organisations, and into a revolutionary workers political party.

The prisoners, most of whom are being held practically incomunicado in death cells in the Atlanta jail, are all militants with long records of activity, despite their youth. Mary Dalton who is 20 years old, is N.T.W.U. organiser in the South and has been active in the New York labour movement since the age of 16. Ann Burlak is 18, is I.L.D. secretary in Georgia, and was formerly Young Pioneer director and N.T.W.U. organiser in Pennsylvania. Henry Storey is a Negro worker and active member of the A.N.L.C. in Atlanta, and Gilmer Brady is national organiser of the A.N.L.C., and was formerly active in the Post Office Clerks Union in Boston. Of the two arrested earlier, M.H. Powers is C.P. organiser in the South, and Joe Carr is Y.C.L. organiser there.

Powers and Carr were arrested on March 9th while holding meetings against the wave of lynching sweeping the South, charged with throwing a tear gas bomb into their own meet-

ing, after a policeman had thrown the bomb. Their trial, originally set for May 27th, was postponed till June 17th. The other four were arrested while holding an anti-lynching meeting of the American Negro Labor Congress in Atlanta on May 21st and were also charged with "attempting to incite insurrection" and "distributing insurrectionary literature" by a grand jury on May 30th. A sidelight upon the frantic effort of the bosses and their allies in the A.F. of L. to murder these organisers is shown by the fact that the law under which they were indicted was one passed at the time of the American Civil War in 1866 and never used since then until invoked against these militants. It was originally passed just before the Civil War in 1859 to keep so-called "poor whites" from aiding the efforts at the abolition of Negro slavery.

The A.F. of L. is one of the leading elements in the effort to electrocute these workers. Louis P. Marquandt, secretary of the Georgia Federation of Labor, is an assistant in the office of the prosecutor, solicitor general Boykin, who signed the murder indictments against the six. Marquandt is the connecting link between the prosecutor's office and the A.F. of L., is an extreme fascist and one of the worst "red baiters" in the South. A. Steve Nance, president of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, was assistant secretary of the grand jury which returned the indictments. It was Nance who presided at the meeting where Wm. Green, president of the A.F. of L., spoke when Mary Dalton was arrested for trying to ask him a question.

The United Press, one of the large capitalist news services writes from Atlanta that the indictment was "on charges growing out of the Communist demonstrations here and the alleged heckling of President Green during an address here", and that among the defendants is "Mary Dalton, charged specifically with heckling Green". The way the labour fakers expressed this charge, more specifically, was not "heckling", but "insurrection". Green toured the South, amid the plaudits of the bosses, later receiving a gold medal from one of their organisations, the Roosevelt Foundation. One of his papers in Birmingham, Alabama, the "Labor Advocate", has been printing big headlines demanding the murder of the six organisers, because the revolutionary trade unions "have spread to an almost unbelievable extent". It attacks the "arrogant demands made upon our citizenship and charitable organisations (!) for money or other relief" for the unemployed, and especially the fact that the Left wing "openly preaches social equality for the Black Race".

Just how these jingoes selected the charge upon which to try Powers and Carr is told by their lawyer, O. C. Hancock. They were released after their first arrest, re-arrested on a minor charge, and released on bail. Meanwhile the police, at the instigation of the bosses and A.F. of L. bureaucrats, cast about for a serious charge upon which to hold them. They appealed to a crooked lawyer who was under indictment for mal-practice, and that worthy suggested the Civil War law.

The assistant prosecutor, Hudson, openly speaks for the bosses in demanding the death of these workers:

"As fast as these Communists come here and publicly preach their doctrine of violent opposition to the laws of this state, we shall indict them, and I shall demand the death penalty in every case. . . We will not tolerate Communists in Georgia. . . I know of no stronger similar laws in the whole country."

Among the big textile interests in back of the murder campaign is the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills, where Mary Dalton and the N.T.W.U. were trying to organise the textile slaves. This is one of the few mills in that section working at full time, with two shifts (10½ hours in the day shift and 12 hours in the night, and only fifteen minutes for lunch), with piece work wages at \$10 to 12 a week, and the speed up intense. The Manville-Jenckes Company, which instigated the Gastonia attacks, has been buying into this section and is undoubtedly in the background also.

The type of literature being spread among the workers in the South, and the attempt of the bosses to smash any kind of militant organisation of the workers, not merely the Communist Party, is seen from the details of the indictment regarding "insurrectionary literature". This enumerates not only Myra Page's "Labor and Southern Cotton Mills", Earl

Browder's "Out of a Job", and the "Program of the T.U.U.L.", but also Marx' and Engels' "Communist Manifesto", Lenin's "State and Revolution", "Proletarian Revolution", and "Revolutionary Lessons", the "Program of the C.I.", "Trade Unions and Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union", "Why Every Worker Should Join the C.P.", and the May Day leaflet of District 17 of the C.P. (its southern district). This literature was seized in aids after the arrests.

The Party, the T.U.U.L. and its affiliated unions, the I.L.D. and other militant organisations under the guidance of the C.P. are mobilising the workers of the country against this campaign of terror of the bosses. Meetings of protest are being organised throughout the country. Already they have been held in Birmingham, at which meeting threescore workers joined the I.L.D. and 28 the Party, in other cities in the South, and in all other sections of the country. In New York the state nominating convention of the C.P., which named Foster as candidate for governor, demanded their immediate release and called upon the workers to force this.

The T.U.U.L. has called a southern district conference for June 8th at Chatanooga, Tennessee, to fight the stretch out (speed up) system in the southern mills, the 10 to 40 per cent wage cuts, lengthened hours, and unemployment and to plan the organisation of these terribly exploited workers, black and white, into revolutionary unions. At this conference a great campaign of protest will be organised against the terror of the bosses and their attempts to smash all militant workers organisations in the South.

The southern district of the C.P., far from being intimidated, is intensifying its activity throughout the South. The coming elections will be fully utilised, Communist candidates being put up in Georgia, Alabama and Tennessee this year for the first time. In the first two of these states Negroes cannot vote, but Storey, one of the defendants, will probably be nominated as candidate for governor of Georgia and a campaign carried on full social and political equality for Negroes. Statewide ratification conventions will be held early in August in these states to ratify the draft election programme drawn up for them. The workers will be mobilised at factory gate meetings and in the shops, as well as at street meetings and demonstrations, culminating on June 7. The anniversary of the Gastonia strike.

During the past two months over 1,600 workers have been jailed throughout the country for militant activities. Besides the Gastonia 7, 15 of the 85 Imperial Valley strikers face long prison terms; 5 Ohio workers have been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on criminal syndicalist charges; the 4 New York unemployed delegates, led by Foster, remain in jail, their appeals having been refused action again; G. Serio, Italian organiser of the C.P., faces deportation from Erie, Pennsylvania, to certain death in Italy; D. Flaiani, C.P. organiser in Newark, New Jersey, has been convicted and faces 17 years in jail; etc., etc., in many other cities. This nationwide campaign of terror is aimed at illegalising the C.P. piecemeal, thus trying to isolate it from the masses. An investigation by Congress is now under way, which will try to centralise these attacks upon the Party, at the same time dragging in the Amalg which representatives Soviet trading organisations.

Georgia is the first state to attempt to completely outlaw the C.P. and all militant working class organisations. This semi-feudal assault is only the most vicious aspect of the general campaign being waged in more or less severe form everywhere. Unless the workers beat back this offensive by a smashing counter-attack, they may expect it to forge ahead and take on the same form as in Georgia in state after state.

The answer must be better organisation of the C.P., especially in the shops and factories, the making a success of the campaign of the T.U.U.L. for building new unions and gaining 50,000 new members, spreading the I.L.D. everywhere and the A.N.L.C., organising strong workers defence corps, etc.

The International Red Aid is organising a world-wide campaign to force the freeing of the six Atlanta and other imprisoned workers, and workers in every country must rally to the support of this campaign by great and demonstrations meetings, resolutions of protest, etc. The attempt to create new Sacco-Vanzettis throughout the country must be smashed.

The Situation of the Political Prisoners in Yugoslavia.

A Letter from Mitrovitzia Jail.

A large number of sentenced communists are imprisoned in Mitrovitzia Jail. One of the prisoners has succeeded in smuggling a letter out of the jail, describing the frightful situation of the political prisoners. We append excerpts from this letter.

Ed.

All prisoners, criminal and political alike, are first placed in solitary confinement, where they used to remain two months, now however three. After this they are transferred to a common department, where the political prisoners are confined in one large room with the criminals. This department is called the "House". Nine prisoners only, who were in Mitrovitzia before, are in a special department with a special political regime. The prisoners in solitary confinement have to work: stripping quills and other work.

The director of the prison, who has the post of the prisoners under his censorship, destroys letters for the pettiest reasons, for instance if they contain the sentence: "Remember me to all the comrades." The very first group brought before the special tribunal was ill-treated. This was the group containing Andreyevich and other young people from Belgrade, who received sentences totalling 54 years for distributing leaflets. Some of these were beaten, among them Peter Grubor, for looking out of the window, and Srednyak, Matihevich, and Cholovich, for unknown trifles. Two of the Mostar group were beaten for hiding feathers in the solitary confinement cell, in order to have fewer quills to strip. If there is nothing to do in the workrooms, the political prisoners must work out-of-doors: picking hops, carrying bricks, digging, planting etc. Aleksa Shivishitso is one of the warders who strike our comrades most frequently. As a rule the warders strike with the bunch of keys which they hold in their hand.

The director generally punishes with the so-called "short chain". The left wrist is fettered to the ankle of the left leg by a short chain, the right wrist to the right ankle. In this position the prisoners has to remain six hours. The pain and the consequences are frightful. This punishment is imposed for the slightest misdemeanours, and to an incredible extent. One political prisoner was sentenced to a month's solitary confinement, and was subjected to the "short chain" fifteen times during this term.

The solitary cells are terribly cold. In the winter of 1928 two criminals died of the cold in solitary cells. Our comrades are constantly threatened by the same fate.

§ 75 of the law of penal enforcement, enacting that political prisoners are to be granted alleviations either in their sentences or by means of a special law, is not applied to prisoners sentenced in accordance with the law for the protection of the state, or §§ 9 and 10 of the Servian penal law. The director observes the rule: "Anyone sentenced to penal servitude is not a political prisoner." The political prisoners are treated worse than the criminals. The criminal may become semi-free, may move freely outside of the prison, go shopping etc.; his sentence may be suspended, he may be released and pardoned. The political prisoners know nothing of this. Since the war those prisoners whose sentences are based on the Law for the Protection of the State are excluded from all amnesties. The criminals, after serving one half or even only one third of their sentences, are granted suspension of sentence and released; the political prisoners must serve their sentences in full. The criminal, when ill, may have his sentence suspended and enjoy home nursing. The criminal may serve a part of his time under relatively favourable conditions, as semi-free prisoner, but this is made impossible for the political prisoner.

