

277/277



AUGUST NUMBER

THE NEW AGE

V ★ 3

1938 398 408

1. Rally Against the Federation	...	85
2. United National Front in China	...	92
3. Mexico versus Capitalists	...	99
4. Czechoslovakia and the Problem of National Minorities		103
5. Agrarian Revolt in Mansa	...	108
6. Conditions in a Karnatak Village	...	111
7. Molotov on the Struggle against Trotskyist and other Wreckers and Spies	...	117

Single Copy 2 Annas.

Editor: S. V. GHATE

WE DO NOT SPEAK BUT WE ACT!!

Please note what our Policyholders say:—

This is to express my intense satisfaction at the promptness with which you settled my two claims on my car due to accident on the 4th and 23rd August 1937. I have no doubt that this kind of service will be very much appreciated by the insuring public and also infuse confidence in them.

R. KRISHNAMURTHY,

Associate Editor, "Ananda Vikatan."

The promptness with which you settled my two claims is really unique and of which any Company may be legitimately proud of. I have no hesitation in recommending your institution to my brother car-owners for insuring their cars.

S. Rm. Ct. PL. PALANIAPPA

CHETTIAR,

Managing Director,

The General & Credit Corporation
(India) Ltd., Madras.

I express my appreciation for the prompt settlement of all the claims.The benefits of insurance could be brought home to people only by such promptitude and accommodation

Dr. T. V. S. SHASTRI, L.M. & S.,

Trichinopoly.

...I am sure your prompt settlement of claims will inspire confidence among the car owners in Madras.

FOR INDIA BROKERS LTD.,

K. L. V. SARMA,

Secretary.

...Thank you for the prompt settlement of my claim.

S. N. RAMASWAMY,

Coonoor.

HAVE YOU INSURED YOUR CAR
IF NOT
INSURE WITH THE "VANGUARD"

The Vanguard Insurance Company Limited.

159 Mount Road

Phone No. 8558.

Madras.

gressive Journals

HINDUSTAN

ist fortnightly
di paper

of the Kisan &
oor struggle
ad Zaheer.

Annual Subscription Rs. 2.

Manager, NAYA HINDUSTAN,
90, Zero Road, ALLAHABAD

GANA SHAKTI

A Marxist Monthly in Bengali

Editors :

Muzaffar Ahmed.
Bankim Mukerji.
Dutt Muzumdar.
Somnath Lahiri.
Bahaduri & Das.

Annual Subscription Rs. 2.

25, Beniatola Lane, CALCUTTA.

MANDIRA

LEADING LEFT MONTHLY.
(Bengali)

Annual Subscription Rs. 3-8.
Single Copy " " 0-4.

Mandira,
82, Harrison Road,
CALCUTTA.

JAYASHREE

A progressive journal conducted by
leading women of Bengal.
(Bengali)

Annual Subscription Rs. 5-0.
Single copy " " 0-6.
Jayashree,

22 c, Aswinikumar Dutt Road,
P. O. Kalighat, CALCUTTA.

JANATA

Socialist weekly in Hindi.

Janashahitya Sangha,
Bankipore, PATNA.

SANGHARSH

A Socialist weekly in Hindi.

14, Hewet Road, LUCKNOW.

THE NEW AGE

THE NEW AGE

(Published on the 15th of Every Month)

Annual Subscription Rs. 1-8. (inland) Single Copy
(including postage) Rs. 3. (foreign) „

All communications intended for publication should be addressed to The Editor. The Editor is not responsible for any statements or views expressed. The articles intended to be published in the magazine should reach the Editor by the 25th of every month. The pages of this journal are open for expression of advanced thought on political, social and economic problems.

Business notice:—All business correspondence and all moneys and cheques intended for the journal should be sent to the Manager.

For particulars regarding advertisement rates and sale of copies apply to the Manager.

Wanted:—Capable young men to canvass Subscribers and advertisements.

270, Triplicane High Road
Madras.

Apply to:—The Manager,
THE "NEW AGE"

JUST PUBLISHED:

DIMITROFF ON THE PEOPLE'S FRONT.

In this brilliant pamphlet Dimitroff, the General Secretary of the Third International deals with the role of the proletariat in the present critical times as the builder of the People's Front.

Two annas.

Postage Half anna extra.

STALIN

Final Victory of Socialism in the U. S. S. R.

In this Pamphlet Stalin deals exhaustively with the question of the "VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U. S. S. R."

Two annas.

Postage Half anna extra.

KARL MARX

Wage-Labour and Capital.

(With an introduction by Frederick Engels)

Marx says: We shall seek to portray as simply and popularly as possible and shall not presuppose a knowledge of even the most elementary notions of political economy. We wish to be understood by the worker.

As. Four.

Postage 1 anna extra.

THE SOCIALIST LITERATURE PUBLISHING Co., AGRA.

THE NEW AGE

AUGUST 1938

[NO. 3]

Against the Federation

Wardha Fails to give a lead.

THE results of the Wardha Session of the Working Committee have been extremely disappointing. The session disposed of a great number of questions of detail as well as of general importance. Most of its time was taken up by the solution of the factional trouble in the C. P. ministry. But our criticism is based in the main, on the failure of the Working Committee to deal with the recent developments on the issue of the Federation, and the failure to give any forward lead on the same. Then again, the opposition of the anti-national Zamindar and Capitalist elements to the Congress Ministries and to the popular movement backing them, is extending and consolidating on an all-India scale. This opposition IS FROUGHT with the greatest danger to the stability of the Congress ministries as popular ministries. Its development represents a menace to the growth of the Congress as an organ of the popular struggle and to the growth of the labour and kisan organisations. It was of the utmost importance for the Working Committee to deal with this question in its general aspect, but this was not done.

These two questions are inter-connected and are related with the New Offensive which British Imperialism is launching against the Indian People. This offensive in its TURN is related to the rapidly developing war-crisis in Europe and the role which British Imperialism and especially the Chamberlain Government is playing in it. The Working Committee has issued no official resolution on the press controversy which raged round the statement which Mr. Bhulabhai Desai was alleged to have made in London. It has expressed no view on the statements of Sjt. Sathya-murthi laying down the conditions for the acceptance of the Federation by the Congress. The question, however, appears to have been informally discussed. As the press reports have it, the general consensus of the opinion in the Committee was that "nothing has taken place since Haripura Congress to reconsider the Congress attitude towards the Federation". "It was recognised" continues the press report, "that when the British Government actually make any offer, there will be time enough to scrutinize it and to find out whether the conditions laid down at Haripura have been satisfied and the position should be re-considered". (HINDU 25-7-31)

Nothing whatever has happened—nor is likely to happen—which would warrant our GOING BACK on the Haripura resolution. That is self-evident. But the point is, whether it is not time now to move forward from Haripura, whether recent developments do not call for preparations for the struggle which the Haripura Resolution envisages? **The Working Committee prefer to mark time, to give no lead for the time being. This attitude is perhaps based on a complacent and an over simplified view of the international situation.** British Imperialism menaced by the fascist powers must come to terms with the Indian people in order to secure its rear in the impending war-crisis. We have merely to keep our organisation in tact and strengthen our ministeries and the victory would be ours, even without striking a single blow. This picture of automatic development towards Swaraj does not correspond to reality.

Behind British Diplomacy

British Imperialist interests are undoubtedly menaced by the growth of fascist aggression in Europe as well as in the far east. But British Imperialist diplomacy is in the main guided by another menace—that of the rising proletarian and popular forces against Fascism and war, of the growing power of the Soviet Union, and by the growing danger of colonial revolutions. Britain has systematically pursued the policy of surrendering to fascist diplomacy of bluff and blackmail in order to destroy the achievements of the popular front in Spain and France, in order to demolish the peace-system based on the Franco-Soviet Pact and to replace it by a pro-fascist war-block leading to the isolation

and encirclement of a result of this pro-murdered, Austria fighting with its bare independence and Czechoslovakia is faced with independent state in "Eastern-drive" of

The devious diplomacy of Chamberlain is however not according to the plan. The resistance of the Spanish Republic forces has upset the Anglo-Italian pact. The popular forces in France, though they did not succeed in forcing the French Government giving effective aid to Spain have succeeded in preventing the betrayal of Czechoslovakia. The latest plan of Chamberlain to enlist the aid of France in betraying Czechoslovakia to Germany has failed. The well planned Runciman racket would probably prove a damp squib. Chamberlain's policy of appeasing the fascist aggressor is not resulting in a Four Power Pact under the hegemony of Britain. On the other hand, a fascist war block of Central European Powers similar to the 1914 war committee is consolidating. This time it is allied with Japan.

War Preparations—the key-note

In a recent speech before the House of Commons Chamberlain claimed that there was a relaxation of tension in Europe. On the other hand war tension has increased both in Europe and in the Far East during the last weeks. Chamberlain's policy does not lead to peace but to war. War preparations are essential counter parts of the policy of abetting fascist aggressors. Britain's war-preparations does not mean concessions to the colonial peoples but heavier

182791

chains of slavery. It is evident in Palestine, where a strategical military base is being built on the ashes of Arab freedom. It is evident in Egypt where a reactionary anti-national clique is kept in power in the interest of the military and naval defence of the Suez Canal. And it is evident in India too, where the preparation for imposing the Federation and the plans for re-organising the so called "defence of India" are proceeding side by side.

But British diplomacy is nothing if it is not refined hypocrisy. Abolition of Fascist aggressors is represented by Chamberlain as "the establishment and maintenance of peace." Intensive war-preparations are represented as measures of National Security. Similarly, the plans for the imposition of the fetters of the Federal Scheme on India are represented as efforts at the conciliation of the Indian people! The efforts to enhance the burden of the military expenditure in the interest of British Imperialism, are masked as measures for the defence of India from foreign aggressors. There has been a lot of speculation about the Linlithgow-Zetland talks which are proceeding in London and about the Nehru - Linlithgow meeting. Clever suggestions about the Federation are being modified either by statements and assurances are being sent across the cables. British Imperialism has, as yet, no need to be conciliatory towards the colonies and towards India. The increasing war tension and the foiling of its plans in Europe drives it to greater aggression against the colonies while yet there is time-while the conflagration of the people's struggle has not yet raised its head.

Lords Linlithgow and Zetland are surely not busying themselves with

drafting amendments to the Government of India Act so as to make the Federal Scheme acceptable to Messrs Satyamurthy and Bhulabhai. This is quite clear from the various statements made in the Parliament. What is being cooked is perhaps a statement which will sugarcoat the bitter pill and create the illusion as if the Federation imparts a larger measure of responsibility and thus serve as a transitional stage for further advance.

