

let loose the mass revolt by blowing up railways and town halls and by attacks on their own premises (!!).

"Between their defeats and the blows from the whip of Moscow, the Communist movement in Germany has arrived at the most insane ideas. It is therefore not impossible that the idea arose, by means of an act which they would impute to others, to give the signal for a Communist rising.

"The communications made by the investigating judge to the Leipzig Court resemble in many respects an international detective novel. But as the prerequisites for such a novel are not unknown in the practice of the Communist International . . . this impression is no counter-proof. . . .

"The German social democrats have already had sufficient experience regarding the criminal and frightfully stupid actions of the German and International Communists."

International social fascism, whose "left-wing" does not know what its "right-wing" is doing, which is capable of selling the Brown Book together with such pamphlets, must be exposed in the eyes of the workers. They must not forget what these same people asserted yesterday; what they assert in similar cases to-day, and what they are capable of asserting and doing to-morrow.

India

The Present Situation in India

(Continued)

The total absence of the Communist Party (1928-30) played a decisive role in the unsuccessful result of the Bombay strikes of that time. It also explains the fact that the process of differentiation and separation of the revolutionary wing from the national-reformists (in 1929-32) took the form of splitting the trade unions, splits provoked by the national-reformists. The Red trade unions, which to a certain extent replaced the Party, served as the only arena on which the ideological and organisational splitting of the Communists from reformism took place. Some Communists were unable to understand that the struggle against reformism did not necessarily mean the splitting of mass organisations, and in any case never meant that the Communists and class-conscious workers should leave those mass trade unions which were led by reformists and national-reformists. And it is not a contradiction at all, that at the same time it was correct to build Red trade unions where conditions allowed. The task of taking the initiative in the building of Red trade unions does not contradict, but on the contrary simultaneously presupposes, active work in mass reformist trade unions. A sectarian policy of withdrawal from trade unions led to the strengthening of the position of the bourgeoisie and their agents, gave them a free hand to fool the workers.

Other Communists at the same time were unable to understand that work in the reformist trade unions or unity with the national-reformist trade union organisations (which we must not give up even now) not only does not mean to slow down our criticism of the reformist leaders, but presupposes more energetic and clearer struggle of the Communists against reformism for Communist policy, for our slogans and proposals. Agreements with the national-reformists in the trade unions, strike committees, for individual campaigns and concrete mass actions, or even amalgamation of the Red and those national-reformist trade unions where the latter have masses must not lead to the abandonment of the independence of the Communist Party, the rejection of our principles, the rejection of the open defence and propaganda of our views and our right to criticise and expose the vacillations and treachery of the national-reformists. The failure to understand these two views mentioned above explains why some Communists were unable to take the initiative and properly carry on the struggle for the unity of the working class and organise the masses

This is the basis of the confusion on the question of Kandalkar and Co. The struggle against Kandalkar and other "Left" national-reformists does not mean the rejection of work in the reformist trade unions and the application of the tactic of the united front, or even the refusal to merge the Red with the mass national-reformist unions. It is important to understand this and carry it out precisely at the present period, the period of approaching mass economic and political fights. By this means we shall make it easier for the workers to understand the correctness

of revolutionary policy. The success of the resistance of the workers to the attacks of the factory owners and the imperialists depends on the rapid formation of the Communist organisation, the formation of mass trade unions relying on factory committees, energetic everyday practical work and the correct application of the tactic of the united front.

What has been said regarding the Bombay textile proletariat is true with regard to the railway workers, jute workers, coal miners and the workers of other districts. The rise of the strike movement is taking place while peasant discontent is growing. It suffices to read the newspapers ("Advance," etc.), of April, May, etc., to become convinced that the movement of non-payment of debts, taxes and rents is not slowing down. Throughout the country the landlords are bringing hundreds of thousands of cases to courts with the demand forcibly to collect debts from the peasants and drive them from the land. Peasant farms are being sold by auction for the merest trifle. Frequently a cow or bullock to the value of 12-14 rupees is taken in payment of a debt of 12 annas or 1 rupee 4 annas. In Kashmir, Alwar and other districts discontent is growing, the movement is spreading and inflammatory material is accumulating. The policy of small concessions re taxes is not able to stop the peasant movement.

In such conditions the slogan of non-payment of rent, taxes and debts still remains the chief slogan uniting the peasants at the present stage of the movement. This includes the organisation of peasant resistance (meetings, demonstrations, etc.) against the confiscation of property, against evictions, to organise support of the neighbouring peasants against the sale of the holdings of the poor, against the payment of fines and contributions.

