

Amsterdam July 10th 1926.

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Dear Comrade R.,

Something on business and something on myself.

I read the programs made for the work in the archipelago and of course I agree totally with the outlines of yours, though as far as I can see it will be impossible to develop a legal party with such a radical program. We had in 1912 a revolutionary nationalist party of Douwes Dekker, who did not succeed to get the governmental recognition of his organisation because he declared that his party was fighting for Independence. Though it has been avoided in your outlines to declare the same thing, in my opinion a change is necessary of some demands of the program for no other reason than the recognition of the party. Of course the program made by the prodigal son is false. But the political knowledge in our movement is so small that they even will not discover the meaning of the differences. That is the danger of the movement. They are moving, they are taking risks, but they don't understand where the consequences and they don't see from beforehand the difficulties of these consequences.

Still the situation does not yet exist that some one is punished for being a member of a forbidden organisation. They are killing all organised activities, they are cleverly eliminating every body who is somebody. They are sharply controlling communications with outsiders. Practically they are making necessary the same attitude which must be accepted when an organisation is officially forbidden. We have not yet any news of the attitude of Tjokroaminoto after his visit to Kairo, but in my opinion he gets new chances in the Indonesian movement and it is a damned bad thing that he has been pushed from us by the stupid campaign undertaken some years ago. S.I. is not dead. S.I. will play a roll in the reorganisation inside the Indonesian movement.

Our colonial commission is collecting material since nine or ten months. But this poor commission got during this rather long period an amount of two pound to spend for its work. This is of course nonsense. I collect material in my office of NAS from the papers we get. In this way I have a lot of things and it may be that these things had also value for your work. The government is trying to change the mentality of the peasantry by a decrease of taxations especially they are preparing to abolish "hoofdgeld", a taxation which is paid for villages services and which is very unpopular among the peasants. To satisfy the intellectuals they are now developing district councils on Java, but the first experiment made a very bad impression by the attitude of the local Governor. I had a talk of nearly two hours with the former Minister of Finance and one of the Oilkings (Dutch Shell) who stated that the system of decentralisation and parliamentarism should be developed in Indonesia by clever elements, to be sent from here and acquainted with parliamentary methods, not recruited from the Indonesian Civil Service.

The new Governor, who has been in Indonesia as General Secretary and who was now ambassador in the States (this is important and indicates the American orientation, which is developing itself in some quarters) may modify the policy of the Government towards the movement, he got acquainted with democratic methods under Count Limburg Styrum, the man who promised radical concessions in 1918 and in the same time expelled me.

It is good that no definite outlines are accepted as long as you will not have reliable informations. But you may be pretty sure that the outlines of Semaoun will be sent to Java anyhow and this will have influence on the informations, which may come. Ibrahim Tan Malakka should be ordered to go inside for a couple of weeks (August-September) to take that risk and to coordinate with the foreign man who will do his utmost, but who is too much



2) a foreigner at Jerusalem. As far as I can judge it would be good anyhow when you ~~could~~ call e out to your centre for a discussion of the colonial work in ~~our~~ that far off country as well as the work of the colonial commission, being the secretary of that official institution. The question is of importance and I could bring some interesting material. Please create the possibility of buying some new books on the Dutch Indies: one french with fullest information introduced by the former minister Herriot, two dutch, official reports on the social position of the people in Java, the three books may cost 16 till 20 dollars. You will understand that they cannot be paid out of the two pounds budget for this commission.

Yes I should be called out now. For the work here it is possible. The summer time is there and not so much of importance can be done ju in this country. I even could talk on the possibility of a new start in real colonial work. Just because this dutch rich Colony and what is happening there is not much known, in the centre I could be useful. The two men who are there now are making often the bad mistake to forget that this movement in Indonesia did not start in 1920 but as a mass movement existed from 1912. They are making more mistakes. They created great confusion in that movement.

I could do something and here I finished the task to bring NAS ideologically inside the international movement of ours. Therefore the 2 years spent here are not lost.

I don't know if we could fix this change of work soon., as far as the Centre authorities are concerned. But anyhow a discussion of the situation at this moment and specially of the colonial work in Hoëland would be good.

Personally: Sima Lvovna Jolkovskaja, my wife, is now at Krementschuk, in her mother's house. ~~She went over there~~ She went there (Gersonskaja 65) for no other reason than to get some documents, which would never have arrived without going. Before she went I fixed that her Sovjetpass was prolonged by the London Embassy. In this way I would make sure that she could come back without any trouble. But now she writes that she wants a new Pass and such a thing costs no less than 200 Rbl gold. That is impossible. I am just a Trade Union official with moderate income and never I can get this large sum. Sima comes to you, first of all to talk on the possibility of work for me. Second to get your help, when you cannot call me out at once either for working there or for discussing our colonial work here. When you decided that I cannot come now, you should really help her to get the passport wanted for her journey back to Amsterdam. Her living in Russia with the child is expensive and more t than that I want to have her with me. So Comrade do this thing anyhow for me. The men on the foreign office will help you ~~if~~ when you explain the situation and when you push personallay. Please send information to Sima when she can find you at Moscow. The adress I have given and I repeat it in this letter. Don't lose too much time. I should prefer t to come to Moscow now and to fix the thing for Sima myself, but I fear that this cannot happen and therefore I want your immediate intervention, that Sima gets her documents and can come to me.

With my nest greetings

Do you hear anything from Evelyn and how are you getting on yourself?