Not Conciliation but Aggression

Not conciliation but increased aggression is the keynote of British Imperialist policy towards India. No speculation is required to prove this. It is amply clear from what has been happening in this country. Take the attitude of British Imperialism towards the economic demands of the Indian bourgeoisie. It will have nothing to do with the demand for the devaluation of the Rupee which has once again come to the forefront because of the falling prices of agricultural produce. It has refused to accede to the demand of the Indian Shipping interests for the reservation of the Coastal Trade for the stopping of the rate-war which the British Companies are carrying on against the Indian concerns. It has recently refused to revise the freight schedule to suit the changed character of the Indian trade and to the fallen prices of cotton etc. Its attitude on the questions of Trade pacts and tariffs remains as before hostile to Indian Industrial interests.

The offensive of British Imperialism against the Congress Ministries is increasing in the same measure that the forces of popular struggle are growing. In the North West Province the Governor has withheld his consent

to the bills passed by the Assembly repealing repressive measures. In Orissa the Tenancy legislations passed by the Assembly has been withheld. In Sind, the Governor demanded the increase of assessment in the Sukkur Barrage lands. The intention is obviously to bring about the fall of a ministry which is supported by the Congress Party and is trying to work out the Congress election programme.

This offensive against the popular ministries goes hand in hand with the spreading revolt of the reactionary Zamindars and Capitalists against agrarian and labour legislations, against the growing organisational strength and consciousness of the workers and peasants. Every day brings news about the formation of Zamindars, Taluqdars, Inamdars, and landholders Associations to combat even the most moderate agrarian legislation. In these conferences they speak in terms of threats of class-war and bloodshed, of organising volunteer corps, of launching Satyagraha and Civil disobedience against the new legislation. In U. P. and Behar where the tension is great, it is already coming to clashes. Zamindar atrocities are being reported from several parts of U. P. and Behar. Tory Newspapers in Britain have already begun to clamour about the hasty steps of the agrarian and labour legislation of the Congress Ministries and are suggesting the use of special powers.

It is against this back-ground of the steadily growing offensive of Imperialism against the Indian people, that the results of the Working Committee have to be assessed. It solved a number of problems of detail but it did not take a review of the shifting of the balance of forces between British Imperialism and

the Indian people during the period of a year of Congress ministries. The general conclusions of such a review would have been: (i) that the offensive of British Imperialism against India is growing and it is part of Britain's war-preparations and a prelude to the importance of Federal scheme without the slightest modification (ii) that this offensive is increasing in the same measure that the Congress ministries and High Command is capitulating before the threats of the reactionary Zamindar and Capitalist elements.

Developments Inside the N. F.

What have been the developments inside the National Front during the first year of Congress ministries? Can we say that the struggle, the organisation and the unity of the people has grown from strength to strength, or are we witnessing a steady growth of the constitutional tendency of the efforts to check and circumscribe the growing forces of popular struggle? In fact these opposing developments are taking place side by side. The unequal development of the United Front struggle of the organisational Strength of the Congress labour and kisan organisations in the different provinces, is due to the unequal development of the one or the other of them. The total result on an all-India scale, however, is stalemate, and it is this situation which is reflected in the attitude of the Working Committee to mark time and in its refusal to give a positive lead.

Stalemate cannot mean staying where we are. To acquiesce in this Stalemate must mean putting a brake on the provinces where the development of the extra-parliamentary struggle is taking place at a rapid rate. It must mean the liquidation of struggle

as a whole. In the United Provinces for instance the forces of mass struggle and organisation have grown far more rapidly than in any other province. The Congress ministry, backed by the united front struggle growing as the joint of Congress, Labour and Kisan organisations, is able, to a large extent to beat back the vicious opposition of the Cawnpur Millowners and the U. P. Landlords. Unperturbed by the Communist bogey raised by the millowners, the Pant Cabinet has withstood the attempt to restrict workers right to strike. This and other concessions won by the Cawnpur workers have opened up new avenues for building up a mighty trade union movement for further strengthening the Congress-Labour United Front which is the unique achievement of Cawnpur. In U. P. the Congress Committees took the lead in organising kisan demonstrations in favour of the Tenancy legislations (June 24). The goondaism resorted to by the Zamindars and their agents is being successfully counteracted by the combined strength of the Kisan Sabha and the Congress Committees. In a particular case, the Ministry has put in its weight on the side of the people by cancelling all the gun licenses in a district where Zamindars and their agents were particularly vicious. Jawaharlal Nehru had surely U. P. and Behar in his mind when he warned his London audience that the Indian peasant was ready to launch a No-Rent Campaign against the hated Federation.

A comparative examination of the achievement of the growth of struggle in the various provinces would show that **the organisational and the fighting strength of the people has grown in the measure the extra-parliamentary activity has been developed for the**

defence and the implementing of the congress election programme and for the building up of functioning Congress organisations, Labour and Kisan Sabhas and their united action. In Behar where extra-parliamentary activity was developed under the initiative of the Kisan Sabhas, and where the Congress sought to circumscribe and ban their activities instead of cooperating with them, the Zamindar offensive has been more successful than in U. P. The Congress and the ministry has capitulated twice before the Zamindars. The second Zamindar-Congress agreement which is incorporated in the latest Behar Tenancy Bill has liquidated the few concessions given by the first agreement. The second agreement has emboldened the Zamindars and their Amlas, which has resulted in the intensification of the oppression against the kisans. Lands are being forcibly taken away, crops destroyed and tenants and the their families assaulted and threatened (Resolution of the Behar Provincial Kisan Sabha-20 July 1938).

In Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak where the kisan movement is comparatively weak, and where the development of extra-parliamentary activity has been the least, we have the unworthy spectacle of ~~only~~ ⁴⁰ ~~members~~ of the Congress Legislative Party joining in the chorus of the Inamdars and Khots against a very mild form of Tenancy reform. In C. P. where the labour and peasant organisation is at a low level and where the Congress itself is isolated from the masses and struggle, we have the results of the purely constitutional trend in the worst forms. The ministry and the Congress Committees have been found to be the hotbeds of provincial jealousies, and factional squabbles.

Co-ordination of Extra—

Parliamentary Movement

In view of this extremely unequal development in the provinces, a refusal to co-ordinate the extraparlimentary activities on a nation wide scale, a refusal to evolve an all-India policy of fighting back the attack of the reactionary anti-national elements on the Election Programme of the Congress, cannot but prove disastrous. If the Congress capitulates before the Zamindar reactionaries in one province it cannot but affect the fate of the kisans in another. The passing of a Trades Disputes Bill curtailing workers' right to strike in Bombay cannot but weaken the struggle of the workers elsewhere for the same rights. The weak development of the extra-parliamentary mass struggle in certain provinces must react back on the provinces where it is stronger and serve to stifle it. The co-ordination of the legislative activities of ministries has at least been attempted as at the recent ministers' conference. The co-ordination of the extra-parliamentary struggle has never even been considered. This question has now become urgent in view of the developing offensive of the reactionary vested interests. The Left must take the initiative in bringing it before the next A. I. C. C. Session in the form of practical proposals to fix and organise All-India demonstrations for, say, All-India Kisan day, the Civil Liberties Day, the Union Recognition Day. The idea would be to organise under the auspices of the Congress, demonstrations for the basic demands of the Election Manifesto throughout the country and obtain the co-operation of all workers and peasant organisations for them. Over and above this it would

organisations and for their supporters to organise demonstrations for the modification of certain legislative measures which do not go far enough or are reactionary. The Behar Kisan Sabha, for instance, organised an Anti-Agreement week from 25th to 31st July and has fixed up a rally for the 15th August to demonstrate against the agreement with the Zamindars.

All-India Anti-Federation Rally

Similarly, though the Working Committee has not given a lead on the issue of the Federation it is time for the entire Left to get together and make a move. The feeling against any compromise move on the issue of the Federation is strong in the Congress organisations. This has been proved by the number of resolutions which were passed by the various Congress Committees supporting the President in the stand he had taken against Mr. Satyamurthy's suggestions. Socialists, Communists, Labour and Kisan workers must jointly take the initiative in starting a mass agitation against the Federation. An All-India Anti-Federation day must be fixed and observed both in the States and in British India. At Ahmedabad the Socialists have already given the lead in setting afoot preparation for an Anti-Federation day. In short, a popular statement explaining what the imposition of the Federation means to the people of India, how it is an instrument to strangle our economic and political life, and what part this move on the part of British Imperialism plays in its sinister war preparation must be issued for the occasion to be read and explained at every meeting. It must popularise the anti-Federation struggle among the masses. This move

is bound to meet with response from the whole country will be resounding many Congress Committees. Very soon with slogans.

DOWN WITH THE BRITISH IMPOSED FEDERATION
FOR THE DEMOCRATISATION OF THE STATES
SUPPORT THE STATES' PEOPLE'S LIBERTIES
FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

This must be the reply of the Indian people to the New Offensive of British IMPERIALISM.

We regret that owing to the transfer of N. A. printing to another Press, we have not been able to bring out this issue in time. We assure our readers that from next month on, the N. A. will be out regularly on the 15th of every month.

EDITOR.

The United National Front in China

By Mao Tse-Dun

The United Front Between the Two Parties

It was in the year 1932 that the Communist Party of China proposed to the Kuomintang troops to conclude peace with the Red Army for joint struggle against the Japanese aggressor. After the events of September 18, 1931, the main task of the Chinese Revolution became the fight against Japanese Imperialism, against aggression in China.

In August, 1935, the Communist Party of China and the Chinese Soviet Republic appealed to the whole of the Chinese people, to all parties and political groups for the creation of a united all-Chinese, anti-Japanese army, and an all Chinese Government of National Defence for joint struggle against Japanese Imperialism.

In December of the same year, the C. C. of the Chinese Communist Party published a resolution on the formation of a united anti-Japanese National Front.

In May, 1936, the C. E. C. (Central Executive Committee) of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Chinese Red Army again appealed to the Nanking Government in a manifesto calling for the cessation of internal war so as to be able to conduct a joint struggle against the Japanese aggressors. In August of the same year, the C. C. (Central Committee) of the Communist Party of

China proposed to the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang to call a halt to the internal war and form a united front of the two parties for the struggle against Japanese Imperialism. In September, the Communist Party published a resolution on the creation of a united democratic republic in China. Not only did the Communist Party publish these manifestoes, letters and resolutions, but it also sent its representatives to engage in negotiations with the Kuomintang. Only at the end of 1936, during the Sian events, did the representatives of the Communist Party and of the Kuomintang come to the extremely important political agreement which made it incumbent upon both parties and both armies to cease internal war and to bring about a peaceful solution of the Sian question. This great political event in the history of China was one of the pre-requisites for the formation of the united front between the two parties.

