

we have there a movement of the masses which was able to take control of the town, first of all, Congress leaders for police-men, and the British press saying leaders taking control in own hands, then ~~amritsar~~ comes Sholapur, masses there mainly proletariat must have made up main section of Sholapur, don't know exactly what happened there due to the strict censorship. But the fact is of tremendous significance and even in Peshawar most terrific repression launched by the British Government of martial law and flogging.

The beginning of the agrarian revolution shown by the "red shirts" Tremendous attention is being paid to these "red shirts" and not so much to Sholapur and Peshawar. It is being definitely shown as an armed revolt amongst the peasantry, while Sholapur itself is of special significance and is never mentioned. We cannot tell how far this peasant movement is true, because of the censorship. We must not allow it to remain here, we must make it clear that we are not getting news of the happenings in India. In this connection we can use Amritsar happenings in 1919, which were not published for 6 months after it happened. This is extremely significant, and particularly bearing on the development of the agrarian revolution. We cannot tell just how far the Indian Revolution has progressed. There were at least four districts refusing to pay taxes or paying $\frac{1}{2}$ taxes; absence of news makes things hard. First there was a decision of the Congress leaders to start a campaign against the payment of the land tax. Why have Congress leaders launched land tax campaign, because peasant district after district must be going ahead with it already. The fact that the British Government issues statement that it is a crime holding back rent must see rapid growth of peasants' revolt, and this is of tremendous significance. Because tremendous perspectives linked up largely with the two things - one speed of development of the movement of the masses of peasants, and the other speed and development in India of mass Communist Party, disciplined, centralised, and illegal.

In the chapter dealing with social fascism the opening paragraph requires reformulation. The situation is that the development of social fascism you get more and more of the bureaucracy and the social fascists parties linked up. But as social fascism develops in this way from the top, the aristocracy of labour have more and more interest in the retention of its share of the profit of colonial exploitation, and you therefore, have a definite economic basis for the special use of social fascism and the social fascist government for the crushing of the colonial revolt. Now the specific way social fascism carries out repression is by promises and round table conferences. Particularly do the so-called "leftists" strengthen promise tactics by saying that the Government will fulfill promise. We must expose social fascism and show that promises not being carried out. We must fight against this in all our agitation and propaganda, especially against propaganda of the impossibility to leave India. British movement depends and made up by system of keeping India in backward state. The maintaining of its hold on India is very important for British imperialism, and this we must get clear in our propaganda. And in this connection we must expose the Brownway's and Maxton's.

In connection with the chapter dealing with the instructions to form 'hands off India committees.' Now what do the workers think when we say hands off - does it mean present attack on India must be stopped. If that is the fact of hands off Indian slogan, then comrades, this slogan must be made clear in our propaganda as smashing the grip of British Imperialism in India, withdrawing soldiers, completely breaking whole connection between India.. It has been suggested that the slogan 'hands off India' is suitable for the German comrades, American comrades, French comrades, but is not suitable for the British Party. This is, of

course, impossible. We cannot have two slogans inside the International. It is clearly a very big error to be opposed to this slogan on such a ground; also error to be opposed to it on the ground of the workers won't understand it. This demands that we help them to fight against the bourgeoisie to break their grip. The difficulty of the slogan is not that it does not sufficiently link up British working class and the Indian struggle, but that comrades simply utter it mechanically among the workers in this country.

Another point dealing with the organising of strikes, in order to prevent transport of munitions and the specific case in the last week of the Albert Docks. To-day I think the Central Committee and afterwards the London District Party Committee must discuss very definitely all the lessons of the failure to stop this boat. It is necessary to find out how the Jolly George was stopped in 1920 and how to stop boats. We must give detailed attention and learn how to stop transport of munitions. Further to this question, in the whole programme of this work, it is necessary for the District Party Committees to consider machinery to strengthen the campaign. We must bring in comrades from the factories, as well as in the locals in Glasgow for special meetings and the building up of an apparatus for fighting for the Indian Revolution..

The Communist Party of Great Britain has greatest responsibility of all the Parties in the International, in relation to the Indian Revolution. This responsibility is not felt throughout the Party, and we must make every effort in the locals to get in touch with Indians, to speak to sailors, finding comrades with a smattering of Hindustani, and above all carrying on propaganda amongst the troops; all of these responsibilities are extremely essential, and the Central Committee members should fully realise it, and when the Central Committee goes back after this discussion to see in every district and local that this question is put to the forefront - in deeds and not in words.

In regard to the changes in the resolution, I think an Editorial Committee can be appointed to make certain changes in formulations.

Hoyle:

Would it be true to say that the Red Shirts were armed bands of peasants equivalent to the Chinese Nationalists Movement of 1927?

Robin:Arnot:

There isn't much information about the Red Shirts but they are not to be compared with the Chinese Nationalist Movement.

Allan:

There is a suggestion in the papers that the Red Shirts are bands organised by some prince on the North-West frontier. Doesn't this cut across the proposition that the Red Shirts are closely associated with the workers? How far is it true?

Arnot:

Whether the chief of the Red Shirts is a prince or not does not matter, as it does not necessarily mean he is a supporter of British Imperialism if he is.

McGree:

In connection with the non-violence of Ghandi and the General Council's attitude in 1926. Did I understand Comrade Arnot to say that this accelerated the strike movement in this country?

Arnot:

This engering the movement in order to betray it is not confined to Ghandi. The point is surely this that with the rapid growth of the revolutionary mass movement and Ghandi had tried to lead movement, in order to mislead it; the only possible course was to lead movement in order to stem the mass revolutionary

movement, but the steps he takes to stem it, actually increases and serves to increase movement.

Comrade Robson:

I agree with the line in the P.B. document, and I want to stress one or two aspects of this. I think it is necessary to stress them, because of the fact that throughout the Party we have the non-realisation of the importance of the movement going on in India; there is a certain amount of response and enthusiasm amongst the comrades, but a lack of understanding of what is exactly involved. I think this gives the Executive members, and particularly the leadership of the Party at the Centre the responsibility of carrying through a real good campaign, linking up all the aspects of the situation.

I want to deal mainly with the practical tasks. Here again we find that united front work is first and foremost, and on this there is considerable confusion, and there is serious evidence of sectarianism, particularly against the question of 'hands off India Committees.' This prevails in the Indian Workers' Welfare League and throughout the Party from top to bottom - this strong sectarianism and unwillingness to work with non-Party comrades. I think, therefore, that it is necessary to say something to the Party membership of the deepening movement for the defence of the revolution, support of the revolution and the necessity for 'Hands off India Committees.'

The preparation for strike action in the resolution is most important where practical tasks are concerned.

When it comes to dealing with the Indian situation up we are up against something very difficult indeed. The London Docks, or one section of them - Albert Dock - is something like 3 miles long. Comrade Aylward had to confess, that despite all efforts to get men to be prepared to take strike action, and the issuing of a very good leaflet by the M.M. that he had failed. So far then we have failed to get anything like a realistic approach to the question of approach to the dockers and to get them to see the reason why they as dockers must take action to stop munitions going to India. We have failed to solve this problem as yet. The next step is to get hold of colonial men and try and get them around us and the M.M. and use them to stop job; if we can get sufficient forces of colonial workers, who are prepared to go on the job and stop it, we will be able to achieve success. This question must be carefully considered by the Colonial Department.

Finally, on the question of developing colonial work; when comrades of the colonial department asked us to call a colonial department and suggested we call conference on India. But the trouble comrades is, that the Party comrades are not sufficiently interested in colonial work; a great deal of lip service is paid to colonial work and the only way to build up real colonial work is for the comrades in the departments to consider the practical aspects of colonial work, stressing the importance throughout the ranks of the Party, and building up the League Against Imperialism, and 'Hands Off India Committees.'

Comrade Gallacher:

It is absolutely necessary for every one of us to give a close study to this question of India. India is the Empire. If India goes, British imperialism is finished, and the movement in India towards the revolutionary struggle against imperialism is of the very greatest and fundamental importance to the workers in this country.

Two years ago, at the Comintern, the question of India gone into carefully, and the Comintern resolution made clear that a National Revolution in India can drive forward the proletariat and

peasantry and fight against exploitation. We got this resolution and then forgot all about it. But about 14 or 15 months ago a number of leaders were arrested and sent to Meerut, and we then commenced a campaign of a rather sporadic character. But the Meerut prisoners was not the big thing for us to understand, but what was behind the arrest of these comrades. What was happening is what the Comintern brought out two years ago, the struggle for the liberation of the Indian workers and peasants.

Yesterday, in discussing the woollen situation, Comrade Rust was very anxious to get comrades to understand the role of the social fascists and that a division of labour takes place. Well this is happening in connection with India. The movement is rapidly developing in India and we find Purcell, Brockway, and others going to India in order to destroy that movement, that militant movement, and to get that movement into safe channels, but the masses repudiated the leadership, so far as the General Council and Amsterdam is concerned. Then following the failure to destroy the movement comes the arrest of the leaders. This is another attempt to destroy this movement and this fails. The movement goes on developing and growing and then comes along Mrs. Ghandi and company, for the purpose of destroying the movement. We have got to make it clear to the workers about this division of labour in order to destroy the militant movement.

There is another matter I want to talk about and is in connection with Ireland. One thing that is preventing the building of the Party in Ireland is the sectarianism of our group of comrades there, they are lost in the sea of republicanism.

We must study the question of the liberation of Ireland. But first we must see that our comrades get rid of their sectarianism. I'll give you an example. Many comrades came to me after Mrs. Despard had signed a form to join the Party saying that she ought not to have been allowed to join and so on, and we have got to give very serious attention to this question, after discussion of this, and we must give proper assistance to Comrade Stewart, who has been sent there by this executive to assist, and he is in rather a difficult position and under the direction of an international comrade, and we have got to consider the position of comrade from the International and Comrade Stewart and the Executive, when dealing with the Indian Resolution, and give a thought or two to instructing the P.B. and in connection with taking steps to liquidate the bad position in Ireland, for surely we can do very big organisational work amongst large sections of the peasants in Ireland.

Comrade Cosslett:

After Comrade Rust visited the Working Bureau of South Wales the comrades began to realise the importance of the Indian Revolution, and the character of the revolution and all other things in connection with the struggle in India. This only goes to prove that we have neglected the question of colonial work. We have to remember what happened in 1924, during the Labour Government's term, when the struggle was likely to take place and the Southampton transport workers never handled the loading of the ships, and in this connection in our publication in order to get to the British dockers and workers in this country, we cannot forget the question of giving them facts, hours of ~~wages~~ of labour, wages paid, which is likely to attract more interest and will mean far more than a general statement. We want more facts and details of the wages and conditions of the peasants of India, so that

we can get to the workers and get them interested in the Indian problem.

Comrade Shields:

I think comrades, in connection with the Indian position, we must get Party clear on what exactly is the situation there and how a movement of development in this connection can be made; we should also in the present document draw attention to the fact that the Indian Revolution is following events in certain other parts of the Empire and the necessity for mobilising support for the Indian Revolution.

I think that there is confusion revealed in the Party as to the character of the Indian Revolution and the need for developing a Communist Party in India, and in this connection in chapter 5 on the question of the role of the Workers and Peasants' Party some comrades brought out the question of forces actually leading the struggle at the present time. Chapter 5, paragraph 4 makes clear how exactly we view the development of the Revolutionary Workers' Party.

We must expose the Maxton's and company and sharply criticise the Labour Government's policy with regard to India. I think that in this connection, we have an excellent basis for exposing these people, and showing where the Party stands in connection with the Shettleston by-election, not only because we must drive home the exposure of the I.L.P., but this will enable us to reach our opinion to the workers in this country.

According to Comrade Arnot the Simon Commission is a dead letter, but I think the bourgeoisie will use this Report to a certain extent to further confuse the workers in this country..

With regard to the question of building a Communist Party in India. I think we comrades ought to have some information, and greater efforts must be made to get some means of contact, as up to the present very little has been done in the Scottish District in this connection. We must know how many copies of the DAILY WORKER there are going into India and what communications there are between us. Comrade Arnot says there is a strong censorship, and I think this has got to be attended to, and particularly to get the Party clear on the question of ideological support for the Indian Revolution, and the setting up of 'Hands Off India Committees.'

Comrade Hoyle:

I want to stress the importance of getting Party members informed as to the political, social, and economic life of India as a whole. We must get more articles in this connection in the DAILY WORKER and the COMMUNIST REVIEW - informative articles dealing with the functions of the Legislative Assembly, the Indian National Congress, how it developed, etc. I also think there should be a pamphlet dealing with the bourgeois democratic revolution and the growing over the of the bourgeois revolution to a social revolution. There are a number of similarities between the revolution in India and the nationalist revolution in China.

Finally, I want to mention the point in connection with practical work, particularly for us in ports where there is the possibility of troop ships and munitions being sent out. We should get in touch with militant types in the docks, simultaneously with getting a mass agitation going and give strength to the individual comrades on the job, and these comrades must send information to the DAILY WORKER.

Comrade Allison:

I don't think we are getting out enough material, in connection with India. The Workers' Welfare League has only issued one bulletin on India, and not one has been published by the Indian Seamen's Union; there should at least be a by-weekly bulletin issued by the Colonial Department of the Party.

I think the resolution lacks one essential thing, and that is a true analysis of the basis of the present situation in a real live and vital fashion. It should show the struggles of the proletariat in India, the question of rate in Dundee - the reductions of 8s. and 4s., and the forces mentioned in this reduction have actually been resisting the imposition of wage reductions and similar things, and while we have 2% off the railwaymen's wages in this country, the railwaymen of the G.I.P. have been striking for months, and in this way we can prove to the workers in this country what is really taking place in India, and expose the fallacy of the Indian worker being lower than the British worker.

I would like to say that I think the Party must give more attention to the composition of the Indian Workers' Welfare League. There are 25 members on the Executive of this organisation, 10 of which are Party members, but actually we have no real proletarian representatives on this except Glyn Evans. This is not going to help our Colonial work in this country, so I think we must clean up the Indian Workers' Welfare League.