

THE EVENTS IN INDIA

The Naval "Pact"

In recent weeks the struggle of the Indian proletariat and peasantry against the intense exploitation of British imperialism and their home bourgeoisie, and for independence has been intensified. In Calcutta 19 were killed and over 100 injured in a demonstration against the domination of British capitalism. One killed and over thirty-three injured in Karachi. Similar conditions are to be observed everywhere. Trolley cars turned over and burned, telegraph wires cut, means of communication destroyed, are evidence of the temper of the masses. The British government is using every conceivable form of repression against the Indian proletariat. Armored cars, police armed with guns, lances, and sticks, militia, and civil troops are mobilized to thwart the struggle.

Thus far the movement is under the leadership of the Swaraj Party, the organization of the national bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie. Under the head of Gandhi with a policy of non-resistance, the movement is being misled into channels that will spell its death. When the Indian Nationalist Party, through the initiative of Gandhi, adopted at their congress in January, the resolution calling for "complete Indian independence" it only expressed the pressure of the masses. Gandhi's "march to the sea," with the intentions of boycotting the salt laws, and in this manner struggle for independence, carried with it elements that destroyed the original purpose. It must be remembered that the policy of Gandhi and the Party is that the independence of India can only be gained through a boycotting of the products of Great Britain and a "struggle" for independence with a policy of non-resistance (non-violence) to the British government. "Non-resistance" to the severe exploitation that the Indian masses undergo, to the shooting of striking and demonstrating workers, can only result in the betrayal of the revolutionary movement in India.

The Masses Struggle Despite Gandhi

Paradoxical as it may seem, Gandhi's mobilization of the masses, on the basis of non-resistance has already taken the form of militant struggle and RESISTANCE to the masses to the brutal regime of the British "Socialist" government. The demonstrating workers have taken the only possible course in the struggle against the domination of the British government—open struggle and resistance. It has as always overstepped the limits which the policy of Gandhi places on the movement for independence.

India is the foundation rock of the British Empire. The British investment in India today is over four billion dollars. Over fourteen percent of the British exports are sent to India. It is easy to understand, then, why the struggle of the Indian proletariat and peasantry for independence will meet the stubborn resistance of the British government. That stubborn resistance is already exhibited in the present reprisals. One can easily see how much firmer will be the resistance of the British government when the movement for independence outstrips its present stage and reaches the point of an open conquest for power.

The British Labor Government Defends the Empire

The role of the "socialist" government of Great Britain is highly illuminating. The policy of Baldwin and the Conservative Party and MacDonald and the Labor Party alike is the use of violence against the Indian masses. Both defend the interests of British capitalism with enthusiasm. This is understandable, when we recall that one of the planks of the MacDonald administration is to save the tottering Empire. One cannot say that efforts of MacDonald and his "socialist" government in this direction have been lacking. The role of the Labor government in India is only an additional commentary to the fact that the only solution for the proletariat is the complete destruction of capitalism and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

One of the sad features in the present situation in India is the almost total lack of a Communist Party. The policy of the Communist International in India calls for the organization of almost every kind of Party except that of a bona fide Communist

Party. The Stalin leadership continues to carry over the same policy that was responsible for the glaring defeat suffered in China. The organization of a Workers and Peasants Party remains on the agenda of the Comintern in India. This flows from its false orientation that the revolution in India must be accomplished through and together with the national bourgeoisie. It led to the subordination of the Communist Party and its eventual collapse in China. It can have no other result in India. Neither the big bourgeoisie nor the petty bourgeoisie can lead a successful revolution for the overthrow of British imperialism. Neither can this be done by the most revolutionary trade unions. For that, the leadership of a Communist Party, which centralizes the political action of the masses, which gives it direction in the struggle, and prepares the revolution, is necessary. Without a genuine Communist Party capable of carrying out such tasks, one cannot hope for a successful struggle of the revolutionary masses in India. —A.G.

The Persecutions of the Indonesian Revolutionaries

Hundreds of comrades in Indonesia (Dutch East Indies) have been deported in recent years to the island New Guinea for their participation in the revolutionary movement of their native country.

Immediately after the revolts of November, 1926 and January, 1927 (in West Java and West Sumatra), the colonial government took revenge by the arrest of several hundred of comrades all over the Archipelago. The greatest part of them were not involved in the revolts. They were leaders of Indonesian labor unions, local leaders in the political movement. All of them have been isolated in a special camp—three hundred kilometers inland on the borders of the river Digoel at Tanah-Merah.

After some time the government split the camp and established a new one for the comrades whose mentality was "irreconcilable." At least 1500 Indonesians have been brought to Tanah-Merah, of whom some hundreds are inside the new camp at Tanah-Tinggi.

They have to stay there indefinitely; the power of the governor-general could deport them without any sentence (leure de cachet!)

In the most important daily paper of Holland, *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* of March 7, a telegram from Batavia was published. From this telegram we know that since August 1929 many efforts have been undertaken by the deported comrades to escape from the camp. In the so-called People's Council at Batavia, the representative of the governor-general declared (March 6th) that 61 comrades disappeared. Until now, all of them except 8 have been brought back, though 41 passed the boundary and may have thought that their march of more than 600 kilometres with terrible difficulties and dangers had the result that they had regained their liberty.

Demand the Right of Asylum

The authorities of Papua territory annihilated finally their hope. They were thrown in jail because... they had acted against the regulation for immigration! The court sentenced them for this reason and decided their deportation. In this way the Dutch authorities got the chance to send a steamer to Thursday Island. We learn from the "Statesman's Year Book of 1929" that the governor of that territory, who is the responsible man, has to obey the orders of the governor-general in Australasia. Obviously, the power of the colonial department, in London counts with these colonial officials. Will the Labor Government of England, of Ramsay MacDonald respect the right of Asylum regarding coloured revolutionaries? It recently abandoned and refused this Right of Asylum for politicals in the case of comrade L. D. Trotsky who applied for admission to England.

Meanwhile, it is the duty of all workers to declare their solidarity with the Indonesian comrades. Every effort should be made to prevent the return of these coloured fighters into the hands of the Dutch government which viciously treats the political prisoners.

The final text for the Three-Power Naval agreement is being prepared for its signing. The farce in London lends additional knowledge to the fakery of the imperialists in their pretensions of disarmament. The conference could not overcome the contradictions of the powers present and resulted in a sham treaty of three nations. Even the capitalist press is forced to recognize this. E. L. James in the *New York Times* of April 18, cites as the shortcomings of the conference, the following:

"One, failure to achieve any radical reduction in the war fleets of the world; for limitation of the navies of America, England and Japan involves no great cuts and leaves the world facing additional construction by the other powers.

"Two, failure to limit the fleets of the five nations as proposed when the conference began.

"Three, failure to make three-power limitation absolutely definite, since the contingent clause will permit greater building by England, and consequently by America and Japan, should the French and Italian building increase.

"Four, failure to agree on the eventual abolition of battleships, as desired by the English.

"Five, failure to abolish submarines, as suggested by America and Britain."

The "Safeguard Clause"—Build Larger Navies

The "safe-guard clause" in the treaty which will permit additional naval construction tears the veil from the agreement. The "socialist" Chancellor of the Exchequer, Snowden, denies very sharply that the clause had in mind the construction of armaments by other powers thereby giving permission to further construction by those countries making up the treaty. The Americans are more blunt.

Senator David Reed, one of the leading delegates of the United States declared: "It is perfectly reasonable that we should be protected against a sudden outburst of building by some other power... Yes, without consultation... Great Britain would simply notify us and begin to build... Then the United States and Japan would get in touch—through diplomatic channels and not by a conference... Each of us would be free to build... I want to say again that this agreement has been reached in an atmosphere of perfect good will... Nobody was forced to give up anything."

And so, we have "disarmament"! The conference concludes with the greatest lessons for the working class. The proletariat must be on guard constantly against the menace of war. The conference met only to gauge the strength of the various capitalist powers; and to agree that their common enemy was the working class of the Soviet Union. The three-power treaty carries with it all the explosives for the conflict, and was a last minute resort to keep the conference from collapsing without even a show.

SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE UP 61%

NEW YORK—Soviet purchases and sales in the U. S. from October 1929 to April amounted to \$98,000,000, a gain of 61% over last year's first half figures, according to an announcement of the Amtorg Trading Corp. The purchases of American industries, agricultural and automotive equipment and supplies, totalling \$56,700,000, were nearly four times those of the corresponding half-year of 1928-29. Orders for industrial and transportation equipment, totalling \$24,800,000, increased 2 1-2 times, while purchases of agricultural equipment, valued at \$24,700,000 increased more than six times.

PHILA. SHOE WORKERS AWAIT MILITANT UNION LEAD

PHILADELPHIA—(FP)—Shoe workers in the Quaker City are awaiting leadership to unionize their industry. The example of the Laird-Schobler strike last year has proved that cobblers can fight and stick.

Never have conditions been worse than now. Cutters are earning \$18 to \$25 a week, where formerly they got \$40 to \$50; fitters get \$15 to \$25 against a previous scale of \$70-80.

Formerly wages averaged, year around, about \$32 a week for shoe workers but now they feel fortunate to knock out an annual wage equivalent to \$20 a week.

WAGE CUTS THREATEN DENVER LABOR

DENVER—(FP)—While the state industrial commission is blocking wage increases on the basis of the request of Pres. Hoover, wage cuts and layoffs continue without interruption.

Union bakery workers have just been served notice that their scale of \$32 a week is to be cut to \$26 a week on May 1. During a previous strike the union conducted a cooperative bakery and whipped the bosses in a strenuous fight.

Railroad shops are laying off men steadily; the tramway has just consolidated lines in such a way as to cut down its force; Montgomery Ward has fired 140 workers in two weeks; the building trades are hard hit.

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MINNEAPOLIS—(FP)—Over loud and boisterous protests of the American Legion and several civic organizations, the Minneapolis Central Labor Union has obtained the city auditorium for a protest meeting on unemployment April 23.

Crises in Italian Fascism

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thehevik Party during the war, the first mass movements which accompanied the face of Tsarism emanated essentially from the peasants in the army and countryside. We know that the spontaneous tendency of these movements, from the political point of view, resulted in the "defensism" of Kamenev and Zinoviev, whose position was beaten down by Lenin in April, 1917, and that the proletariat was able to intervene in the course of events, to rise and conquer in the name also of the interests of the peasants.

The agrarian zone of capitalist economy is that destined to feel the first reaction of the economic crisis by virtue of its secondary position in the economic fabric. On the other hand the tentacles of the capitalist defensive apparatus on the countryside are lighter and more tenuous than in the industrial cities. Police forces are very inferior and at the same time the fascist ranks are depleted by the development of the economic situation and can no longer serve as "shock troops" of the reaction. In the cities the shock troops are recruited by the police forces and not by the fascist organization. Today Mussolini authorized the "free withdrawal" from these organizations. He remembers that in the Matteotti case, many of the forces of Fascism deserted in the face of danger.

The inferior quality of the capitalist defence in the country provides a quicker chance of explosion than the city. But if in the country, revolt is easier than in the city, resistance there is incomparably more difficult. A local movement in the country is fated to be rapidly strangled by the mobilization of another locality. In the city the local movement has far greater chances of resistance.

Unite Faenza and Milan under Communist Leadership for the Proletarian Revolution

For real results in Italy it is necessary to coordinate the movements in both town and country.

The fact that the event in Milan was separated from Faenza by only a few days, justifies us in establishing that a change is effecting itself in the fighting capacity of the Italian workers. But to organize its resistance, a force capable of leading to battle is required. At the moment when the new offensive of capitalism on the workers is opening, in a situation which compared with that of the Matteotti period, is far more favorable to revolutionary developments, we must examine recent experiences objectively and without illusions. They teach us that, bounded by the limits of social-democracy and Centrism, the anti-fascist movements in Italy are fated to result in a new success for capitalism.

These experiences confirm for us that only with a Communist program, and thanks only to Communists (and not to the Right or Centrism which have been definitely compromised in the Italian and international movement) can the liberation of the Italian proletariat be realized.

To unite Faenza and Milan, the struggle of the proletariat and peasantry, to give these movements the possibility of developing, can only be the work of the Communist program applied by Communists in their own Party.

—From *PROLETAR*