On February 10, 1937, on the eve of the Third Plenum of the C. E. C. of the Kuomintang, the C. C. of the Communist Party of China sent a telegram to the plenum containing concrete proposals for the creation of a United Front. The following five demands were put forward in the telegram: guarantee of the cessation of internal war, democratic rights for the people, the convening of a National Assembly, the most rapid preparation of armed resistance to the enemy, and the improvement of the

material conditions of the masses of the people. The Communist Party on its part promised to put an end to the situation where the two respective Governments stood opposed to one another; to re-name the Soviet regions and the Red Army; to introduce a democratic regime in the territory of the Soviet regions, and to cease the confiscation of lands. This was an important political measure, for had it not taken place, the creation of a united front between the two parties would have been retarded, and would have had a very unfavourable effect upon the preparation of armed resistance to the enemy.

Other steps followed this one: the Communist Party introduced a number of specific proposals regarding the joint elaboration of a political programme of the two parties, regarding the freedom of the mass movement, the release of political prisoners and the re-naming of the Red Army and the Soviet regions. Although questions enumerated above have not yet been solved, the order changing the name of the Red Army to the People's Revolutionary Army, was given approximately one month after the loss of Peiping and Tientsin. The declaration of the C. C. of the Communist Party of China, dated July 4, regarding collaboration between the two parties, was handed to the Kuomintang on July 15. Chiang Kai-Shek's statement recognising the Communist Party was published, true after some delay, in the "Central News" of September 22 and 23 at a time when the position at the front was very acute. The establishment of a United Front between the two parties was announced by the Communist Party in its declaration was not only a basis for collaboration between

the two parties, but will serve as the main line for rallying the whole of the Chinese people. Chiang Kai-shek has recognised the Communist Party as legal throughout the whole of the country, and has pointed to the need of rallying all forces to save the country. The united front between the two parties has already been formed, thus opening up a new era in the history of the Chinese revolution. The great political significance of this act must be understood by all citizens, since this measure will have a serious effect upon the development of the whole of the Chinese revolution and will be a decisive point in the organisation of the struggle for the ejection of the Japanese aggressors.

The Results of the Formation of the United Front Between the Two Parties

Ever since 1925 the mutual relations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have played a decisive role in the history of the Chinese revolution. The great Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 was under the leadership of these two parties which collaborated on the basis of a definite programme. This collaboration made it possible in the course of two or three years to achieve unparalleled successes in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and the well-being of the people. For 40 years Sun Yat-sen had been fighting for this cause and had died without achieving its culmination. The successes achieved by the establishment of a Revolutionary base in the province of Kwangtung, as well as by the Northern Campaign, were the results of the united front of the two parties. But since certain people were unwilling to continue the revolution and split the United Front between the two

Parties at the time when the Revolution was approaching its culmination, the Chinese revolution was defeated. Power passed into the hands of one class and one party: a deep abyss formed not only between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, but also between the Government and the people, and the external enemy used this state of affairs to invade China. Now the two parties have again set up a united front. This signifies a new stage in the development of the Chinese revolution, despite the fact that some people still fail to understand the historic tasks and great prospects facing the united front, and consider this united front to be a temporary measure. Will China succeed in extracting itself from its difficult position? The United Front will play a decisive role in this.

New factors are already present; first the fact that the policy of the united front proposed by the Chinese Communist Party has met with the support of the whole of the people; secondly, the peaceful solution of the Sian events and the cessation of war between the two armies has rallied together different parties, groupings, organisations and army units. Although this consolidation is still inadequate for the organisation of armed resistance, the relations between the central Government and the provinces has already improved a great deal. Thirdly, the fact that armed resistance has already been organised. It does not, however, satisfy us, for it only covers the organised troops. We pointed out long ago that in order to crush Japanese imperialism, the whole country, the whole of the people must take part in the struggle. It would be impossible to mobilise all

the armed forces if internal peace and the united front did not exist between the two parties. If it is true that the Japanese bandits were able to seize Manchuria, to-day on the contrary, when these two parties have established a united front, the Japanese bandits are meeting with furious resistance and a fight for every strip of Chinese soil. According to information available, the Japanese bandits are spending 20-25 million yen daily on the war. If the war lasts for a year, the finances of the Japanese bandits will go to pieces, since they will be spending 1,200 million yen more in a year than the treasury revenue will allow. The fourth point is that the united front is of international importance. The masses of workers and peasants and the Communist Parties of all countries are supporting the anti-Japanese National United Front set up at the initiative of the Communist Party of China. The influence of the people's front has extended still further since the establishment of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

On the basis of all that has been said, we can draw the conclusion that the development of the united front between the two parties will bring China out on to the great, bright highroad leading to national liberation, to the ejection of Japanese Imperialism from China, and to the establishment of a united, free, democratic Republic in China.

What do we mean by a Thoroughgoing and Strong United Front?

But these great tasks require the constant development of the united front until it becomes a thorough going strong united front of all the anti-Japanese forces in the country.

Is the anti-Japanese National United Front limited merely to collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party? No, it must be a national united front. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party are only the component units of this united front. Without doubt, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are the leading forces of the great united front, but they are nevertheless only a part of it. The anti-Japanese national united front must be a united front of all parties, groups, organisations and army units, a united front of workers, peasants, traders, intellectuals and soldiers, a united front of all the Chinese people who love their fatherland. The present united front, however, is as yet limited to the parties; the wide masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and petty bourgeoisie who love their fatherland are as yet not organised and armed, and do not take an organised part in resisting the Japanese aggressors. This is a serious question. We have suffered a number of defeats on the Northern front and on the Kiangsu and Chekiang fronts. The whole question is how to correct the situation that has arisen, how to overcome these difficulties. The only way to overcome these difficulties is to fulfil the heritage of Sun Yat-Sen, namely to rouse the masses of the people. Sun Yat-Sen said before his death that the whole experience of his forty years of struggle proved that only the participation of the whole of the people could lead to the successful culmination of the revolution. Why is this heritage not fulfilled at such a critical time? The masses of the people cannot be roused by "control" and "repressions." In April 1937, we pointed out to our Kuomintang brethren that if we could not rouse the masses of the people

to take part in an armed resistance, then China was menaced with the fate of Abyssinia. It was not only the Communists who pointed this out, but also did other prominent citizens of our country and members of the Kuomintang itself. Unfortunately no changes took place with the resulting divorcement of the Government and the troops from the people, and of the commanders from the rank and file soldiers in the army. If the united front is not enriched by drawing the masses of the people into it, difficulties will inevitably increase and not decrease at the front.

Why is the policy of control not changed? Because the united front still has no common political programme accepted by the two parties and officially published. The structure of the Government, the army, the national policy, the financial and economic policy, the educational policy, all remain unchanged, i.e., the same as they were ten years ago. The only change that has taken place is that the internal war has ceased, and that the whole of the country has begun to fight against Japan. This is the greatest change in the political life of China since the Sian events but every thing else has remained unchanged.

War against Japan has begun, but there are serious difficulties. The struggle against Japan demands the mobilisation of the whole of the people, demands that they all be brought into a united front on the basis of a joint, common programme that will serve as a compass for the united front. This united front programme must firmly bind together all parties, groups, organisations and troops belonging to the united front, and the people; only in this way shall we achieve the consolidation and solidarity

of the united front. We are against the old policy of control, because it does not answer the requirements of the National Revolutionary war. We shall welcome the publication of a joint programme, the establishment of Revolutionary order, because only in that way will we be able to prepare for armed resistance.

The Struggle For the Realisation of Sun Yat-Sen's Three People's Principle and the Proposals of the Communist Party

What should be the basis of the joint programme? The three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen and the proposals to save the fatherland put forward by the Communist party on August 1937.

In its declaration on collaboration with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party writes: "The fulfilment of the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen is essential for contemporary China and our Party wishes to conduct a struggle to carry them into practice consistently." It may seem strange to some that the Communists should propose to carry out the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen; Chu Chinlai, for example, in an article published in the "New Knowledge," a periodical published in Shanghai, reflects the feelings of those who have doubts about it. He considers Communism and the three popular principles to be incompatible. That is a purely formal view point. We are striving to bring about Communism, but at the present state we are carrying through the National-Democratic Revolution—that is why the Communist Party has advanced the slogan of the creation of the anti-Japanese national united front and the united Democratic Republic. As for putting the three popular principles into practice, it should be stated that

ten years ago, at the first Congress of the Kuomintang, the Communists, together with members of the Kuomintang, adopted a decision to put them into practice. In 1925-27 they were in fact carried out in the country by loyal Communists and members of the Kuomintang. Unfortunately, however, the breakdown of the united front in 1927 stopped the operation of these principles of Sun Yat-sen for ten years.

The policy pursued by the Communists during these ten years has, in the main, corresponded to the Revolutionary Spirit of the three popular principles of Sun Yat-Sen. Not for a single day have the Communists ceased the struggle against imperialism—this is consistent nationalism; the Soviet of people's deputies is nothing but consistent democracy; the agrarian revolution undoubtedly embodies the principle of popular well being.

Why have the Communists given up the further organisation of Soviets and ceased the forcible confiscation of land? Not because they consider that system unsuitable, but because the armed invasion of Japanese imperialism has brought about a change in the relation of classes inside the country; it has become essential and possible to unite the whole of the nation for the struggle against Japanese Imperialism. At the same time, a united democratic front for struggle against Fascism is being established throughout the whole world. The formation of a national and democratic united front is a necessity for present day China, and therefore the Communists have put forward the slogan of a democratic Republic instead of the slogan of the Soviets.

