

THE WHITE TERROR

The Labour Government in Action.

By M. N. Roy.

The London "Times" published on the 19th March last the following telegram:

Bolshevist Plot in India.

Trial at Cawnpore.

(From our correspondent).

ALLAHABAD, March 18.

Yesterday the Magistrates' Court at Cawnpore heard the charge of conspiracy against the sovereignty of the King-Emporer preferred by Colonel Kaye, Director of the Central Intelligence, on behalf of the Government of India, against Manabendra Nath Roy and seven others—namely, Maula Baksh, Muzaffar Ahmad,

Ghulam Hussain, Tias Gupta, Sharma, Dange and Chettiar.

According to Colonel Kaye, the Third International determined in 1921 to establish a branch organization in India under the control of Roy, then believed to be resident in Berlin, the object being to "complete the separation of India from Imperialistic Britain by violent revolution." In furtherance of these ends a party of peasants and workmen was to be formed; an attempt was also to be made to secure control of the National Congress. The conspiracy was to be financed by the Third International. An agreement constituting a conspiracy was arrived at by means, *inter alia*, of letters written by the accused to each other. Roy and Sarma who reside outside British India, could not be brought before the Court, and four of the others were already interned under Regulation III. of 1818.

Colonel Kaye, who was examined by Mr. Ross Alston, a barrister, produced correspondence from Roy at Moscow to others of the accused. Roy stated that, as the Government would not tolerate an organization with a Communist name, it must have a dual organization, one legal and the other illegal. A revolutionary mass party, which would be illegal, must be created as part of the National Congress "under the control of our own organization," as the bourgeoisie would not accept a Communist programme. Another letter referred to Gandhi's "shameful retreat at Bardoli." He had to choose, it said, between the financial support of the landlords and capitalists and the revolutionary energy of the masses.

A manifesto signed by Roy for the Communist Party of India, and addressed to the Indian labour unions, was also read in which the men convicted of the Chauri-Chaura massacre were described as poor cultivators driven to revolt by the unbearable exploitation of the Government and the landlords. The Chauri-Chaura affair was, it declared, a revolt not only against the Government, but against the established order and the sacred right of property. It denounced the National Congress for its inactivity in the matter and urged a general strike to save these soldiers of freedom.

The hearing was adjourned until to-morrow.

The above telegram shows that the Labour Government has taken up the task of defending the Empire in downright earnest. The evidence produced by the government prosecutor shows that the "crime" the accused persons and their unknown and unapprehended associates are alleged to have committed, is that of organizing a socialist movement in a country wherein capitalist exploitation takes the most brutal form. The Government, headed by a socialist, is accusing a number of Indians who headed a movement for the organization of a political party of the workers and peasants of India! A Labour Government is condemning those defending the interests of the Indian Labouring class as conspirators against the state!

The most significant part of the whole episode is that four out of the eight accused persons were arrested before the Labour Government came to office in England. According to the statement of the Indian authorities, the latter had been in possession of evidence proving the connection of these men with the Communist International. The letters, which have been produced as evidence, were written long ago; so they must have been in the possession of the Indian Government before the advent of Labour into office. But the prosecution was not undertaken. What does it mean? It means that MacDonal is doing what Baldwin and Curzon did not do. From the evidence produced to prove the existence of a conspiracy, it is clear that the object of the "conspiracy" was to liberate the working masses of India from the domination of Landlordism and Capitalism and the realization of National Independence. If we are to take the British Labour Party on its words, this object is not criminal. Besides this, there is absolutely no conspiracy in the matter; because the documents relating to the organization of a Workers and Peasants Party were open political documents. Their contents were given wide publicity in books, brochures and journals, as well as written to individuals in the form of letters. Much is made out of the projected illegal party. But the Indian Socialist and Communists would be the first to carry on their works openly if they were not deprived of the right of legal existence as a political party. The Government, which today rules the British Empire in the name of the British proletariat, instead of removing this serious disability imposed upon the spokesmen of the Indian working class, prosecutes the latter as conspirators. If we are „conspirators", it is because Imperialism has forced us to be so.

There is, however, a method in this madness of MacDonal. The life of the Indian authorities has been made miserable by

the persistent demand for the release of the prisoners held indefinitely without trial. It has been demanded that they should be at least brought to trial before a court. On the other hand, a letter has been addressed to the Labour Government by me requesting the legalization of Socialist propoganda and the existence of a socialist-party in India. In the same letter it is also requested that I should be permitted to return to India. In short, from various sides forces have been put into motion to pin the Labour government to some definite attitude towards a revolutionary working class movement in India. It would be rather embarrassing to refuse legalization of Socialism in India when the British Empire is being governed by a Socialist government. In view of this the Labour Government has found it advisable to take the offensive. By instituting a legal process on evidence that must have been in possession of the Indian government for some time, it is sought to hold up the vanguard of the Indian working class as "criminal conspirators" and as such not constituting a bona fide political party. But the very evidence will prove the contrary. The issue is very far-reaching. MacDonal is doing what Bismarck did in Germany, and what Curzon did not do in India. It is possible that the Labour Government will find an excuse. It will say that it is the concern of the Government of India. This excuse is inadmissible in view of the fact that the Government of India did not undertake the process before, although it was in possession of the evidence. The process, therefore, has been started if not under instructions, at least with the sanction of the Labour Government.

But in case Mr. MacDonal desires to disassociate himself from this action, there is only one way left for him. He should intervene, stop the trial, free the accused persons and recognize the legality of Socialist and Communist propoganda in India. If he does not do it, he will go down to history as no less responsible for the massacre of Indian masses than General Dyer of Amritsar fame.

There is not a Moment to lose, if Shum is to be saved!

An Appeal to the Workers.

A Question to the Intellectuals.

The whole of Spain — this is no exaggeration — is filled with excitement. The whole of Spain is waiting in expectation of a solution of the sinister drama of justice which is proceeding in Barcelona.

The solution can arrive any morning — with the entry of the Hangman.

The gallows for Shum!

Juan Baptista Acher, who signs his wonderful drawings with the name of Shum and whom the Spanish proletariat simply calls the "Poet", satirist and anarchist, but in the first place a great artist, who is deeply devoted to the proletariat, is sentenced to death.

This youth of 22 years has been sentenced to death for political crimes which he in no wise committed. The death sentence was pronounced by a Court Martial, after Shum had been tortured in every possible manner.

Night after night in Spain millions of brains think: this night is perhaps the last for the Poet.

There is in the whole of Spain no greater and no more original talent than that of Shum. Among the young artists, he is the strongest.

Even the bourgeois press of Madrid and Barcelona un-animously calls for pardon for Shum. This says very much. This press has permitted all the acts of murder against the Spanish workers to be carried out, without uttering any opposition, this press grovels before the brutal military dictatorship and wallows in the bloody mire of a degenerate monarchy which is defended by means of murder and violence. And even this press declares the execution of Shum to be too great a crime.

University Professors, authors of all parties, the Spanish League for Human rights demand pardon for Shum. Among the many signatures to this demand, we find Concha Espiero, known throughout the whole of Spain, and the famous philosopher Santiago Ramon y Cajal.

One can in fact say, that, while the Spanish bourgeoisie has shed streams of workers blood since the execution of Ferrer, the execution of Shum which constitutes a legal and long pre-meditated murder in the face of the whole public opinion, would be perfectly on a par with the infamy of the crime of 1909.