Some of the political prisoners (Steyich, Rayich, Chaki) were kept incarcerated in cells in absolute isolation for years,

till they went mad. At the same time even the worst criminals were not kept in solitary confinement for more than six or eight weeks. The worst criminals were relieved of their chains in the course of the first year; the political prisoners carried them for years (Professor Tsipushevich for four years, Chaki for three years and a half, Steyich for seven and a half years).

In 1927 the political prisoners in Mitrovitzia maintained a hunger strike for eleven days against the prison regime. At that time the ministry had recognised them as political prisoners until the proclamation of the new law, and had promised to issue a law regulating their position. At the present time the political prisoners are in a worse position than then, and are maltreated, which was not the case formerly.

Since 1st January 1930 smoking has been prohibited, even among the prisoners previously permitted to smoke. Lyubomir Dolich, Yaka Shorga, Milutin Petrovich, and others, were kept in solitary confinement for three months, the Croatian nationalist Oshanich, who assassinated the police agent Grauer, for even longer than three months.

Radivoje Dardovich from Veliki Bechkerek was punished for inscribing slogans on the walls of his cell, the penalty being two months in chains, 14 fast days, 14 days hard bed, and some small penalties.

Milorad Petrovich was beaten by two warders, and the prison director ordered that he be punished by solitary confinement and chains for an indefinite time. Grubor and Dolich, who protested against this maltreatment, were both punished by two days fasting and hard bed, on the pretext that they had been noisy.

In 1927, at the time of the hunger strike, the prisoners at Mitrovitzia demanded that Milutin Rayich and Steyich be medically examined. Should they be found to be healthy, then they were to be transferred to the political department; if ill to the insane asylum. After the hunger strike was over, however, the prison management continued to keep these prisoners in the solitary cells, and the regime was made even severer. Rayich, who entered the jail in good health, lost his reason by 1925. In the autumn of 1925 he attempted to commit suicide. This was the last time he was capable of realising his terrible position. From this time onwards he can only laugh, and is satisfied with everything. His utter imbecility causes him to offend continually against the small regulations of prison discipline; the management utilises every offence in order to inflict a disciplinary punishment.

On the directions of the director, Rayich and Steyich were placed in a common cell with criminals at the end of March 1929, and were obliged to work. Steyich is still working today in the dyeing shop. Within two days Rayich came into conflict with the warden, whom he refused to salute, and was taken back to the solitary cell. He observed with a laugh: "That is where I learnt it." The warden Stepan Hushnyak, one of the worst, was on duty in the solitary cells. Rayich in his ignorance addressed him as "Mr. leader". The warden took it that he was being ridiculed, railed at Rayich and gave him a box on the ear. Rayich returned the blow and threw the warden on the ground. Two other warders now interfered, and joined Hushnyak in treading upon Rayich, and in beating him with their keys and side arms. He received cuts on the head and arms, and stabs in the abdomen. He was not taken to the hospital, but left in the solitary cell, and was not treated by the prison doctor, but by a doctor from the town. The warden Hushnyak continues to be employed in the solitary cells.

Chaki has fallen a victim of the profoundest religious mania. He tries to convert everyone to God, and when this does not succeed, violent conflicts result. He also shows symptoms of persecutorial mania. The prison management leaves the insane prisoners in the solitary cells, instead of sending them to a lunatic asylum.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

Dutch Imperialism Arms.

120 Million Florins for the Fleet.

By P. de Groot (Amsterdam).

The Dutch government has submitted a bill whose object is the "completion" of the naval forces, especially in the colonies.

The bill envisages the construction, within ten years, of three cruisers, twelve torpedo boat destroyers, 28 submarines, two squadron leaders, four mine-laying submarines and numerous small cruisers, torpedo boats, etc. According to Minister Deckers' calculations, the costs of this will account to 120 million florins, to which the costs of upkeep must be added. In order not to alarm the good people, the bill is to be presented on the instalment system. The first instalment will be about one million, and the remaining credits will be called in as required.

In spite of the cautious method in which the government advances the plan, it has aroused the working class at one blow. The working class of Holland, hitherto lulled into quiet by the hypocritical and pacifist phraseology of the social democratic and other bourgeois parties, is now rubbing its eyes, for it sees the real imperialist countenance of the bourgeoisie, which is so fond of playing the rôle of champion of "disarmament" at the sessions of the League of Nations.

The government states that the main object of the new war ships is to protect the "oil ports" in the **East Indies** and in **Dutch Guiana (Surinam)**. There can be no doubt that the Dutch bourgeoisie, which has great interests at stake in **Sir Henry Deterding's** oil trust, is arming for the purpose of defending its interests by force of arms against every imperialist opponent, and at the same time against the revolution in the East. But above all it is arming in order to be able to play its part in the general attack of the capitalist world on the **Soviet Union**, and it is obvious that it deems movement to have arrived for intensifying its armaments.

The **Social Fascists** are doing all in their power to distract the attention of the working class of Holland from this actual aim of the armament bill. Both the political leaders and the trade union bureaucrats are raising an outcry against the "waste of money" by the reactionary government. They seek to prove that the naval forces projected would be useless for "national defence", since they would be out-distanced, before the expiration of the ten years, by fresh inventions in the sphere of up-to-date war gear. "The government wants to give us 120 florins' worth of scrap iron". This is the best argument advanced by the "left" social Fascists.

With such phrasemongering as this Social Fascism is trying to use for its own purposes the indignation aroused among the working class, and among the working masses of the rural districts, by the war preparations of the government. It endeavours to guide the resistance of the proletariat into the channel of a platonic protest movement, offering no danger to capitalism. In this manner the Social Fascists lend active aid to the plans of oil capital and of the imperialist government.

It is only the **Communist Party of Holland** which undertakes to organise the action of the proletariat against the threatening war. The industrial and agrarian crisis intensifying from day to day, the offensive of capitalism against wages and working conditions, and against social insurance and unemployment benefit, the advance of rationalisation, all this forces the proletariat to carry on the struggle on a broader front. The Communist Party and the trade union opposition call upon the working class to reply by a strike to the attacks of the capitalists and the war preparations of the imperialists. In an energetic campaign, culminating on 1st August, the revolutionary working class of Holland will express its determination of implacable combat against rationalisation and imperialist war, and of struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union.

CHINA

The Red Workers and Peasants Army in Nantung.

By Pao.

The district town Nantung which is the centre of the local cotton industry has an industrial proletariat of about 20,000 workers. The town lies directly on the Yangtse-Kiang not far from Shanghai. The following report was sent from the Soviet area there. Ed.

The peasants in the Nantung district live in conditions of frightful misery. Spontaneous outbreaks of the peasants there are common occurrences. The Red Workers and Peasants Army sprang up in Nantung in the second half of 1929.

In August last year the ruling reaction commenced a campaign of extermination against the revolutionary peasants in the eastern districts of the Nantung area. Many poor peasants were beheaded and their small possessions confiscated. This opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor peasants was eagerly seized upon by all the authorities from the mayor to the Police chief. However the attack of the counter-revolution against the insurrectionary peasants did not succeed in breaking their forces, but on the contrary the isolated groups welded gradually into an army.

The Red Workers and Peasants Army in Nantung is the 14th division of the Red Workers and Peasants Army operating in the Soviet districts of China. It has 2,000 well-armed men and about the same number poorly equipped. The equipment of the army was captured in the struggle against the governmental troops or was surrendered to the revolutionaries by mutineers from the police and governmental troops.

For instance, on one occasion 300 armed police were sent to the eastern districts of the Nantung area to crush the peasant disturbances and establish "law and order". They however were afraid of trying conclusions with a superior force of armed peasants and returned to Nantung where they remained inactive and later on joined the Red Army under the influence of intensive propaganda.

The 2nd and 3rd companies of police "troops for the maintenance of law and order" mutinied, shot their officers and went over in a body with all their excellent equipment to the red army.

In the Nantung area the forces of the counter-revolution are never quite safe from the Red Army and the town itself is guarded by marine forces. The government has despatched troops to dissolve the soviets, but it fears to conduct operations directly against the Red Army because it knows that immediately its troops come into close contact with the enemy, there is an acute danger of mutiny and desertion.

The power of the Red Army is steadily growing. The flying tactics of the revolutionary troops are extending to larger and larger areas. From the eastern districts which are the centre of operations for the Red Army, its operations have extended to far-lying points like Chinsa. Guerilla fighting has also broken out in the western districts. These red guerillas will unite with the Red Army in the eastern districts and with the Red Army in the Suha district.

Supported by the revolutionary masses of the peasantry, the Red Army disarmed its opponents and set up the soviet power. The landowners and usurers were shot, private property in land abolished, the lease agreements destroyed and the land divided by the soviets amongst the poor and middle peasants. The Red Army, which represents the interests of the peasants and which is the advance guard of the peasant revolution, was of course welcomed everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm by the revolutionary masses of the peasantry. Everywhere the young peasants are flocking into the ranks of the red armies. The army of the workers and peasants is however not only trained militarily, but also politically. It is not only its task to exterminate the enemy militarily, but also to enlighten the masses of the peasantry politically and win them for the idea of the soviets.

India

The War on the North-West Frontier of India.

A Prelude to the War against the Soviet Union.

By V. Chattpadhyaya.

The savage war that is being waged by the MacDonald Government against the independent tribes of the North-West Frontier of India deserves the closest attention of the workers of the world. European imperialism has conducted a number of such wars during the last twelve years, as e. g., the French and Spanish wars against the Moroccans, the French war against the Druses in Syria, the Italian war in Tripolis, the British attack on the Arabs of Palestine and on the Nubar tribes in the Sudan. But the present campaign on the North-West Frontier of India is of even greater importance because of its immediate connection with the coming war that is being planned by British imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Wars on that Frontier are nothing new in the history of British imperialist aggression. Between 1858 and 1922, according to the Simon Commission's Report just issued, there have been no less than 72 "military expeditions", i. e., an average of one war every year, against those freedom-loving tribes, whom British imperialist propaganda has systematically stigmatised as "wild", "unruly" and "barbarous", in order to create moral justification for its wanton attacks on their liberty. As far as the tribes themselves are concerned, they have hitherto successfully resisted every attempt to reduce them to subjection, although regiments recruited from among them have taken part in Britains wars abroad and they have often made themselves feared during their raids into India by plundering Indian peasants and shopkeepers.

But the general revolt of the tribes that is now in progress shows three new characteristics that were entirely absent in previous wars with the British. Firstly, the offensive of the tribes aims at the overthrow of British imperialism altogether and not merely at preserving their own liberty. Secondly, the tribes are acting for the first time in solidarity with the Indian masses, as is shown by the complete absence of looting and by their armed support of the Indian revolutionaries in Peshawar, Kohat and other towns of the Panjab frontier. Thirdly, there are for the first time signs of a revolutionary movement among the tribes themselves, as is shown by the organisation of their youth in the "Red Shirts".

While this remarkable development is due to their miserable economic condition and to the growing agrarian discontent throughout the North-West, it has undoubtedly been stimulated also by the ideological influence exercised by the very existence of the Soviet Union.