The operation of the agrarian revolution—"those who till the land should

have their own land"—was the policy preached by Sun Yat-Sen in his day. To-day we have ceased to confiscate the land in order to muster the whole of the population still further for the struggle against Japanese Imperialism. But this by no means signifies that the agrarian problem in China is not in need of solution. We have unambiguously explained our view point as to the objective causes that have inspired us to change our policy temporarily. The Chinese Communists, basing themselves on the principles of Marxism, developed the common programme of the first united front, i. e., of the three people's principles of Sun Yat-Sen. It was precisely for this reason that at the time when the foreign enemy invaded our territory, when the situation in the country had become extremely difficult, the Communists opportunely put forward the idea of the creation of a national, democratic united front—the only means of saving the country from danger and ruin. Now the question at issue is not whether the Communists believe in, or operate the three people's principles of Sun Yat-Sen. It is a question of restoring the spirit of the three people's principles throughout the whole of the country, to give expression to it in a definite programme and policy, and really to operate it unequivocally and without delay. It was to this end that on August 15, after the events in Lukowkiao, the Communists introduced their 10 point programme of salvation. These 10 proposals are based on the principles of Marxism, and at the same time correspond to the revolutionary Sun Yat-senism. This programme is the preliminary programme on the operation of which depends the salvation of China.

However, it is impossible to carry out this programme without the agreement of the Kuomintang, since the Kuomintang is the largest party in power. We are sure that honest members of the Kuomintang and their leaders will agree to this programme; if not the three popular principles will remain empty phrases and we shall fail to restore the revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen and vanquish Japanese Imperialism; in which case national ruin is inevitable. Such a state of affairs must not be permitted by honest members of the Kuomintang and their leaders, and the whole of the people will not permit it. Chiang Kai-Shek, in an interview on September 23, declared; "I consider that our revolution is fighting not for personal sentiments and egoistic views, but for the realisation of the three people's principles. It is not the time for the settling of old accounts when the question at stake for us is one of life and death. But the opportunity must be provided for a thorough revival of the whole people of our country, for every effort to be devoted to the consolidation of the country in order together to defend the life and existence of our state." This is very true. The pressing task of the moment is to fulfill the three people's principles, to cast aside personal and group sentiments and private opinions, to replace all that has outlived its day, and immediately to operate a revolutionary programme corresponding to the three principles. That is the only way out at the present time; delay means death.

The three people's principles cannot be carried out with a Government of the national and democratic united front. The regime in the army is still the old

one. It is impossible to defeat Japanese imperialism while such a regime continues in the army. To-day the troops are fulfilling their sacred duty of fighting at the front. We are always ready to give their due to the Chinese troops, especially those fighting at the front. But the regime in the army does not favour the fulfilment of such a great task as the final destruction of the Japanese bandits and the successful realisation of the revolutionary programme of the three people's principles. The regime in the army must be changed. This has been proved by the lessons of the armed struggle of the last three months. The guiding principles in reorganising the army must be the unity between the rank and file and their commanders, and unity between the troops and the population. The present regime in the army contradicts these two principles, and while the commanders and soliders are very loyal and heroic fighters, they are unable to develop their activity because of the old conditions that continue to reign in the army. All this must be changed rapidly, without of course, stopping the fighting in order to reconstruct the regime, but in the course of the fighting. The chief task is to reorganise political work in the army and to renew the political spirit of the army. An example of this is the people's revolutionary army in the period of the great revolution when there was perfect unity in the army between the soliders and their commanders, and between the army and the population. It is absolutely essential now to restore the revolutionary spirit that existed formerly. China must learn from the lessons of the war in Spain. The Spanish Republican army was formed in extremely difficult circumstances. The

conditions in China have their advantages over those in Spain, but the people of China suffer from the lack of a thorough-going and powerful united front, from the lack of a government of the united front capable of carrying out a revolutionary programme and of a numerically strong army of the new type. China must overcome these shortcomings. At the present time, the former Red Army plays a partial role in regard to the whole front of the anti-Japanese War. It cannot as yet play a decisive role. But its superiority in the political, military and organisational sense serves as an example for all the other army units. The Red Army did not become what it is at one blow; it went through considerable internal organisational work. The chief thing is that it did away with feudal survivals in the army regime operated the principle of unity between the rank and file and their commanders, and of unity between the army and the population. This is also an example to all army units.

Comrades of the Kuomintang, together with you we are to-day fulfilling our historic duty of saving the country and fighting for our existence.

Our united front must develop still further, it must become enriched with a new content, and while bringing the masses of the people into it, we must strengthen it and carry out a joint programme. We must be resolute in reorganising the political system and the army regime. This proposal is the demand of the epoch; it is time it was carried out. Sun Yat-sen in his day took the decision to reconstruct the political and military system and by doing so created the basis for the great

revolution of the past. Now this duty lies on our shoulders. All sincere members of the Kuomintang who love their country will not regard our proposal as out of place. We are convinced that it coincides with objective necessity, and hope that Chiang Kai shek will personally undertake the solution of this task of reconstruction.

At the present moment, when the life of our people hangs on a thread let the Kuomintang and the Communist Party,

all the Chinese people who have no desire to be slaves, make the collaboration of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party the basis for rallying still closer together. The most important task of the Chinese revolution at the present time is to carry through the requisite reforms in order to overcome the difficulties.

If these tasks are fulfilled, we shall overthrow Japanese imperialism. Let us strain every effort, and bright prospects lie before us.

Mexico versus the Capitalists

S. Ganguly

Mexico Situation. S. BORDER OF U. S. Area. 760,000 sq. miles. **Population.** 15 million, mainly of Mixed Red Indian and Spanish descent. **Economy** mainly agricultural. 10% of pop. live in 8 cities. **Crops.** Maize, wheat, barley, sugar, cotton, coffee. **Industries.** Sugar-mills, breweries, textile, chemicals, paints, metals, tobacco. **Minerals.** Oil, silver, antimony, Building stone.

Summary of History. Mexico City was a centre of bronze-age civilisation in 7th century A. D. successively ruled by Toltecs, Chichimecs, and Aztec Indians till Spanish Conquest aided by discontented minorities of former ruling tribes in 1519. Government by Spanish Viceroy with periodic massacres for three hundred years. Tortures of Inquisition and expropriation of peasantry in the name of the Church-bred deep rooted hatred of Catholicism. In 1821 after long struggle Independence declared and country ruled by a local Emperor Iturbide. Iturbide assassinated 1823 and Mexico declared a Republic. Next hundred years saw a succession of revolutionary struggles, revolts intrigues by foreign powers and assassinations till 1930 when an army insurrection under General Aguirre was defeated, and a period of peaceful reform and consolidation of democratic rule ushered in.

The Two Men

Two men stand out in recent Mexican happenings.—President "Honesty" Cardenas, and General Saturnino Cedillo.

Cedillo who has just been arrested was dictator of the state of San Luis

Potosi and one of the last of Mexico's strong men. A proud, swashbuckling Mestizo, ever fond of women, wine and song, Cedillo started his career as a Lieutenant in Pancho Villa's bandit army, fought his way to the top through

the hazards of successive revolts and was made Minister of Agriculture in Cardenas' first Cabinet as a reward for his spectacular part in the turbulent days of Madero, Carranza, de la Huerta and Obregon. Like many Adventurers and opportunists of his type inside and outside Mexico, once at the top, his enthusiasm for radical reform waned. Conscious of his own "dangerous living" in the past and jealous of his prospect for the future, he looked with contempt on the "social consciousness" of the newer type of revolutionary, who had "shed no blood for Mexico". The most conservative member of the Cabinet he gradually drifted further apart from its aims and purpose. Each time Cardenas executed one of the reform measures promised by the Six Year Plan, Cedillo opposed. Hence he gained the increasing hatred of Cardenas' more radical supporters and blessings from the harassed aristocracy, landlords and industrialists. He resisted most strongly when Cardenas buck-jumped the big oil companies of Great Britain and the U. S. A.

Then the split came, threatening to plunge Mexico in to the same bloody civil war that is now being fought out in Spain. The left wingers declared that Cedillo, like some of the old bolsheviks in Russia, has been bought up by the capitalists to be used as their tool. The right wingers on the other hand rejoiced to find a leader capable of arousing opposition to the Cardenas regime. After Cedillo's resignation from the Cabinet, Cardenas saw he would have to act and act quickly. He could count on the support of the great majority of workers and peasants but the danger lay in the possibility that Cedillo would be able to win over the Federal Army and

part of the bureaucracy. The Mexican army is like that. At the sound of the first shot, it is apt to run to the side that is likely to pay the most. Also in his own State, Cedillo had a well-armed and well trained private army ready to move at a moment's notice. Cardenas offered him a foreign post hoping to get him out of the country. Cedillo refused it saying he found his own country the most interesting in the world! Cardenas offered to make peace. Cedillo replied that "he would do nothing against the Government unless the government moved against him." The government moved. It closed an aviation school in San Luis Potosi, cutting off his supply of pilots. It sent two regiments of troops to San Luis Potosi. It despatched a corps of government troops to Cedillo's stronghold and by means of propaganda through them and the promise of free land to members of his army sought to win them over to the government side. It was just going to send numbers of government agitators to the outlying towns of the state, when Cedillo struck back. Government men were fired on. A skirmish ensued. And when the smoke cleared nine were dead and thirteen wounded including two high officials loyal to Cardenas. Enraged, Cardenas sent a further detachment of troops to establish an armed watch on the state.

The Franco-to-be of Mexico

Cedillo subsided, content to bide his time as the Franco-to-be of Mexico, and await a more favourable opportunity when the government was unprepared. Mysterious visitors then began to arrive in San Luis Potosi whom some described as Nazi and Italian agents. Cedillo knew that Cardenas was good at waiting too, and foresaw a period during which

Cardenas would try to make more sure of the army's loyalty. This would give him time to conclude negotiations with the foreign agents and so be in a position to out-bid Cardenas for the army's loyalty when the moment for action drew near.

What he did not foresee though, was that Cardenas would foresee the same possibilities. Cardenas suddenly pounced when he was least expecting it, and jailed him in Mexico City. Thus Cardenas won a big tactical victory. But this does not mean he has resolved the conflict between the workers and peasants and the big landlords and industrialists. Nor are the foreign oil companies at the end of their resources. Meanwhile Cardenas should be able to use the rivalries between British and American capitalists and the latter's fear of Nazi intervention in Mexico to consolidate the position of his Government and strengthen its support amongst the workers peasants and the federal army.

The People Support Cardenas

The trade unions have grown stronger during the Cardenas administration and now, led by Toledano Lombardo, they are arming and drilling. The cultivators too are organising themselves into agricultural shock troops, ready to fight to the death for the government that has given them back their land. The clenched fist, symbol of the united front is everywhere making its appearance in all public demonstrations.

Enemies of the People

It should not be supposed though, that with the capture and imprisonment of Cedillo the threat to Mexico's democratic regime is over. There are, as Cardenas pointed out, agents of foreign oil companies in league with big land-

holders and their hangers on, just as there were capitalist agents in Socialist Russia trying to buy over traitors to their country. And there are other big landholders besides Cedillo. There is General Nicholas Rodriguez with a private army of "Dorados" (gold-shirts) who would like to bring back the exiled ex-premier Calles.

It is only to be expected that a Government whose policy is based on satisfying the primary needs of the majority of the people and granting them their democratic rights will be bound to provoke the fiercest hostility of those who had previously denied their rights to the majority in order to more easily enrich themselves at their expense. The more ignorant and unorganised the masses are, the easier, it is to exploit them. The more enlightened they are and the stronger their organisations, the less they can be exploited by the few. This is a lesson which is being learned into us in India every day.

Thus it was found too in Cedillo's Mexican state of San Luis Potosi. The *haciendas* (big estates) had not been broken up as the Government had ordered and no Government schools had been opened for the peasantry though Roman Catholic schools had been allowed to continue. Nor had the required privileges been granted to the Labour Union. It was Cedillo's failure to enforce the policy of the Cardenas Government that had, to use his own words, "had caused him to be driven into the ridiculous position of being a rebel."

What then is the Policy of the Cardenas Government?

This is embodied in a six year plan. Naturally in a country as undeveloped

182741

as Mexico, this applied first to agriculture.

In Mexico millions of acres of the richest farm lands were in the hands of big landlords. Most of them were foreigners—Americans, Britons or Spaniards. These people appealed to their own Governments when the Government took their land away and gave it to the peasants. Cardenas so far, has ignored their complaints since like the oil companies they were given legitimate compensation.

In any case what Cardenas says is this. All Mexican land once belonged to the Indians and their villages. When the white man came he literally stole this land and enslaved the Indian just as in India he stole the land and handed it over to his puppet Zamindars.

The Mexican revolution of 1910 rebelled against this state of affairs and empowered the Indians to take their land back again. The Constitution of 1917 says just that.—All land in Mexico belongs and always has belonged to the cultivators through their villages.

Thus, large areas, the big estates have been confiscated and divided up into small "ejidos" or plots and redistributed to the individual peasants who formerly worked the land as hired labourers. Land is still common property vested in the Nation, the cultivator may consider it his own to work, improve and reap from and pass on to his heirs. But resales or mortgaging is forbidden. The land must be kept by the cultivator to whom it is issued and worked zealously, if the Government is not to claim it again. Since though the peasants are poor and ill educated the Government has helped them with loans through the first lean years at a minimum rate of interest.

Then it lends them machinery, seeds and money for ordinary living expenses.

To make harvesting easier, the lands are, in some places, worked collectively. That is to say the peasants in such areas help each other in co-operative fashion. The crops are then marked and weighed by the Government co-operative agencies who return what profits there are to each individual after deducting loans and working out what part of the total crop that individual's land contributed.

There are here some very important lessons for us in India, when it comes to working out an agricultural policy for a Peoples' Government. It may be interesting for some readers to work out for themselves what the effects of such a policy would be, if applied in their own districts.

Turning to the industrial side of Mexico one sees the same situation prevailing. The Government proposes to take over all foreign owned industries that are based on the natural resources of the country. Chief of these, of course, are the oil companies, though here again compensation has been offered to them for the capital invested (60% of the total product of the oil fields during the next ten years).

The Government has already taken over the railways and is willing to take over other industries which like the railways cannot carry on without a Government subsidy.

Capitalism Not Abolished

This does not mean that capitalism has been abolished in Mexico. If a capitalist is prepared to cooperate with the Government as some Mexican capitalists are and to pay his workers an adequate wage, he is allowed and even

encouraged to carry on his business. If he cannot satisfy the legal demands of the workers and still run his plant at a profit to himself he is urged by the Government to turn over his investments either to the Government or the workers and they will run it instead. Strikes are considered more natural means of raising the standard of living of the low-paid workers than Government wage scale or hour-limiting decrees. *When the workers go on strike to secure their legal demands the employer must close his plant or shop and pay his strikers full time pay until the strike is settled. During the strike pickets are in complete control of the plant protected and guarded by Government troops. Strike breaking is illegal.*

Democratic Liberties

The Government of Mexico is not repressive even to its opponents. The conservative opposition openly admits the presence of civil liberties guaranteed and protected by the Government. Free speech, free press, and the right of assembly exist to all. Although the power of the Church as landlord and ruler of the peoples' education has been

broken, freedom of religion continues to exist unhampered in Mexico. Government schools, open air theatres, cinemas and public buildings are being constructed.

The one great obstacle to more rapid advance in all spheres is the lack of ready capital. This has got to be built up by the people through the existing industries.

The Question

The question that remains for history to answer, is whether this can be done quickly enough to satisfy the people and consolidate the regime or whether Cardenas failure to take stronger measures against the enemies of the people, the landlords and foreign capitalists will enable them to use their liberty to adopt counter-revolutionary tactics, such as those employed by the same class in Spain.

All of which goes to show that contemporary events have many lessons to teach us here in India, if only we are ready to watch this and learn from them.

Czechoslovakia and the Problem of National Minorities

(Britisher)

Almost all the Sovereign States have been and are multi-national; that is, in every State there are one or more national minorities. The problem of the national minorities is one of the many which the capitalist countries cannot solve.

By the end of 1917, however, a new force, a new ideology, namely socialism, has given rise to a Socialist State. The Soviet Union, realising that the backwardness of the national minorities and the colonial peoples was a direct consequence of centuries of politico-economic

oppression, recognised the principle of equality of opportunity for every citizen, irrespective of his nationality or creed, and at the same time allocated large sums of money to raise the cultural level of all the nationalities. Moreover, Socialist ideology was not imposed on any national minority; but the Communist Party of that national minority was responsible for the spread of Socialism among the members of that minority.

In "Marxism and the national and colonial question", Stalin has outlined the methods which the Soviet Union adopted to solve the problem of the national minorities. Moreover, an ever increasing number of people are recognising the soundness of these methods.

In striking contrast to this new freedom which the formerly oppressed nationalities in USSR are now enjoying, the capitalist countries have spread and are spreading mutual suspicion and helplessness among the national minorities.

The Bolsheviks, as soon as they captured political power in 1917, called for a speedy end of the war. They asserted that no participant in the war had any right to claim any war indemnities and proposed, among other things, that all the nations must support the principle of self-determination to the extent of secession if necessary.

Neither the capitalist countries nor the Social Democratic Parties paid any heed to these proposals. Instead they, the victorious Allies, created new multinational sovereign states. So that today there are German minorities in Italy, France, Czechoslovakia and Poland; Czech minorities in Germany; Polish minorities in Czechoslovakia; Ukrainian minorities in Poland and so on.

It cannot be denied that many of these minorities have suffered certain amount of politico-economic oppression; more so after the depression in 1929. During this period, never was the League of Nations machinery used to support the cause of the national minorities. Britain and France, and the dominating powers in the League of Nations, were more anxious to crush the German Republic than to help the national minorities.

After 1929, a new re-alignment of forces has come into existence: a 'National' Government in Britain, Nazism in Germany, and the spread of war and economic nationalism all over the capitalist world. In the name of unifying the German race, Hitler has persecuted thousands of Jews and crushed the independence of Austria. And his bombers are raining death and destruction in Spain. The Italians and the Japs are using poison gas to 'civilise' the Abyssinians and the Chinese. In the name of 'peace' and 'appeasement' the British 'National' Government is conniving with Hitler to destroy the independence of the smaller states and blackmail France into joining a Four Power Pact which would give Hitler a free hand in Central Europe.

And the most serious obstacle to the realisation of Hitler's war plans, is the existence of Czechoslovakia, the only democratic country in Central Europe. Moreover, she is also a firm supporter of the peace bloc, namely France and the Soviet Union.

The former Austrian Empire was divided, at the end of the war, into four different states: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The racial distribution of the Austrian

Empire was so diffused that it was and is impossible to draw boundaries based on nationality.

In Czechoslovakia, for example, there are $7\frac{1}{2}$ million Czechs, 2 million Slovaks, $3\frac{1}{4}$ million Germans and smaller numbers of Poles, Ukrainians and other national groups. The areas inhabited by the Germans, that is, Bohemia and the Frontier districts in Czech territory, never belonged to Germany. Further the Sudetan Germans are the descendants of immigrants who settled, centuries ago, in Bohemia.

Moreover, the minorities in Czechoslovakia enjoy greater freedom than any other minority in any capitalist country. Here are a few facts at random :

1. In the General Election of 1935, the Germans elected 72 out of a total of 300 deputies to the Czech Parliament—that is nearly 24%.
2. More than 90% of German children go to school where the instruction is in German.
3. About 20% of the Germans are employed in the public services and in the Army of the Republic.
4. A minority language is used in courts and public offices wherever the strength of the minority exceeds 26% of the total population.

It must be noted that the German minority totals about 22% of the population.

In sharp contradiction to this cultural autonomy and economic equality enjoyed by the Germans in Czechoslovakia is the position of the Germans in Italy. For example, the German children in Italy go to schools where the language taught is Italian and not German. Further in this connection, it is best to remember

that the Polish minority in Germany before the Great War were very badly treated.

So far, not a single move has been made by the Nazis to get cultural autonomy for the Germans in Italy. On the other hand, the Nazi controlled Sudetan German Party (S. D. P.) demands a greater share in the Government of the country than it is entitled to demand.

Moreover, the last economic slump struck a heavy blow at the Czech industries. Because 45% of the Germans were engaged in trade and industry as against 30% of the Czechs, of all the nationalities in Czechoslovakia, the Germans suffered the most. Hence, as in any other capitalist country, there is unemployment among the industrial workers. But the Czech Government is prepared to initiate public works to help the unemployed.

Henlein, on the contrary, falsely asserts that unemployment among the Germans is due to Czech 'oppression' and is not a result of the last trade slump.

Further, Henlein demands — and people like Lord Noel Buxton suggest — that Czechoslovakia should be 'cantonalised.' This is impossible for the simple reason that in areas where there is a German majority, there is a non-German minority.

If 'cantonal' autonomy is no solution to the problem of the national minorities in Czechoslovakia, and if, as has been shown, they have more rights and freedom than any other minority in any other capitalist country, then why does Henlein demand territorial autonomy for the Germans? Why is he backed by Hitler?

The reason is not that the Sudetan Germans have any real grievance against

the Czech Government, but that Hitler wants a Czechoslovakia subservient to the Third Reich. One of Henlein's demands is that Czechoslovakia should abandon her pacts of mutual assistance with France and the Soviet Union and instead conclude a pact with Germany.

Like Bismark, Hitler realises that whoever controls the Bohemian plains dominates the whole of Central and South Eastern Europe. Hence, his anxiety to smash the Czech Republic. Further, some of the biggest armaments factories in Europe are in Czechoslovakia. This is a very important factor in the maintenance of Czech independence. This is also one of the many reasons why Hitler wants control over Czechoslovakia.

Unless Hitler controls the foreign policy of Czechoslovakia, he cannot realise his war plans. This means that one of the most effective ways of checking Fascist aggression is by frustrating Hitler's designs on Czechoslovakia.

Since last March, that is, after the conquest of Austria, Henlein has taken up a very uncompromising attitude. Terror and intimidation have been used to force the Sudetan Germans to join his Party, the Sudetan German Party. For example, it is reported that Henlein's teachers tell the children of anti-fascist parents that if the parents do not join Henlein's party they, the parents, will be hanged when the Nazis march into Czechoslovakia. The terror-stricken Germans, unable to get any help, from the Czech Government, were beginning to yield to force.

Chamberlain is anxious to do a deal with the Fascists; to please them he is prepared to sacrifice the independence of the smaller states. But his only wish

is that the Fascists must not be violent in their actions. Unfortunately for him, this is the only thing which his friends cannot do. Nevertheless, he always uses diplomatic pressure to help the Fascists. But never has he declared that he will be faithful to the principle of collective security. Even in his declaration of March 22nd, he only said that if Germany attacked Czechoslovakia it is very difficult to prevent the war from spreading to other parts of Europe. It is this vacillating policy which encourages Hitler to gamble in Central Europe.

On the other hand, The Soviet Union and France declared, as early as last March, that they would carry out their obligations if Czechoslovakia were attacked.

Events were moving fast. Lord Halifax was sent to Geneva (in the middle of May) with special instructions to destroy the principle of collective security. To his surprise, Lord Halifax discovered that Senor del Vayo and M. Litvinov not only exposed the profascist policy of the 'National' Government, but put the Government in the dock along with the other Fascist countries. All the time, public indignation against Chamberlain was rising.

Encouraged by the stand taken by Lord Halifax at Geneva and by the British Labour Leaders' hostility to Unity among all the democratic forces, and seriously underestimating the strength of the popular masses, Hitler decided to gamble. On the 21 of May, that is a day before the Czech Municipal elections, Hitler massed 12 German divisions on the Czech-German frontier. Seizing this opportunity Poland also massed her troops on the Polish-Czech frontier.

Unlike Austria, the Czech Government did not surrender. Confident of the support and the goodwill of France, the Soviet Union and other progressive forces, the Czech Government mobilised the whole country. Troops were sent to the frontier. Many Sudetan German workers helped the troops to erect barricades.

Further, the French Government declared that she would stand by her obligations. The democratic forces became alive to the dangers of a war provoked by the Fascists.

Faced with this situation, Chamberlain had to come to a decision quickly. His choice was between supporting the peace bloc, namely France, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, and remaining neutral, that is, supporting the German offensive. If he had done the latter, the rising wave of public indignation would have swept him out of Office, and consequently would have put an end, once and for all, to his policy of making a deal with the Fascists. Hence he had no alternative but to support the peace bloc. But Chamberlain did not want to displease Hitler. Therefore, he counselled moderation at Berlin; but at the same time refused to give any pledge which would guarantee the independence of Czechoslovakia.

All the capitalist Press, with one voice, claimed that Chamberlain had 'averted' a war. The truth is not that Chamberlain 'averted' a war, but that the will of the democratic forces compelled him to counsel moderation at Berlin. In spite of all the propaganda three facts can be discerned:

1. The application of the principle of Collective Security does not lead to war, but leads to the frustra-

tion of the aggressive designs of the Fascists;

2. The pacts of mutual assistance between the Soviet Union, France and Czechoslovakia are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of peace.
3. If the will of the democratic forces, though unorganised, can avert war, then their united action would ensure the victory of democracy on all the fronts. Moreover, the Czech crisis has verified the correctness of the slogan: United Front against Fascism.

For the moment Hitler has suffered a big defeat. We have not passed yet the danger zone. Chamberlain and Hitler are playing for time for they realise that the democratic forces have scored a great victory. Above anything else, they fear a united democratic front.

On the other hand, democratic parties in Czechoslovakia have made much headway in the Municipal elections. Henlein has received a big setback in the sense that the results did not justify his claim to be 'Fuehrer' of the Sudetan Germans. Since then he has suffered a bigger setback in the Municipal elections.

The most serious danger to the Czech independence is that Chamberlain is advising the Czech Government to withdraw the troops from the frontier districts. This policy if carried out can have only one result. And that is the internal disruption of the Czech Government. Therefore the Czech people have rightly rejected Chamberlain's proposal. On the other hand, the strength of the Czech resistance to Fascist provocation depends on the help she gets from the democratic forces.

Instead of a direct attack on Czechoslovakia, Hitler might prefer to strangle her economically by crushing the independence of the Danubian States, namely Hungary, Yugoslavia and Roumania. Though these countries have reactionary Governments, they are very worried about Germany's expansionist aims. An ever increasing number of people are closing their ranks against Fascism. Thousands have expressed their determination to volunteer to fight for Czech independence.

However encouraging this may be, without any support from the democratic peoples in Britain and France, without a fighting lead from the Labour and Socialist International, it is difficult to expect that the Central European States can crush the Fascist menace. Therefore, it is highly regrettable that the Second and the Third Internationals have not closed their ranks for the purpose of united action against the common enemy, Fascism and war.

Agrarian Revolt in Mansa

S. Batliwala.

Area	25 Sq. miles ;	
Population	10,000 Masana Town ; 6,000 Twelve Villages ;	Total 16,000

Situation in the Sabarkantha Agency, near Ahmedabad (Gujrat)

"Revolutions are the locomotives" of history, "Said Marx : the Mansa peasant was busy forging a miniature "locomotive" from 12th, December 1937 to 12th June, 1938. And the "locomotive" fairly promises to pull the train of progress and democracy a considerable distance out of the morass of feudal ignorance and oppression that is State Gujrat.

Kept in subjection for ages, governed with the iron rod of autoeracy, languishing in poverty and darkness, the peasant of Mansa was a forgotten entity in the march of events in India. But the Mansa peasant has now shaken off [the torpor, and has taken his rightful place in modern history.

The Causes :

In 1897 the system of revenue location in Mansa was converted from crop share to fixed rates to be revised every ten years. In 1898 the income of the State was Rs. 23,000 ; in 1918, it had risen to 92,000 ; in 1938, it is Rs. 1,48,000. During the last forty years, land revenue has become more than four fold : it has risen from Rs. 18,000 to Rs. 78,000. Again, if we compare the land revenue rate per Bigha, we find that the neighbouring Gaikwadi territory charges at the rate of Rs. 3/- per Bigha, while Mansa rate goes up to Rs. 7—12 as. So, increasing poverty and exploitation had been driving the Kisan to the corner from where the only escape was to

turn round and fight. And fight they did.

In 1921, the State had issued a series of regulations regarding the people's right. And increasingly they were observed in their breach. Inhuman extortions, legal or illegal, had become the rule. The burden was threatening to break the camel's back. 1937 supplied the last straw. The year 1937 was the one marked out for a fresh revision settlement. The State authorities seeing the prospect of reduction in revenue due to the drastic fall in prices, tried to evade the responsibility. The Kisans organised, and declared their determination to pay revenue on the original crop sharing basis (1/5th of the produce), if relief was not granted. The State greeted the representatives of the people with ominous silence. The people in their desperation turned to the Political agent at Sadara, making out a case for 50% reduction in land revenue. The Agent and the Dewan had a meeting, and it was decided to throw a crumb of 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ % reduction to the hungry Kisans. Two thousand Kisans marched to Sadara and repudiated it. This was in October, 1937. In December the peasants petitioned their ruler once again and requested for 50% reduction. The peasant masses went in person to present the petition. The police lost their balance, and pushed and kicked the petitioners. *One old peasant fell down and was crushed to death in the stampede. The first victim had been registered.*

At this stage some of the big businessmen in Bombay who hail from Mansa sent a deputation to intercede on the people's behalf, and compromised with the Dewan over an extra 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % reduction. The news of the treachery spread like

wild fire, and within a short space of time nearly 1500 peasants collected in front of the palace and denounced the agreement made without authority to stab them in the back. The merchants soon made themselves scarce. Three thousand kisans assembled at Vagasana in the Baroda territory on the 12th of December and solemnly resolved to withhold payment of land revenue till it was reduced by 50% and all the original rights of the peasants were restored. "We paid as long as we could. We fight because we cannot pay," was the simple logic of the peasant.

These were the incidental causes. The root cause of the struggle is not peculiar to Mansa alone; it is at the bottom of all the upheavals we have been witnessing in the native States. It is due to the fact that the death-knell of feudalism has been sounded even in India, the last repository of this out-of-date form of Government. Feudal autocracy is doomed, and the Kisan, along with the merchant, is the source through which the relief from feudal tyranny is promised by history.

Struggle

On the 8th of January the struggle was inaugurated by the observance of a complete hartal, the merchants taking a prominent part in it. There were still nine days left for the last date of payment of land revenue, which was declared by the Dewan as January, 17. But the whole Police force swooped down on the village of Itadara. On the day of the hartal, every house was besieged the men were thrashed mercilessly, the women molested and made to part with their ornaments. This siege and conquest of Itadara took three days.

The same fate was in store for Bapupura on the 11th and 12th, Fatahpura on the 14th and Punjapara on the 17th. With all this terror, brutal inhumanity and daylight robbery, the State forces when they marched back victorious to the capital carried the glorious sum of Rs. 3,800 out of a possible Rs. 35,000 due from the villages in question. The peasantry was left a solid united mass, realising the length to which the state police would go, and driven to the definite resolve that their struggle was not merely against an unjustified tax, but also against an irresponsible form of Government. Events followed fast one on another. Instances of repression of torture, inhuman beating, lawlessness of the "guardians of Law," multiplied. The peasants answered it by the formation of the Khedut Committee, with a President in whom they vested all executive power. They established contact with the Congress Committee in British India. They invited journalists from outside to witness their ordeal, and called for an All-India Mansa Day. They refused to rely on sentiment or on support from outside elements alone; they knit their organisation into a centralised compact working body. They refused to be cajoled with compromise, refused to strike bargains; they resolved not to exist on the mercy of the Prince, but by dint of their own strength.

The State issued statements about reliefs, ordered confiscations of land and attachments galore. The Khedut Committee answered every pronouncement with a bulletin, patiently explaining the State tricks and asserting the right of the peasant to equitable taxation. When ordinances were issued, the Khedut

Committee openly called for defiance of all bans. It also established, along with a volunteer Corps of some odd 200, an enquiry Committee to report on administrative abuses. The State declared all standing crops and harvests forfeited. The peasants, aided by the women, organised mass reappings, and removed the crops outside the State border before the administration could do much damage. The women of Mansa came to the fore and organised meetings and processions of women, withstood police oppression, and sent a thrill throughout India by their boldness, bravery and staunch fight.

When the State resorted to tricks for fomenting internal disunity in the solid kisan ranks, the peasants replied by social boycott of all state officials.

A People's Panchayat

With every attempt to smother the movement, the Khedut Committee took a step forward in the march to victory. After land revenue, stamp and court fee revenue were crippled, The State department came to a stop because nobody would approach them. The Khedut Committee not only took over the maintenance of internal tranquility and order but strictly guarded against any lapse in face of even the gravest provocation. The Khedut Committee organised the election of their panchayat of fifty-one based on adult franchise, and elected by a free vote. The People's Panchayat was to be the basis for the Government of the State as a whole. The elected representatives of the people met on 10th May for this purpose, and put up a demand for the association of the people in the administration, claiming also that the Prince was dependent for his

existence on the goodwill of the people and if he misbehaved they could remove him.

The Kisans on the offensive.

The 'stage had definitely gone when the attacks of the state left the peasants on the defensive. Now the peasants took the initiative and it was decided that each peasant would cut one tree from the jungle in order to assert the fundamental claim of the peasant as the real owner of the State. 11th, 12th and 13th of May witnessed unparalleled scenes of valour, when the women led the jungle satyagrah and courted arrests. The Dewan had to yield.

They dared to say 'We shall win' and they won.

The Khedut Committee had demanded independent arbitration, and it had previously been refused. Now the State authorities pleaded for it through the good offices of the Congress leaders of Gujerat. On the 12th June, after negotiations on equal terms between the State and peoples' representatives, an agreement was reached. Twenty-nine clauses were signed by the Prince on one side and the people's delegates on the other. The Magna Charta of Mansa was sealed in the presence of Sjt. Vallabhahbai Patel.

Some of the important terms of the agreement were:

1. A new revision survey settlement on the model of Baroda Land Revenue Code should be completed before 1940.
2. 35% reduction till the new settlement comes into force.
3. Improvements on land by the peasants between settlements not to go towards enhancing the rate at a fresh revision.
4. All occupancy rights—of sale, mortgage, gift or inheritance to be recognised.
5. Trees on land to belong to the kisan.
6. No forced labour of any kind.
7. The Khedut Punchayat recognised by the State.
8. All satyagrahis to be released, fines remitted, repressive orders withdrawn.

Mansa has lighted the torch of awakening in the backward States of Gujrat and Kathiawad. The peasants of Mansa dared to say "We shall win." And they have won. They have raised a bulwark against reaction by their elected Punchayat. They have popularised the strategy and tactic of struggle for the States' peoples, and inscribed the name of Mansa on the scrolls of modern Indian history.

Conditions in a Karnatak Village

By H. M. Bableshtar.

[The districts of British Karnatak in the Bombay Presidency are proverbial for their famine-stricken conditions. The present Bijapur district and the surrounding area is a typical drought region. Once in the days of Adil Shah these very parts were a rich agricultural tract and one of the biggest trading centres in the South, of Medieval India. Drought must have been as common in those days as

it is today. But the Adilshahi created a widespread network of well and tank irrigation which formed the basis for thriving agriculture. The days of political upheaval which followed the decline of the Adil Shahi and later the Peshawai, meant the slow destruction of this old system of irrigation. The early years of British Rule completed the process. The early British agrarian policy as pointed out by R. C. Dutt, systematically neglected irrigation. The silted tank of Mahmadapur, the innumerable silted up wells round about Bijapur are silent witnesses to the process. The intensive Tax farmings, and the opening up of the village to capitalist market, and the consequent rise of the all powerful Money lender, the inexorable process of the concentration of land ownership in the hands of the few have been the other main causes which have reduced agriculture to the present perilous state in the Raiyatwari areas of the Deccan.

The present survey covers a village not very far from Bijapur town. The student investigator has collected interesting material which we are reproducing below. There are certain important facts missing in this survey. The figures of the total number of families (total population), the number of cultivating families (number of ploughs) the number of labouring families and untouchable families are not given. It is necessary to know the number of families who live entirely by tilling other people's land, and those who have to rent additional land for tilling from big land holders. Family Budget of land-labourers and of untouchable cultivators ought to have been investigated. Without these facts it is impossible to know the class-structure of the village as a whole. No village survey can be really useful from the point of view of building up the kisan movement which must form the backbone of our national struggle for freedom in the villages and which is the only guarantee of CHANGING these wretched conditions, of building up a new and prosperous agriculture on an entirely new basis.—EDITOR]

Along with the spread of literacy among the villages a survey of their economic condition was one of the important task adumbrated in the scheme prepared by the Bombay Presidency Students' Federation. Accordingly our Bijapur Student's Union conducted a detailed survey of the villages. Among many other things the inquiry pertained to (a) the distribution of land holders according to gradations in acreage showing the number of holdings that are uneconomic, those of the middle section that just make both ends meet and lastly of the richer section; (b) the cost of cultivation and the family budget of

the farmers; (c) the incidence of revenue demand to the total yield per acre; and lastly (d) the problem of indebtedness, its extent and causes. The results of our inquiry have shown what has been an already acknowledged fact, that the conditions in the villages are deteriorating day by day. What with the steadily growing general impoverishment, uncertain rains that are a feature of this stricken region, the total yield per acre has gone so low that one is at a loss to know what an economic holding means. For about two decades ago it used to be pointed out by learned men like Dr. Mann and others who had con-

ducted studies in the Rural Conditions that a holding of 15 acres should be termed an economic holding. If by an economic holding we mean that a cultivator should be able to make both ends meet on the produce he gets therefrom, it will be seen that even a holding of 50 acres cannot yield enough to suffice for a family of five. Thus it will be seen that among 500 holdings in the village of Nagthan only two families could be said to be rich and ten families, as well off, and about a ten more just struggling to be free from debts while the rest of more than 400 families could not live on the produce, their holdings would turn out. Some of them could supplement their income by working on

others' fields and doing other sundry labour while a bulk of them, for want of such work, live a life of semi-starvation. Most of them are steeped in debts so much so, that their land is rapidly passing into the hands of money lenders and absentee landlords.

Distribution of Land-holdings

Although there are about 500 holdings in Nagthan village it will be seen that about 40 families hold nearly half of the total acreage, i.e., about 4000 acres and about 250 families hold 5000 acres while the rest of 200 families hold barely 600 acres. The distribution of land is thus most uneven and it will be seen that this inequity is rapidly increasing with the passage of time.

TABLE I

Distribution of land Ownership in

NAGTHAN

HOLDINGS.	LAND-HOLDERS.	TOTAL ACRES.
5 and below 5 acres.	76	221
6 " " 10 "	65	433
11 " " 20 "	140	2194
21 " " 30 "	66	1620
31 " " 50 "	41	1591
50 " " 100 "	30	2075
100 " " 250 "	12	1752
250 & above	2	676
	432	10562

Family Budgets

Regarding the cost of cultivation and family budgets we studied two holdings—one of 40 acres and the other of 110 acres. In the case of the former the annual income was Rs. 140 and the expenses were Rs. 103, excluding the expenses of food and clothing for a family of 2 males, 3 females and 3 children. This family's bare expenses for one year were Rs. 180 for food and about Rs. 60 for clothing, amounting to Rs. 240 while the yield from the land of 40 acres deducting the cost of cultivation was only Rs. 40. Thus it was inevitable for the farmer not to run into debts and he has already lost a field of about 20 acres

in debt. He is now supplementing his income by working on other's lands besides his and thus struggling on.

In the case of the latter he had 40 acres of wet land, and over 60 acres of dry land. From the wet land he could take two crops and his total income was about Rs. 800 while the expenses were about Rs. 500. The bare expenses for food for a family of 3 males and 3 females and 4 children were about Rs. 200 and clothing Rs. 100. Thus it will be seen that the standard of a farmer having 100 acres of land, is precisely the same as that of one having only 40 acres of land i. e., the barest minimum.

TABLE II

Family budget of a person with a holding of 40 acres.

NINGAPPA ARKERI

—Family of 5 adults & 3 children—

INCOME	EXPENDITURE
Rs. 40-0-0 8 bags of Jawari. 10-0-0 2 bags of oil seeds. 30-0-0 Fodder. 50-0-0 5 bags of wheat. 10-0-0 2 bags of oil seeds.	Rs. 16-0-0 Ploughing for two times. 3-0-0 Jawar & oil seeds. 11-0-0 Wheat & oil seeds. 16-0-0 Sowing charges. 6-0-0 Harrowing charges 2 times. 9-0-0 Guarding expenses. 13-0-0 Reaping expenses. 5-0-0 Harvesting & hiring expenses. 24-0-0 Land Revenue.
Rs. 140-0-0	103-0-0
Yearly deficit Rs. 203-0-0	180-0-0 Food charges. 60-0-0 Clothing charges.
	Rs. 343-0-0

TABLE III

Cost of Cultivation and Family budget of a person
of a holdings of over 10 acres.

GIREPPA ATKERI

—Family of 5 adults & 4 children—

INCOME		EXPENDITURE	
40-0-0	20 bags Ground nuts.	60-0-0	Ploughing twice.
10-0-0	2 „ Bajri.	12-0-0	Seeds. Jawar Oil.
5-0-0	Grazing Income.	20-0-0	Wheat & Oil seeds.
56-0-0	8 Wheat.	6-0-0	Cotton seeds.
20-0-0	4 Jawari.	16-0-0	Ground nuts.
160-0-0	Cotton, 80 Mds.	2-0-0	Khariff seeds.
160-0-0	Cotton, 80 „	45-0-0	Sowing.
150-0-0	30 Jawari. „	22-0-0	Harrowing 2 times.
100-0-0	20 „ (Bagayat).	20-0-0	Weeding charges.
10-0-0	2 Oil seeds.	10-0-0	Manures.
10-0-0	Fodder.	40-0-0	Watering charges.
Rs. 791-0-0		10-0-0	Gardener for watering trees.
		70-0-0	Protecting expenses.
		20-0-0	Harvesting, reaping.
		16-0-0	Hire expenses.
		20-0-0	Cotton picking charges.
		100-0-0	Land Revenue.
		491-0-0	
		200-0-0	Food charges.
		100-0-0	Clothing.
		791-0-0	

Looking to the very low yield per acre the incidence of land revenue will be seen to be excessively high. It will amount to more than 60 percent of the yield.

Indebtedness

By far the worst feature of the economic condition of the villages is the problem indebtedness. The ruin of cottage industries by the products of machine industry, the consequent pressure on land, general impoverishment, declining prices, low yield of land and lastly, but most important of all, the apathy of the Government to provide

cheap credit facilities, have driven the needy peasant into the arms of the wily money-lender whose business methods border on plunder and pillage of the highway men, we read of in history. Giving a certain sum as loan, pitching the deed to it twice with an interest varying between 12 to 60 per cent and getting the land in Dak-Kharidi (Sale deed) in an inconceivably small amount of money; these are some of the ways of the money lenders that are carrying on their nefarious business in Nagathan and surrounding villages. [Be it noted however that the money-lenders are not

all unlettered men who are unscrupulous in their dealings, but among them are persons who rank high in society and the irony of it is that some of them have been interpreters of law to the Government here in this District.

One or two instances may be pointed as to the rapacious ways of the money lenders.

(1) N...drew a loan of Rs. 600/- from a well known money lender of Pijapur. Within two years the amount rose to Rs. 1,000 to pay which the debtor got another loan from some other person. This loan of Rs. 1,000/- amounted to Rs. 3,000/- in about six years and a land of 28 acres was taken possession of by the money lender in satisfaction of the same.

(2) S...drew Rs. 300/- from the same money lender as the former had done. But the money lender got the sale deed of 20 acres land for Rs. 600/- at an interest of 24 percent. Within about two years the land was taken possession of by the money lender.

(3) M...drew Rs. 2,000/- about 20 years back from the same money lender

probably at 30 percent. Within 5 years the amount rose to 5600. A decree was passed to the effect that the amount was to be paid in 4 instalments. After two years Rs. 2800 were paid. The other two instalments were not paid for five years. Then again the sum rose to Rs. 5000/- 7000/- 9000/- The money lender got one orchard of the debtor auctioned for Rs. 2500/-. Seeing that a precious garden worth more than Rs. 10,000/- was going to be lost in a small amount the debtor in compromise got made an award for this Rs. 9000/- to be paid in 7 instalments making over the whole of his estate i.e., 200 acres of land to the money lender, the conditions being that if the debtor failed to give two instalments successively the land would be forfeited to the money lender. The debtor is now on the point of losing all his estate.

Thus conditions have so worsened in the villages that state intervention has become inevitable and must be brought as early as possible with a view to scale down the debts or cancel them and to rehabilitate the former owners of their respective properties.

THOUSANDS CERTIFY AS THE
BEST IN THE MARKET

VHR




MISKY

VHR ASAFOETIDA VHR

VARJIWANDAS HIRJEE & Co
194 GOVINDAPPA NAICK ST, MADRAS. 9

Molotov on the Struggle Against Trotskyist and other Wreckers and Spies

(Continued from July issue)

The Danger of Bureaucratisation Within the Party Itself

The danger of the Party members themselves falling into a form of bureaucratisation, thus shirking responsibility, and destroying the life and vigour of the Party, is brilliantly dealt with by comrade Molotov. His scathing remarks on such tendencies, give the lie direct to those who say that the Communist Party in the Soviet Union has become a clique of self-satisfied and vainglorious self-seekers. "Not infrequently we hear from responsible comrades that they receive workers from the Party, from the Party organisation. By this they mean to say that a so-called "responsible worker" is not responsible for the selection of the personnel of his apparatus, that if these workers are poor or simply prove to be enemies, the responsibility for it rests not on the immediate director, but on the Party organisation which sent the worker. Such statements could be understood perhaps if they were made by non-Party people to whom the Party is an alien business. Communists cannot speak in this way: the Party organisation is responsible, of course, for a Communist, and for those whom it sends for this or that work, but this does not mean that anybody has been given the right to soil the name of the Party.

On the contrary, our foremost duty, the duty of leaders, is the duty to verify the workers sent by a Party organisation by their work.....The duty of the leader consists of warning the Party organisation in good time of defects and particularly of crimes on the part of those who work directly under the given leader..."

What is the Method of Leadership?

The question of the training up of cadres and the proper selection of personnel raises immediately the question: What is the right method of leadership? The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has devoted much thought recently to this question. It has realised the defective leadership, the tendency

towards bureaucratisation which has appeared even in its own ranks. And it has set out to aim a blow at the arm-chair methods of this leadership.

Comrade Molotov discusses at some length the various defective methods of leadership. In the first place, he blames the tendency to "functionalism" which was current some time ago in the various industries of the Soviet Union. By "functionalism" is meant the attempt to make up for lack of experience and knowledge by the creation of numerous functional organs in industry, loosely knit together, through an intricate bureaucratic machinery. "Thus a few years ago in the cotton goods industry they began to abolish such trades as weaving, replacing the weavers by unskilled workers performing separate simplified production functions into which the weaving work was divided." Such a process encouraged confusion, the ideal medium for wreckers to work in.

Another defective method was the so-called "one-man" responsibility in the economic organisations. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union pointed out the dangers of permitting individual persons such liberty of control and condemned this "one-man" responsibility method.

Thirdly, the heads of firms and trusts, and even the assistants failed to keep in actual and frequent contact with their factories and especially with the personnel of the factories. Comrade Stalin as far back as 1931 had pointed out this defect and had demanded that it be set right.

And finally, the development of new technique itself requires that careful instructions in the running of enterprises, in the proper ordering of the work, in the working of the machines should be given to the workers.

"In recent years our factories and mills have been largely re-equipped or built anew. It is no longer possible to work in the old way. There must be technical rules and instructions in the shops, these rules and instructions must

be well-known to the workers concerned...only by an irrational attitude towards production is it possible to explain the neglect of this matter".

"It is necessary to remember also that our enemies the Trotskyist wreckers take advantage of disorder to interfere with production, to injure the working class."

Why do the Trotskyists Resort to Wrecking?

"The wrecking--diversionist--spying work of the Trotskyists and all their allies shows that they are no longer capable of openly fighting against the Soviet power, in view of their weakness. They follow the dark trails of double-dealing, not because they would not like to attack Socialism and its builders openly, but because the forces of the Socialist system are incomparably superior to what the enemies are able to place in the field.....

The exposure of the wrecking, diversions and spying of the Japanese-German Trotskyist agents has accentuated the acuteness and gravity of the struggle between capitalism and Socialism in our time. The enemy resort to all means in the struggle....."

Should we be Surprised at Desertions?

"Desertions from the revolutionary camp to the enemy have long been known to the workers. The history of the struggle for Socialism knows a good many of them. The approach of new, big revolutionary events, the basis of which are the success of Socialism in the U. S. S. R. encourages in every country the workers who are striving with all their might towards liberation, but at the same time sows panic among the people who are permeated with bourgeois prejudices and disbelief in the forces of the working class. The desertion of the Trotskyists and Bucharinists into the camp of the bourgeoisie, their conversion into a band of wreckers, diversionists, assassins and spies, testifies precisely to this.

"Those who have deserted us are incapable of fighting against the bourgeoisie (who prefer to link up their fate with capitalism rather than with the working class). We must rejoice at the

fact that we have exposed the enemy at a time when preparations for new battles are in progress, before these battles have broken out. We must hasten to finish this matter without putting it off and without displaying hesitation."

Comrade Molotov was of-course writing before the second and third series of trials. These further trials only testify to the fact that the wreckers were still at work and that equally determined were the leaders of the Soviet regime to root them out.

The Duty of Every Bolshevik

Molotov sums up the tasks of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, words which apply with equal force to those who are struggling to achieve Socialism in other lands:

"WHILE there is time we must utilise every moment in order to pull up the weak sections, in order to attain the labour productivity of the most developed countries. It is necessary even more strongly to draw into our work the broad mass of toilers, the rank and file workers, the active people. It is necessary to improve the Bolshevik training of cadres and to organise in Bolshevik manner the selection of personnel in all organisations. It is necessary to remember that the enemy is now prepared to do anything, utilise every means of struggle, creep into every crevice: the enemy [utilises also our Party card in order to deceive us, in order to worm himself into places to which he has no other access. The enemy puts on the mask of a Communist in order to get into leading posts, seeing that the entire leadership, in all spheres is in the hands of Communists. The exposure and expulsion of the enemy from the active army of builders of Socialism, the strengthening of our army, the strengthening of its force are a guarantee of new success.

For this reason each of us must remember the sacred duty of a Communist, must develop his Bolshevik vigilance, must raise the Bolshevik consciousness of cadres. To the extent that we, Bolsheviks will understand our tasks and draw the necessary conclusions, Bolshevik conclusions, to that extent will our advance be accelerated."

READ

THE NATIONAL FRONT.

**A Marxist—Leninist Weekly Published at
(62, E. Girgaon Road) Bombay.**

THE NATIONAL FRONT

Stands to unite the popular forces of our country in an uncompromising mass struggle against Imperialism for INDEPENDENCE and for a truly democratic and sovereign state in India—which alone can guarantee an advance towards the well-being of the masses—towards the solution of the problem of poverty and unemployment—which alone can open the path towards a free political, economic and cultural growth of our people, and—for Socialism.

Yearly Subscription Rs. 4—0—0

Single Copy 0—1—0

501



TOMCO

WASHING SOAPS.

Last Longest, Wash best, Save money, Save Labour,
Save clothes. Finest range of Washing Soaps ever
made in India, with Indian Capital and labour.

Available everywhere.

**Tomco Sales Dept.,
19. A. Vaniar Street,
Madras.**

T A T A



TOMCO

THE TATA OIL MILLS

**Co. Ltd.,
Tatapuram & Bombay.**



**WORLD-WIDE ACCLAIM
GREET'S REO'S BRILLIANT
NEW TRUCKS AND BUSSES**

Upholding Their Title

"America's Toughest Trucks" Thousands of Reos have served above a quarter-Million Miles-with incredibly low Maintenance Costs!

Records like these are possible for Reo, not only because it is truck-built throughout, but because each unit is engineered To Fit THE JOB.

DISTRIBUTORS :

RANE (Madras) LTD.,

MOUNT ROAD :: :: MADRAS.