The British imperialists are trying to split the toiling masses by using religious and other distinctions. The civilised provocateurs while putting a tax or contribution on some village, compel the Hindus to pay and exempt the Mussulmans, hoping in this way to split the ranks of the toiling peasants and disrupt the united struggle against the imperialists, landlords and usurers. The Communists and all the revolutionaries, the workers and the peasants should stand united against these manoeuvres of the enemy and the treacherous policy of the Congress leaders who help to put down the struggle of the peasants. Our reply must be still more energetic organisation of the peasant masses, formation of the peasant committees and fight against every case of oppression and plunder of the peasant masses.

The Struggle Against the Slave Constitution and the Tactic of the United Front

The project of the feudal-imperialist constitution launched by British imperialism aims at strengthening the rule of the imperialists while adapting itself to new conditions. By bringing in the princes and landlords to a certain limited participation in the government of the country and making some constitutional and economic concessions to the Indian bourgeoisie at the expense of foreign competitors and toiling masses, British imperialism is rallying together the forces of counter-revolution against the Indian people, preparing for a new international war, above all war of intervention against the U.S.S.R. The experience of the entire history of the Indian national movement, especially from 1919 to 1933, shows that the Indian bourgeoisie is dead for the revolution, and the further they go the more they collaborate with imperialism against the revolutionary masses. Experience shows that the National Congress, in spite of a number of peculiarities, is a class organisation of the bourgeoisie connected with the liberal landlords, and it consistently opposes the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution. Experience shows that the path of passive resistance and compromises as preached by the leaders of the National Congress is completely bankrupt and only leads to the further enslavement of India. The Indian experience, like the Chinese experience, once more confirms the prophecy of Lenin: **that in the epoch of imperialism there is no salvation for the colonial peoples except the people's revolution under the leadership of the proletariat headed by the Communist Party.**

The National Congress led by Gandhi has repealed the movement for mass civil disobedience and is trying to replace the struggle against the constitution by a peaceful reformist activity for improving the caste system, etc. This is open support for British imperialism. It is the policy of adaptation to the constitution, the policy of hiding collaboration behind a wordy oppositional chatter.

At the same time, some of the "Left" leaders of the National Congress, such as Bose, have come forward with a proposal to form a new party. It is possible to judge of any party and group by its deeds only and not by its words. The past of Bose does not give reason for confidence. Bose, Nehru and their supporters have completely supported the past policy of Gandhism. In 1928 Bose signed the anti-national constitution of Motilal Nehru, the starting point of which was the rejection of the demand for the independence of India. In 1929, having formed the League of Independence together with Nehru, Bose and his friends quietly buried the League in 1930-32 when Gandhi put forward his eleven points, made a pact with Lord Irwin, etc. Bose split the trade union movement in 1931, trying to isolate the Communists, hiding behind the false accusation against the Communists that they oppose the independence movement. At that time in reality the Communists opposed the participation of the National Congress in the Round Table Conference, opposed the treacherous policy of the leaders of the National Congress. **The "Left" Congressites, including Bose, bear full responsibility for all this policy of betrayal of the people's interests by the National Congress.**

At present (June, 1933), in his appeal to the "third Indian political conference in London," Bose criticises Gandhi, accusing him merely of incapability to make proper compromises with British imperialism. In this appeal Bose continues to preach the theory of non-violence and, instead of calling on the masses for immediate resistance against the constitution, instead of calling to spread the movement of the non-payment of taxes, rent and debts, instead of calling for the preparations for a general strike, etc.—i.e., instead of the mass struggle—he proposes that the masses should wait until Bose and his friends study the experience of other countries. In this way, on the basic question to oppose the attempts of the leaders of the National Congress, to stop and disorganise the mass movement, which makes it easier for the British imperialists to carry through the anti-national constitution, Bose supports Gandhi.

Gandhi and Bose act in unison, although the latter conceals himself behind "Left" phrases. Bose is opposed to the struggle against the constitution being turned into a movement of the millions, giving as a pretext the alleged apathy and the decline of enthusiasm among the people. This is plainly an incorrect statement.

The increasing strikes of the workers, the revolts of the peasants in Alwar, the numerous actions of the toiling masses, the movement for the general strike and the non-payment movement, are all signs of the activity of the masses. The revolutionary people are ready to fight, but they are becoming more and more disappointed by the treacherous policy of the leaders of the National Congress, and are seeking a new path, a new programme, new leaders.

All honest fighters for the independence of India, for land and freedom for the peasants, for an improved lot for the workers, must accept the path and the slogans pointed out in the Platform of Action of the Indian Communist Party. The Indian Communists do not refuse to collaborate and even to make temporary agreements with any national revolutionary group and organisation which is prepared and capable, even for a short period, to carry on a revolutionary struggle for independence.