Before the War, the enormous military and secret service expenditure, the unproductive and costly network of strategic railways in the North-West, the numerous wars and military expeditions against Afghanistan and the independent tribes, were all justified by the British imperialists on the ground of the "Russian menace", i. e., the imperialist expansion of Tsarist Russia into India. The clash between the two rival imperialist powers was averted by robber agreements in 1907 regarding "spheres of influence" in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. But war and revolution swept Tsarist Russia out of existence, and its place has been taken by a free Russia that is a standing warning to all imperialist oppressors and a message of liberty to the oppressed nations. To this free Russia of the workers and peasants, enslaved India is a danger. It is the British menace to Soviet Russia that has to be realised and fought against by the workers of the world, and they must therefore not only give their most active support to the Indian revolution but make special efforts to paralyse the whole military apparatus that is being set in motion on the North-West Frontier.

The British imperialists, however, still continue their cry of the "Russian menace", so as to mobilise support for their war plans among the Indian propertied class. How far this imperialist propaganda has effected the thought of the "educated" Indian is shown by the following statement made by Professor B. G. Sare in discussing the question of the

"defence" of India on the North-West Frontier in his recent book on the Indian Constitution:

"The danger of Soviet Russia beyond Afghanistan is as imminent as ever. The agents and emissaries of that Government have been continually busy, and it is difficult to foresee what the ultimate consequences will be of their revolutionary and mischievous propaganda."

As a matter of fact, every effort is being made by British imperialism to show that the movement of the tribes has been directly engineered by the Soviet Government. The suggestion was made in the proclamation of May 12th of the Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province to the tribal chiefs. And the thought was uppermost in the mind of the Liberal M. P., Dr. Burgin, when in the debate on Soviet Russia on June 6th in the House of Commons he declared:

"If Moscow, in spite of being aware of the feeling in the House of Commons and in the country, systematically attempts to spread discontent among the tribes and the peasants on the North-West Frontier of India, the British Foreign Minister must take steps to find a remedy."

It is clear that the "forward schools" of imperialists are seeking a pretext for their war preparations against the Soviet Union, and the present campaign against the tribes has given them the opportunity of using their Air Force and bombing-planes as a training and a rehearsal for the coming War.

That the "epoch-making changes" to be introduced in the Indian Army by the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Philip Chetwode, who is succeeding Sir William Birdwood, are directed against Soviet Russia, is frankly asserted by Wilson, formerly Editor of the semi-official "Pioneer" of Allahabad and now Editor of the "Indian Daily Mail" of Bombay, who is known to have very close connections with authoritative men in military circles. The new Commander-in-Chief is said to represent a more "modern school" than the retiring chief. He and his staff are of the opinion that "the danger to India (!) from beyond the North-Western Frontier can no longer be met in the old way". In the issue of April 4th, Wilson writes:

"The idea of mobile columns penetrating into the passes and supported with various lines of defence does not find favour with the new type of soldier. The plan which will be put into operation will have as its main feature a flanking base at Karachi, with a light extremely mobile fringe of defence troops on the edge of the passes, while the principal method of defence will be an attack on the communications of the enemy in Afghanistan and beyond from the air. This is of course assuming that Russia is the enemy."

In addition to this, arrangements are to be made for efficient gas drilling and for bottling gas in large quantities on the Frontier, for, as Wilson writes, "if ever there was a place which could be bottled up with gas, it is the Frontier."

In view of the fact that the principal weapon employed against the Soviet Union will be attacks from the air not only from the Indian frontier with Karachi as the air-base, but from the Western Border States, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland and Rumania, the present war on the Frontier where hundreds of aeroplanes have been bombing the tribes with thousands of pounds of explosives is of more than usual significance. The workers of the world and particularly the British workers should hinder the manufacture and transport not only of guns, warships and troops to India, but also of aeroplanes, aeroplane parts and gas which are to play so deadly a part in the plan for the destruction of the Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

Problems of the Revolution in India.

By Karl Radek.

I. Indian Capitalism and English Imperialism.

(Conclusion.)

In as far as this latter process is going on, it does not signify the emancipation of India from paying tribute to English imperialism, but the **growth of its dependence** and the increase of this tribute, with the sole difference that the trading profit is superseded by the industrial profit. The loans given by European capitalists to the United States of America during the capitalist youth of that country did not enslave America, but accelerated its independent development into the greatest capitalist power, for the proportion of these loans to the national income of the young capitalist country, with its enormous and growing home markets, was inconsiderable. Had English capitalism not suffered as it has indubitably done since the war, and had the extent of the English export of capital to India been in accordance with those fantastic imaginings and expectations which represent one of the bases of reformist perspectives with regard to India, then this would have meant the growth of India's independence of England, and not its weakening. In view of the existing interweaving of the interests of English imperialism and Indian feudalism, it would signify the **strengthening of that whole Asiatic-feudal-imperialist system which is throttling India, and not the weakening of this system.**

Finally, it must not be forgotten for a moment that Indian policy is not made by some abstract class of historical tendencies and subordinates itself to historical necessities, but by a **living English bourgeoisie in whose policy the gentlemen of the "Indian Office", and the Colonial military and civil bureaucracy, elements entirely at one with the ruling strata of the English bourgeoisie, play a much greater rôle than all the MacDonalds**, even were we to assume that it has been proved — and we have no reason to do this — that these last are extremely anxious to improve the situation of the Indian people. The Colonial bureaucrats and officers are fighting not only for their high salaries, not only for those 200 million roubles of savings which they send year for year to England. In their struggle against the policy of concessions they can refer to such facts as that for instance, that whilst Japan expends about 300 million roubles yearly (figures from 1926) for its fleet and army, India spends 600 million roubles annually for its direct and indirect "defence". 50 % of the total Indian state expenditure is for the immediate purposes of war. To this must be added the expenditure of a concealed military character, such as the payment of state debts and the building of railways, so that military expenditure, in the opinion of the English financial experts, amounts to 70 % of the Indian budget. Thus write the German reformists Schrader and Furtwängler in their book "Das werkstädtige Indien" (Working India), (Berlin, 1929, p. 80). **India pays not only for its chains, but to a considerable extent for the defence of British interests in the East.** India signifies the basis of English imperialism in the East, and English imperialism will protect this basis to the utmost of its power.

All the promises made by the English government, where these go beyond the extension of local self administration, or of the increased participation of the leaders of the Indian bourgeoisie in the administration of India, are pure swindle. **The solution of Dominion Status for India, that is, the placing of India in the same position as Canada, Australia, and South America, is simply Utopian.** The Conservative die-hards who admit this speak the truth, and the Liberals and the Labour Party people who maintain the contrary are either fools or hypocrites. The position of the English dominions is that of practically independent small countries in which chiefly English capital has built up the economy, in which the bourgeoisie is mainly English, and whose essential character is that of an extension of the British Empire. Where they have not been able to protect themselves (for instance Australia against Japan) they have agreed to certain restrictions of their independence with respect to their foreign policy, and have granted certain privileges to English imperialism, which has

however not interfered in any way in their internal affairs, nor lived at their expense. In proportion as the Australian and Canadian bourgeoisie have developed their own industries, they have resisted the attempts of English imperialism to find a means of escape from its economic difficulties at their expense. It was these attempts to league the Dominions more closely with the Motherland which **shipwrecked Joe Chamberlain's policy**, and which will shipwreck the policy of Beaverbrook and Mond, who are striving to renew Chamberlain's effort in the present acuter stage of the crisis of British imperialism. The Dominions, under the influence of the growth of the world power of the United States, have turned to the money market of New York, and in 1921 they helped the United States to force England to abandon the alliance with Japan. **The Dominions have developed towards complete independence.** Dominion Status for India would signify first of all an onset against the unbearable war burdens now crushing it, and a struggle for the replacement of English bureaucracy by Indian. Gandhi himself found himself obliged, in his ultimatum to the Viceroy, to demand *inter alia* a 50% reduction of the war expenditure and of the salaries of the higher English bureaucracy, and this although Gandhi is notoriously of the opinion that the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie render the maintenance of the connection with England necessary. The weakening of the rule of British imperialism in India would signify such a weakening of feudal imperialist positions in India that the next day would raise the question, if not immediately of the liquidation, at least of the bridling of the whole regime of feudal imperialist exploitation, the question of the transference of the bureaucratic administration of India, scantily covered with the figleaf of legislative institutions participated in by representatives of 3% of the population, at least into the hands of bourgeois democracy. **India as Dominion would signify that English imperialism makes the Indian people a present of nine tenths of the independence of India. It is possible to gain complete independence by fighting for it, but it is not possible to be given the half or nine tenths of independence as a present.**

This being the actual position, a fresh outbreak of opposition against English imperialism was inevitable, even on the part of the national reformist bourgeoisie of India, which strangled the revolution of 1922, and is ready to betray another hundred revolutions. That Indian bourgeoisie which betrayed the revolution of 1922, and broke off the struggle in its fear of that revolution, expects concessions from English imperialism; but it has not even been permitted to take part in the Simon Commission for the investigation of the situation in India. This is tantamount to telling it that it is the object, and not the subject, of English policy. It has not been allowed to secure a majority for the Indian National Congress representing the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, in the conference of the "Round Table" which is to be assembled to confer on the question of India's new constitution. It has been told: **English imperialism is not going to alter its social basis in India; it has complete faith only in the feudal lords, the princes, the compradore bourgeoisie.** And finally, after MacDonald had commanded the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, on 31st October 1929, to dangle before the eyes of the Indian bourgeoisie the Fata Morgana of Dominion Status, he was obliged to declare in Parliament, when pressed against the wall by the Conservatives, that **there is no change impending in English policy in India.** The prophecy contained in the resolution of the Committee has proved true in every respect:

"The independence of the country in relation to imperialism, being to the advantage of the whole colonial people, corresponds also to the interests of the national bourgeoisie, but is in irreconcilable contradiction to the whole nature of the imperialist system. Various native capitalists, it is true, are by their immediate interests to the great extent bound by numerous threads to imperialist capital. Imperialism is able directly to bribe a considerable portion of them (it may be even a greater portion than heretofore) and to create a definite Compradore position, a position of intermediary trader, subexploiter or observer over the enslaved population.

But the position of slave owner, of monopolist supreme exploiter, imperialism reserves for itself alone.

Independent rule, a future of 'free' people—this imperialism will never voluntarily yield to the national bourgeoisie. In this respect, the contradiction of interests between the national bourgeoisie of the colonial country and imperialism is objectively of a radical character. In this respect, imperialism demands capitulation on the part of the national bourgeoisie.

The native bourgeoisie, as the weaker side, again and again capitulates to imperialism. Its capitulation, however, is not final as long as the danger of class revolution on the part of the masses has not become immediate, acute and menacing."

This is how history actually puts the question to the Indian bourgeoisie—capitulation or struggle. It has not been able to capitulate immediately, not only because this would have signified the complete renunciation of the defence of its capitalist interests, but because it would have signified the loss of the leadership over the petty bourgeoisie of the cities and over the peasantry, and a direct surrender of the hegemony to the proletariat.

In our next article we shall deal with the inner class relationships in India, which are impetuously breaking down the confines of the national reformist struggle against imperialism. In this question too the resolution of the VI. World Congress foresees all the difficulties facing the Indian communists, and laid down the correct tactical line to be adopted.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Woollen Strike in Great Britain.

By W. Rust (London).

The great strike of the woollen workers has entered a new and decisive stage marked by the growing power of the Central Strike Committee and a new desperate attempt on the part of the Labour Government, trade Union bureaucracy and employers to deal a heavy blow at the strike and to drive the workers back.

The taking of a ballot was one of the means employed by the trade union officials in order to spread confusion and defeatism. At the same time the officials made a further offer to accept the MacMillan Award (a wage cut of approximately 10%) spread over several months.

The result of the ballot, which was confined to members of the trade unions, extremely discomfited the bureaucrats, for in the eight weeks of the struggle 67% of the workers voted for continuing the struggle. In some unions the percentage was much higher, e. g., no less than 81% of the members of the National Woolsorters Society voted for remaining on strike.

This result is all the more significant in view of the fact that the ballot papers were worded in a confusing fashion and the union officials made a big effort to get a majority for calling off the strike.

Following upon the declaration of the ballot result a meeting of trade union bureaucrats was held, at which it was decided to dissolve the National Association of Unions in the Textile Trade and to give the constituent unions the right to conclude whatever agreements they can.

This move means the abandonment of all claims to a collective agreement and gives the bureaucracy of each union bigger opportunities of carrying through strike breaking manœuvres. Three unions have now definitely decided to call off the strike, including the Woolcombers Society which organises the key men of the industry.

But the strike goes on under the leadership of the revolutionary Central Strike Committee, which has been demonstrated to be the real leader of the strike.

The trade union officials are assisted by the social-fascist violence against pickets and demonstrators and by the "good offices" of the representatives of the Ministry of Labour. Also the lordly Ramsay MacDonald is talking about "intervening".

On the other hand the political issues are becoming clearer to the masses and are made still clearer by these

latest moves, the strikers have eight weeks experience behind them and the bulk of the strikers in Shipley and Bradford are still firm.

The whole situation was fully discussed at the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, and a comprehensive resolution was adopted.

The Central Committee took as its starting point the revolutionary character of the struggle and its significance as a struggle against the Labour Government under revolutionary leadership. The specific revolutionary characteristics of the strike were stated to be:

1) It is a mass offensive strike in which masses of workers for the first time stand under the revolutionary leadership of the Communist Party and Minority Movement. This is the outstanding feature of the strike showing the development of a new phase of the class struggle on a higher plane than hitherto, the growth of the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. It is a great victory for the Communist Party hastening the development of a mass Party able to lead the working class in the revolutionary class battle.

2) It takes place in a basic industry, which is in a state of permanent crisis; during the world economic crisis and a growing political and economic crisis in the British Empire.

3) It is conducted in the teeth of the attack of the Labour Government and is marked by a breaking through of the combined forces of the Labour Government, employers and union officials and shows a marked decline in the influence of reformism over masses of workers.

In appraising the situation and laying down what must be done in order to lead the strike to victory the Central Committee did not hesitate to expose all opportunist tendencies, specifically condemned the mistakes made and whilst emphasising the need for a more systematic fight against the main danger, which comes from the right, it also showed the need for the fight against the "left" sectarianism which has shown dangerous forms.

Without question the Party has pursued a correct political line, come forward as the independent leader of the working class and made a determined effort to apply the tactics of the united front. Serious mistakes have been made, however, in the application of the line.

The chief right mistake of the leadership of the Party has been the serious under-estimation of the radicalisation of the masses and their willingness to struggle. This was shown in the insufficient attention given to the preparations for the struggle, the failure to send adequate forces to Yorkshire, and the fact that the "Daily Worker" did not conduct a systematic woollen textile campaign.

The "Strike Now" slogan advanced by the Party leadership in the preparatory period was the "Left" reflection of this right mistake, a typical example of the substitution of bold phrases for mass work. This mistake gravely hindered the preparations for strike action in the mills.

The gravest weakness in the present situation is the failure to consolidate the influence of the revolutionary Central Strike Committee by the formation of strike committees on a mill basis and the development of the Minority Movement.

The importance of the committees has been greatly underestimated and a passive resistance has been displayed by many comrades, shown in a tendency to place mill committees in contradiction with other forms of mass work, to regard mass demonstrations and picketing as a substitute for the committees and to excuse the neglect of this work on the grounds that sufficient revolutionary propaganda had not been carried out.

Opinions have been expressed which show a misunderstanding of the social-fascist role of the trade union officials, shown for example, in the conception that the bureaucrats have been driven by mass pressure to fight against the employers and on the other hand that reformism has little or no influence.

Consequently, insufficient attention has been devoted to the detailed and systematic exposure of the treacherous manœuvres of the trade union bureaucracy.

There has been a marked tendency on the part of some comrades to leap ahead of the masses and to indulge in revolutionary phrasemongering such as describing the strike as "a struggle for power", issuing calls for mass political strikes and idle talk about the formation of new unions.

This "left" sectarianism was shown very sharply by the

PROLETARIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT

Political Resolution of the YCI. on the Japanese YCL.

1. The YCL. of Japan is conducting its activities under extremely difficult conditions, under most severe blows of government reaction, under a shower of lies and abuses from the Social Fascist and renegades of Communism. At the price of exceptional courage and numerous sacrifices it has achieved a number of successes in its work. Among the latter the following political and practical achievements should be included: its struggle against liquidators and open legalists, the beginning of creation of a network of auxiliary organisations, the organisation and carrying out of a number of anti-militarist actions, the strengthening of its press and its militant campaign in connection with the parliamentary elections.

2. However, the position of the League remains extremely unsatisfactory, and for the last year notwithstanding the favourable objective situation in the country the League has not become strong and as yet remains a narrow sect which does not head the daily struggle of the working youth. This situation is chiefly the result of a series of political mistakes committed by the League and the consequence of the strongest pressure of the sectarian and legalist tendencies, which are characteristic of all its development. Especially important is the mistake of the CC. of the League committed recently when it took up a course of recruiting chiefly among students and the intellectuals into the League which has brought to an absolutely unsatisfactory state the social composition of the League. This testifies to the fact that the League does not as yet sufficiently understand the proletarian character of the YCL. and the leading rôle of the working youth in it.

3. The sectarian tendencies which are the chief expression of the "Left" deviation in the YCLJ. are manifested in its inability and its reluctance to utilise its influence in the legal movement for the purpose of strengthening the illegal YCL., in its fear to draw in new members into the League, in the desire to preserve "the class cleanliness of its ranks" by drawing in only "educated Marxist" elements (hence the League's student composition), in the existence of tendencies to deny the necessity of work in reformist trade unions, in the sectarian and plotters conception of the principles of organisation structure in general and factory nuclei in particular, in the neglect of work for disintegrating the numerous mass bourgeois organisations of the youth. It is especially important to note a certain tendency to reject mass legal forms of activity expressed in the attempt to lay the blame for the present sectarian condition of the YCL. on other mass political proletarian organisations, on the basis that they had competed with the YCL.

All these tendencies which are often covered up by "revolutionary" radical phrases in reality tend to hide the incapability and indisposal to carry out hard daily work amongst the masses and in the mass organisations, and inability to take its stand at the head of the daily struggles of the working youth. They have brought the League to a condition, where it is lagging more and more behind the tempo of radicalisation of the masses, behind the development of the struggles of the working youth. The seriousness of this "Left" sectarian danger is increased by the fact that the League as yet does not see this danger and does not struggle against it.

4. The Right danger in the YCLJ. is expressed chiefly in liquidatory and legalistic tendencies, but it is not limited to these alone. The CC. and the whole League whilst struggling decisively against open liquidators and legalists has not developed a wide struggle against the Right deviation in all its expressions, has not begun to struggle against it in the practical work of the League. The CC. has made a mistake of a legalist nature when in its "political thesis" it defined the struggle for the legalisation of the YCL. as the main task of the League. As such must be acknowledged the practice of

the League in not coming out openly before the masses, completely concealing itself behind legal organisations, and to dissolve itself in the legal movement. Finally, a number of opportunist mistakes which have not been corrected up till now, the presence of Right moods, theories and practice (tactics of united front from above with the apparatus of the Social Democracy, under-estimation of the treacherous rôle of the Social Democratic youth organisations, over-estimation of friction between the Social Democratic youth organisations and the adult organisations, a tendency to conciliate with the newly arising "labour" and "peasant" parties, instead of merciless struggle against them, under-estimation of the radicalisation of the masses of working youth, non-understanding of the necessity of independent leadership of its struggle) testify to the seriousness of the Right danger in the League.

5. The developing world economic crisis of which Japan is one of the chief centres, by greatly contracting the industry and rapidly increasing the army of unemployed worsens the conditions of the masses and is pushing them on the road of revolutionary struggle. The approaching revolutionary upsurge in the country creates even more favourable conditions for the development of the YCL. for its transformation into a mass organisation.

6. The Japanese YCL. will be able to strengthen its position and to come out on the road to real mass struggle only in the case when it will relentlessly struggle on two fronts, against the Right danger as the main one and against the "Left" sectarian deviation as the principal hindrance on the road towards mass work. Decisively correcting the Right mistakes made in its activity, organising on this basis the masses for struggle against Right opportunism, the League must at the same time mobilise the League membership for the uprooting of the "Left" tendencies and sectarian practice, exposing concrete cases and denouncing concrete standard bearers of them.

From this standpoint the main tasks which are facing the YCL. are the following:

a) Organisation of the working youth for struggle against the capitalist offensive, against rationalisation, against unemployment, against the white terror, for its economic and political demands. Decisive turn of the League towards the factories and mills, to the economic struggle of the working youth, working out of a programme of partial demands for the youth in the main branches of industry and for the unemployed youth, work for the strengthening of left trade unions and struggle for the disintegration of reformist trade unions. A constant explanation to all League members that this can be achieved only by hard daily work amongst the masses of working youth.

Strictly remembering that the main and principal task is the building and strengthening of the illegal YCL., to utilise broadly all legal possibilities for the creation of new auxiliary organisations, of such a character, for such purposes and under such slogans that will correspond to the concrete situation and will win the support and participation of working youth. Simultaneously it is necessary to organise and develop further youth sections in the trade and peasant unions, sport clubs and workers defence corps.

b) Urgent measures for the organisational strengthening of the League, organisation of a special recruiting campaign from the standpoint of radically improving the social composition of the League, the creation in the nearest future of shop and factory nuclei in the most important factories.

c) To commence activities in the mass opponent organisations and above all in the government organisations, in the workers and peasants youth leagues and socialist youth leagues. To put as a concrete task the creation of an oppositional movement within them, their disintegration and the recruiting of tested young workers into the YCL., to decisively correct the mistakes in the application of the united front tactics.

d) Widening of its work in the village from the standpoint of strengthening of the Left peasant unions and youth sections in them. To begin work amongst the agricultural youth labourers placing this in the centre of the entire League work in the village. To put as an urgent and important task the organisation of a number of nuclei of the youth agricultural labourers.