At the present period of mass disappointment with the policy of the National Congress, along with the possible formation of national revolutionary groups inside and outside the National Congress, we see the appearance of pseudo oppositional groups which, while hiding behind "Left" phrases and a pseudo-radical criticism of the policy of the National Congress, as a matter of fact are against the growing mass revolutionary struggle of the workers and peasants. They advocate the old policy of subordination of the working class to the bourgeoisie, of maintaining the leading position of the bourgeois National Congress among the toiling masses. It is the duty of the Indian Communists to raise the banner of struggle against the constitution, making it a mass movement, linking it up with the strike movement in defence of the direct demands of the workers, with the slogan of the general strike, and the non-payment of rent, debts and tax movement and the fight for the liberation of the political prisoners. It is the duty of the Indian Communists to call for and to begin to form a wide united front of the workers' organisations and then of the peasants' and students' and other organisations for the struggle against the constitution, appealing to the rank and file of the

National Congress to drop the reformist policy and give support to the workers and peasants, **exposing all the time the policy of the "Left" national-reformists, who attempt once more to deceive the toiling masses as was done before by the League of Independence. It would not be correct for the Indian Communists to abandon the struggle against the constitution and limit themselves purely to the economic struggle.** The movements can begin as economic struggles. However, it is the duty of Communists, in the course of the struggle, to fill it with political contents, thus systematically preparing the forces of the national revolution. Among the toiling strata of the population, the lower strata of the petty-bourgeoisie, especially the students, a change is taking place in revolutionary methods of struggle. This is shown by the experience of a number of provinces (Bengal, etc.). The power of the Communist movement to attract the masses is growing. Its significance as a revolutionary factor is increasing. In these circumstances the application of the tactic of the united front in the national independence movement is absolutely necessary. While conducting this policy it is imperative to **preserve and strengthen** the independent class character of the Communist Party and not to dissolve it in the petty-bourgeois ocean and not to become the tail of the bourgeoisie. At the same time sectarian mistakes must be avoided, temporary allies utilised, necessary stages of the struggle must not be jumped over, because this would inevitably lead to the isolation of the Communists from the masses.

In the course of the mass struggle, the Communists will acquire the necessary practical experience and learn how to carry on a correct Communist policy. **However, as a main precondition it is necessary to bring about the more rapid amalgamation of Communist forces in every town and province and throughout the whole country, because only a united All-Indian Communist Party can ensure the correct policy and secure the winning of its leadership in the national movement. (To be concluded.)**

Comrade Mietek Rydygo Murdered by Fascists

On August 21, Comrade Mietek Rydygo, member of the C.C. of the C.P. of Poland, was murdered by the political police on the road leading to the village Vlochy near Warsaw. The police communiqué, which was published by the press on the following day, does not mention the name of Comrade Rydygo, and only reports the discovery of a corpse with a mutilated face. The political police attempt to represent the crime as an ordinary murder, with robbery as its motive. Up to this very day the police are allegedly unable to establish the identity of the corpse. Here it is a case of a political murder which must arouse the attention of the broadest masses of Poland and of the international proletariat. This murder shows the course which Polish fascism is ready to adopt in its fight against the revolutionary movement and in particular against the Communist Party.

Comrade Mietek Rydygo was one of the best and most self-sacrificing sons of the proletariat. He was scarcely 32 years old. He was particularly hated by the fascist hangmen. Right from his earliest youth he fought in the ranks of the proletariat. In the year 1920 he went to Russia, and after the conclusion of the civil war he returned to Poland and joined the ranks of the Young Communist League; he was a member of the C.C. of the Y.C.L. since 1925. In the year 1926 he was arrested and kept for two years in prison awaiting trial. The fascist court sentenced him to five years' hard labour. At the end of 1931, owing to serious heart trouble, the court was compelled to release him from prison. A few weeks afterwards Comrade Rydygo was at the head of the Dombrova organisation, which under his leadership organised the powerful May Day demonstration in 1931 which aroused such a great response among the broad masses of Poland. Comrade Rydygo worked afterwards in leading positions until the vile fascist murder put an end to his young life.

The fascist hangmen are mistaken, however, if they believe they can check the growth of the proletarian revolution by means of mass arrests and bestial murders. Like the death of the heroes of the Polish proletariat, Comrades Huebner, Knievski and Rutkowski, Hajeszyk and Pilarezyk, Engel and Botwin who have been executed, the memory of Comrade Rydygo will stimulate the toilers of Poland to fresh and big class struggle against the fascist dictatorship of Pilsudski, which is stained with the blood of the best sons of the proletariat and of the poor peasantry.

Warsaw, 10th September, 1933.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland.