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1696
P. ~~1906~~ M.(1) T.

Dated 14th June 1928.

Place: Open Maidan behind Gokhale's Hotel, Poibavdi,
Bombay.

Mr. Nimbkar said:—

"Brothers, I have to say something about to-morrow's grain at the beginning. The grain that was distributed the other day was distributed at ten places. The other day we distributed grain at ten places such as Tardeo, Kamathipura, adanpura, Delisle Road (and) Worli. It came to (our) notice after that that there was great rush of the people at Madanpura, Worli Delisle Road, Chnchpukli (and) other places. So(we) did one thing. (We) opened centres at Worli in order that there should not be a rush at no. 4 (and) at Chinchpukli also. (Thus) the centres became twelve. Some persons complained that many persons who are not workmen come here, give some names committed to memory and take away grain. So our desire is this. This grain is not distributed as charity, it is the*ration of these

*In English in the original.

people engaged in our war, of the strikers. The Municipal scavengers must be stopped. The beggars must be stopped. We have made arrangements in order to take precautions how* ration can reach the workers whose (stock of) grain has been exhausted.

*In English in the original.

This will avoid rush at the different* centres. Last Tuesday we had cancelled the tickets that we had begun to give. Four (or) five persons have

*In English in the original.

been appointed since yesterday. They will visit their respective chawls. On going to every chawl (they will inquire,) who are our workmen, please, see us, does any one of you require grain? Tickets will be given there. Those who will get such tickets will get grain to-morrow. Grain will not be given to-morrow unless a ticket is shown. After that the question has now arisen what is to be done (in the case) of those whom we gave tickets last Tuesday. Our leaders will go from chawl to chawl. Whenever ticketholders will meet them they will inquire whether they are real workers (and) if they are convinced the tickets will be signed. Such a ticket will be accepted tomorrow. The ticket of the person who will be found not to be a workman will be taken back to-morrow. The person who will not take a ticket to-day will not get grain to-morrow. Such is the arrangement made. In this a few persons will be put to loss. Precautions have been taken this time that at least those who are not workmen should not get grain. After that the different persons at every centre should be told that they should follow the system that might have been laid down. A person with a ticket will

be admitted on one side, will be given a quarter seer of *dal* and two seers of rice. The persons not having tickets will not be given grain. Another thing to be told is that if one who is not a workman quarrels that he is a workman he will be handed over to the Police. You are 23000 people here. This arrangement is to be communicated to them. Let those who are somewhat needy come. If you will begin to make such arrangements our further arrangements will slowly become alright. After that I am now going to tell you some funny things that are taking place. You know one thing that I said that the Congress leaders are the friends of capitalism. I did not criticize anybody by name. Nariman Saheb, Balubhai Mehta etc. Nariman Saheb fought for the Back Bay scheme in which the rich persons had lost their money. In doing so (lit: that) he benefited the rich people. How did he benefit the poor? I say that all these people are after Bardoli*

*In English is the original.

and are not looking at the one and a half lakh of people starving to death in the Bombay Presidency. 40 lakhs of rupees have been collected with the Bombay Congress Committee out of which 23 lakhs were spent by Mahatmaji in *Khadi* and *Charkha*. Those *charkhas* have been used up in making tea and *khadi* is to be seen nowhere. The remaining three fourth lakhs of the Congress, one or two lakhs have been spent on build-

*The sentence appears to be disconnected.

ings x x x Mrs. Sarojini Naidu is the president of the Congress and the secretary is a big man. I had criticized the previous president. Collect funds. (We) had said so also through newspapers. The devotees of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu came to me and said: Nimbkar, you spoil everything, you go in advance of all and talk like this. Should we not even so much abuse? You said about Mrs. Naidu that she had gone to Madras. She (or they) know this. Her husband is ill. What arrangement had she made about strikers? She has given directions that four thousand rupees should be taken out of the Congress fund and should be spent on providing milk for the small children of the strikers. Then they said (though) Sarojini Naidu does so much you go and abuse her. How then can money come? XXX We are not such bad people as to abuse. XXX These people have told us that we will give Rs 4000, (you) should retract the criticism made (by you). She has gone to Madras to see (her) husband. The abuses should be retracted. After this conversation it appeared in big headings in newspapers that Nimbkar had apologised to Mrs. Sarojini Bai (Naidu). Last Monday evening a meeting of the executive committee was held for sanctioning (lit: taking) Rs 4000. It was attended by persons siding with us. A barrister (who is) our vice-president was at (our) side and the secretary accompanied me. Seven persons unanimously resolved that Rs. 4000 should be spent. Though the Executive Committee has decided, all the members must decide it. When fifteen out of seventy

five members (lit: persons) are present, the work can proceed. Out of seventy-five members (lit: persons) were fifteen or sixteen our Congress men. Out of us fifteen or sixteen, twelve or thirteen went to attend (that meeting). After attending fifteen members are required for the work to proceed. The resolution must be passed when fifteen members are present. Seventeen persons attended there, among whom we were thirteen and four were Ghandiwalas. Gandhi is not of the workers. Those present signed the paper and went away. Our president did not come to show his face. The other secretary did not come with us to show his face. All the people came there (and) went away so that fifteen members should not be present and the work of the meeting should not proceed. The remaining twelve or thirteen members could not carry on the work and we had to go back as empty handed as we went. Such are the things happening. Do you think that these Congresswalas, these Khadiwalas, these Swarajwalas are for us, poor people and are trying to get Swaraj for us? I do not indulge in further abuse. After the strike of us workmen ends we have work to do. We have to do a two—fold work after the strike ends. One (work) is this that

*In English
in the original.

our own union* is to be made strong. Every worker is to be made a member of the union*. The complaint of everyone is to be received.

Redress is to be sought by going to the owners and by having a talk with them. For this purpose every one from among you must join the* union. The second work is that Gandhi-

*In English
in the original.

walas, Swarajwalas are to be kicked out from the institutions working for Swaraj and all those institutions must be captured by us. Fresh elections to the Congress are to take place within ten months, you should elect all your men and let us see what Gandhiwalas do then in this city. That is one thing. The other thing is this, it is sheer rascality. You know that one day I had spoken about the Bardoli Satyagraha. I had said that I was in favour of the movement because it was directed against the Government. Because just as we have to carry on movement against the Government in the same way both the owners and the Government are squeezing us. We must fight against the Government just as we are fighting against the owners. All our patriots are after Bardoli and do not look at us. I had said that though the Bardoli movement is called as one of the peasants it is not really so. The newspapers began to abuse me immediately. After that I made enquiries. I had told (you) about Konkan. There is no land in the name of Mahars. The lands stand in the name of twenty Brahmins. There are one thousand houses of Kunbis in one village. The land does not stand in their name. It stands in the name of the upper class men. Movement of the agriculturists means the movement of Brahmins. These Khots exploit the real Kubbis just as the Government exploits us. What is the condition of Bardoli now XXXX.

If the truth of the Bardoli movement is told to the people (we) are abused in newspapers. In whose name does the land stand there? Sixty percent of the land stands in the name of the tenants and forty per cent in the name of Saukars. Sixty per cent land does not (really) belong to the tenants. This land is mortgaged XXX seventy five per cent of the land is with the Saukars and twenty-five percent belongs to the tenants. This the movement of the peasants or of the Saukars? Yesterday a newspaper received a telegram. The *Chronicle* newspaper of Bombay published the telegram. The Government has appointed twenty-five Pathans in Bardoli. It is an act of rascality.

The Government wishes to recall these Pathans. These persons sent a telegram that the Government is going to bring the strikers in the place of the Pathans. These people are Gandhiwalas. Those who want Swaraj more than these are the workmen of the strike in Bombay and they will not go to do the work of the Pathans. I warn the *Chronicle* to beware not to publish such false reports about our strikers. Not even one striker in Bombay will go to do the work of the Pathans. Though the Gandhiwalas do not come to help us (we) will not go to Bardoli work on the side of the Government in the anti-government going on there. The other thing is regarding the

* The word meaning "in
occur here but has been
left suspended.

owners. We are asked to see (them) at three o'clock on Saturday.* The owners have framed new mill rules. A draft of it has been made ready. We have not considered them. (We) will tell (about them) in the next meeting. After that I told you about grain. I have received a chit Some people go to the mills to clean machinery, stop them. You try (to do this) in every chawl. I heard at some places that clerks go and clean machinery. Now these clerks have surrendered. They said the strikers do not allow us to go to work. Allow us to go. Though I had told that you will not be able to do the work of our workmen, the clerks do the work of cleaning machinery. 'Are they not ashamed? But where have they got shame? XXX Shameless person's! Another thing for joy is that the face of Long Saheb is not to be seen now-a-days. This is a victory for us. The Commissioner Saheb has transferred him some where." (Applause)

Sd/- R.M.Deobhankar,
Inspector of Police,
C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1696 M. (2)T.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

“Today at the outset (I) have to take to task a labour leader. He calls himself a labour leader. I do not know how many followers he has got. For, he has left the leadership of the workers at least for the present, nay, he had to leave it. This labour leader is Mr. Bole of Dadar. How should he be taken to task? I had not spoken even a word about him upto now. He has got a newspaper named *Navayug*. He calls himself a labour leader. And when a person calling himself a labour leader begins to make some criticism in his paper against the workers, begins to publish (lit. take) false reports he should not only be taken to task orally but that he should be taken to task in another way. The person who calls himself as belonging to the workers will not write (anything) against the workers even though he is on some occasion insulted, even though he is on some occasion insulted by the workmen. I have got in my hand a cutting from the same newspaper. It says that the strike leaders are *seasonal*. In order to keep himself in the limelight (lit. in order to push forward his drum) Bole Saheb had attended some meetings. The workmen told (him). Mr. Bole do not come amongst us. Since (they) said so the man has got somewhat angry. Ask him or them why the people say so. So this gentleman got angry from that day and has begun to criticise the strikers (and) the strike leaders through his rag of a paper, through a gutter paper published at Dadar. (I) therefore take this man to task at the outset and say that if you want to keep the nominal leadership of the workers if you had been a real leader of the workers you would have mixed with the people even though insulted (and) would have really worked for them, you would not have gone and sat (in Council) on behalf of the Government as the leader of the workmen. But he has been appointed by the Government and he is not our leader. Use your gutter paper, rag of a paper for another work. Do not use it for writing about labour matters. Remember that if you will use it the pitiable few subscribers of your paper will be further diminished. The next thing I always tell you is that there are two classes in the world. One oppressed and the other of the oppressors. The one class consists of the capitalists, owners, the moneyed persons landlords, Khots—all these people and the other class consists of the workers, persons who create wealth, peasants (and) tenants. They (the first class) always trample upon this latter class. They are attempting to enslave further this oppressed class this class that is being ruined (lit. burning). This national Congress is in the hands of such a class. They are the friends of the owners. (They) are the friends of the landlords. (They) are not the friends of the peasants themselves.

This national Congress is in the hands of such persons. How is it to be called national? How is this Congress to be called national? How is this Congress to be called national where not even one thing for the welfare of the class of workers and peasants is being done. This Congress is of the owners of the mill-workers and their friends (and) not of the mill-workers. When will this Congress really national? This Congress will be national when we all of us workmen and peasants will enter it and will kick out these donkeys? What happened yesterday? The national Congress-walas had promised Rs4000/- for giving milk to your children x x x the money did not belong to their father. Mr. Gandhi has collected one crore of rupees. The Khadi devotees of Mr. Gandhi are gluttonous. They have swallowed up several funds. Some persons had taken some money for business saying that they intended to spread Swadeshi. All of them are the friends of the owners. We have to drive out the people of that class, the people of the class of the owners by giving kicks on their buttocks. This great work we have to perform. When (we) will capture (lit. take in our hands) our national institutions by increasing the strength of the workers and peasants then will it (Congress) become a national institution (and) not till then. This is an extremely difficult task. We must perform even this difficult task in order to protect our interests, in order to protect our class. If we fail to perform that task these people are going to kill us. If (you) would try to strave us to death it is practically (lit. nearly) committing murder. All these persons are murderers. And all workers should conduct their moment most vigorously in order to punish these murderers. The first thing that we have to do is that a union of the workers and peasants must be formed. And (we) must increase our strength by forming a union. When we increase that strength we can properly fight with foolish persons. There are two enemies of the poor. The first is that (group) of black men amongst us (who say that they) will win Swaraj, for us and (the second is) the Government. We have to fight with these two enemies. The people in Russia fought with the landlords there, with the Czar of that country. They have established their Raj in that country by putting the Czar to death by killing other persons. The unions there have become so strong that lakhs of people have joined them. The palaces have been converted into their offices. We should keep before our eyes this instance, an instance of the movement of the workers in other parts of the world. And if we are able to carry on our movement following their foot-steps our (movement) will be as successful as theirs was. We are poor, weak and despirited people. We shall not fail to be victorious. (Applause. We shall have to win this victory, we shall have to secure this victory. All of you should join the union, should carry on the movement of the union in order to secure this victory. When a union is formed we gain strength,

then the owners (lit. the cart of the owners) will totter. If the owners surrender we shall fling (them) away with a kick. They are all subordinate to wealth. They upon its strength x x are our children will begin to get education. At that time (we) will give adequate (lit. two) clothing to our children. Such is the tremendous task we have to perform. Everything will not be accomplished merely by this strike. The strike is of today. While doing this work we shall have to declare thousands of strikes. We have to obtain strength by making thousands of strikes. When the strike is going on in India today these people calling themselves nationalists do not render help. Mahatma Gandhi has gone in one direction, Pandit Motilal has gone in another direction. Lala Lajpatrai also has gone in a third direction. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has gone to her husband. All are loquacious persons. Not even one of them has got the idea about the real public, no idea of the sufferings they are experiencing. We have no faith in them. They will not be able to bring about our real welfare. They help our owners and their friends. They are making efforts to see how our neck can be cut. We must kick them out. We are going to make good arrangements regarding the distribution of grain. You should help us by behaving peacefully. x x x Instead of sitting silently at home all of you should give help to attain this goal. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,
Inspector of Police,
C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1697 M. T.

Dated 25th June, 1928.

Place : Nagusayaji's Wadi, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said :-

"Here there are many liquor vendors. Consider how these liquor shops will be closed after the strike is over. You are doing this thing in order to get mental tranquility from your worries. They have grown (rich) on the wages of the workers on their money and if today we go to them to ask for Rs 2/-, Re 1/- 8 as. (or) 4 as., we are not allowed to stand there, they say : they refuse to pay and ask (us) to go out. I have to complain against (lit ;

charge) the Police. The Police followed us from the first day when we went to collect money. We are not afraid if they pursue us. But some mean policemen intimidate the shopkeepers that they should not give money to us. Because the Police have to see how this strike will get broken. I have to tell you that the policemen help the owners and therefore if there is any possibility of our getting four annas or eight annas from somewhere, they stand in the way and try that we should not get (it). I know for certain that a policeman who is a police officer told a shopkeeper by signs not to pay (us) money and the shopkeeper naturally (lit : automatically) refused to pay it. Remember that the policemen in this way try to get our strike broken at an early date. We are in the habit of saying that this Government is our *ma-bap*. Remember that it is *ma-bap* of this sort. We are on strike for these ten or eleven weeks, we are dying with starvation, our Governor saheb is unconcernedly carrying on the Government (living) in luxury. If this Government were our *ma-bap*, the Governor saheb would have at once asked the owners : sirs, try to end the strike early. If you would not try we will open our treasury and help these strikers. It (Government) will not give us (help). For remember that if we say that this Government is our *ma-bap* this *ma-bap* Government is one which allows its children to die with starvation. And if anyone comes and says that the *ma-bap* Government allowed us to strave for eleven weeks (we) must confront him (lit : must fling) to their face with the statement that our strength has not vanished. Whenever a person finds himself in difficulty his friends, his sympathisers and those persons who exercise authority on him are to be tried. If our friend does not help us at the time of our difficulty he is not a friend. If our mother does not help her son at the time of difficulty she is not a mother. If our *ma-bap* do not run at the time of difficulty, what *ma-bap* are they ? I say that those who call themselves *ma-bap* are great fools. These people have come to harass us. They have come here to see how our poor men can be made poorer, how they can be turned into labourers, how their strike can be broken, and how their condition can be made pitiable. It is said that in the *Raj* of the British Government one can go from Rameshwar straight to the other end (lit : downwards) tying gold to a stick. But where is the gold left ? The gold has been looted and taken away to Britain, the stick has not remained in (our) hand and the gold (also) has not remained. The workers, the poor people of India should remember this thing and commence to organize themselves. Then another thing is to speak about picketing and to tell what you people should do. From Wednesday there will be more picketing. Men have begun to go in some mills. Reports have reached (our) ears that fifty (to) sixty persons go to the mills. We want your help. Picketing cannot go on systematically merely by two volunteers standing (near the gates of mills), for fifty persons push in

in the presence of two persons. I ask you whether you wish to continue the strike or not. If it is to be continued, if it is to be continued till our demands are granted, all of us must help the volunteers (carrying on) this picketing. It is not necessary for you to stand near every mill. Standing at some distance from a mill, if some persons try to go in, you should tell (them) in a loud voice that they should not go in. You should tell them standing at a great distance that if you will enter giving a push to the volunteers the strike will soon end and the owners will get an opportunity and we will lose, you should not betray in this manner one lakh and a half of people. You must say this standing at a distance. Saying (thus) (you) must give

• • help. Are you ready to give such help or not? (Yes. *
In English in the ori- From the audience*) Those who will not be doing
ginal. picketing to-morrow should help from Wednesday
the volunteers in their respective Mohallas in which they may be
residing, and those who will attempt to go in must not be allowed
to do so. Are you people ready to do this work at present or not ?
• • (Yes. *From the audience*). The organization
In English in the ori- known as the Congress had brought a resolution
ginal. to pay four thousand rupees to us. But the Khadi-
walas were alarmed to sanction four thousand rupees. They are
not alarmed at making various other expenses. They are not alarmed
at running motor-cars, but they were alarmed when it was proposed
that four thousand rupees should be given to workers and one person
brought a resolution that one thousand rupees should be given.
But (I) have to tell you one thing that the people in whose hands the
Congress at present is practically belong to the side of our enemies.
For, if those persons had belonged to our camp, what of four thousand
rupees but they could have given forty thousand rupees.
These persons are so rich, these persons are so moneyed that they
will be able to give four thousand rupees if they wish. But they do
not intend to help the poor. Only they want to publish abroad that
they are the friends and champions of the poor. These people have
promised to give us one thousand rupees. While paying them one
gentleman asked why we were flying the Red Flag. Oh ! the Red
Flag is the flag of the workers. And keep this in mind that in the
labour movement there is a flag of workers (and the) workers will
hoist this Red Flag in place of the flag of the Government by carry-
ing on their movement vigorously because we workers create wealth
only we do not know how we are robbed. The Red Flag is a flag
signifying the workers' movement. You should remember that the
workers' movement will increase day by day and this Red Flag will
be hoisted on the Congress (offices); on the different offices in the
Fort, on the Government office (and) the bungalow of the Governor.
For, now the workers have begun to understand day by day
what their rights are. No one had so far told them what
their powers were, what their rights were, how they were being
robbed, how persons were getting rich, how less wages were being

paid though they produced more cloth, how wages were lowered. They have now begun to realize all this. And their movement will increase just in the proportion that they will realise this. The Red Flag will begin to fly everywhere just as (their) movement will increase. They should remember that the Red Flag will be flying on this Delisle Road Police Station also. The Municipal President has called our leaders there. You know the history of Rs. 1000/-. To-day I do not dilate at length but I have to keep you informed one trick (lit. White-washing) of theirs. You know the history of Rs 1000/-. This work was entrusted to a Committee. That Committee inquired of its legal advisers whether it was lawful or unlawful to incur this expenditure. This matter was referred to them. You tell (us) whether the act of mitigating the starvation of the workers by paying Rs 1000/- while they were dying of starvation is lawful or not. I am greatly surprised that the lawyer made a mistake somewhere. I did not think that this Barrister knowing law would ever advise (lit. say) that Rs 1000/- should be given. Because this is law. This law is that of the rich, of the capitalists, of the *Ma-Bap* Government (and) not of the workers (and) the peasants. While making this law the workers and the peasants were not consulted and I do not hesitate to say that this law is not ours so long we have not consented to it. As this law was theirs I had begun to think that the lawyer would say that this thing was unlawful that is not lawful. I thought that he would say so. But he thought that the abuses and curses of these were going on (and) deciding that this thing is lawful he sent it (his decision) to the Committee. It is not that the men in the Committee lack in cleverness. They devised another plan when he gave this advice. (They) intended to postpone as far as possible. (They thought that) these are starving persons, some persons out of them will die and less money will have to be spent. They pay no attention to the lives of men. Their attention is directed towards the safe, towards the motor (car). Their attention is not (directed) towards human beings. They have proved that their attention is not (directed) towards living persons. If their attention XXXX would have decided that Rs 1000/- should be paid off. What nonsense is this on their part that (they) would send it to this Committee (or) that Committee, not that we will reach up to heaven even if that (amount) is paid. I have to ask them to stop (this) nonsense. Today the President of the Corporation has called the Strike Committee to him. We are going to spend Rs 1000/, tell (us) for how many days you are going to continue the strike. We shall accordingly decide for how many days to give you (the rupees). It is to be decided for how many days we will be required to give Rs 1000/-per day. He has therefore called us there to decide that for how many days our strike will continue. It is a matter of the future. We are also to request him with folded hands: if you have to give (help), if you have wisdom, if you have humani-

ty show (lit. do) it now. The present time is such that we are in need of help and whatever help is to be given should be given immediately. We shall tell this to the President of the Corporation when we shall go to him today. What do you mean by thus deluding our people? Is this the money of one's own father? We have given taxes just as those people have given. We pay all taxes. These taxes are (included) in the rent that we pay to the house owners. This money is made up by the payment of such taxes. This money belongs to no single individual. This money is as much ours as it is theirs. The house owners in Bombay sent an application to the Municipal Corporation that this money belonged to them, that they had paid the taxes and that therefore it should not be distributed among the labourers (lit. them). I ask whether the money belongs to the father of you alone. Our money also is there. This money has been accumulated in one place by the various taxes paid by us in the rent that we pay. This is not the money of the rich. There should be no objection to pay this money and he (legal adviser) has expressed the view that even legally there is no objection. We shall tell the President Maharaj that if you want to give (help) begin to give it immediately to the people. Let us see what the President Maharaj does. Yesterday at 3.30 the clerks held a meeting in the Damodar Thakersey Hall. I do not think that this was a meeting of clerks. It was a meeting of effeminate persons. Had it been a meeting of men do men ever ask (for the help of) the Police? We have been holding meetings here for nearly three months. Thousands of persons, lakhs of persons have attended (these) meetings. How many persons were present in the Gokhale Hall on the May Day? Had we asked for a single policeman? We are holding this meeting. This is the meeting of real men. The meeting held by the clerks yesterday within the four walls was of effeminate persons, because hundred policemen were at the Naka (street corner). Were we going to murder them? What do these clerks think? Sirs (lit. father) hold a meeting if you want but do not take the help of Government. If you are men like (other) men what is the need of the Police? Hold meetings, say what you want to say, give us replies (and) we will give you replies. We are spirited warriors, you become spirited warriors, indulge in a wordy war if you want, we shall point you (your) mistakes, you point ours (lit. to us). Let us thus carry on a systematic movement. But these effeminate persons had yesterday taken the help of the Police and hundred Policemen and three XX were sitting outside. Fie on them (lit. their living). Laughter. I have again to say to the clerks that they should become men. Who are these clerks (they) are our brethren. They received a little education and we began to go to work the looms. They received some education, began to learn A.B.C. became clerks and we began to work on looms. Otherwise X X you are our brothers. They have begun to think that they were the step-sons of the owners.

They think that the mills belong to their father's father and that a great calamity will befall if they stop. And these people are running forward to help the owners. We would not have taken it ill if these people had merely done *clerical work. But these people go and help the owners to break the strike. That help (is) that of cleaning the machinery. Then the hands of some of these (clerks) are cut, fingers are cut. The other day one clerk fell down while cleaning machinery and his waist was bruised. By doing this work you endanger the livelihood of us poor people and therefore we are opposed to you. You receive pay and serve (the owners). (But) I ask (them) to give an answer to the question why they endanger our livelihood. What can be get by unnecessarily holding meetings like effeminate persons? We liberally gave you passes. We exhibited as much liberality as *Karan while saying that merely fifty persons had begun to go inside you began to take inside persons from even among the workers therefore we had to speak against you. (lit. them) You know the story of the monkey, and its young ones. (*Told the story* of the monkey and its young ones). Then he showed the King that it was (one's) life that was loved the most. When you clerks endangered our livelihood (lit. rose against our life) we began to speak against you and you began to run away like effeminate persons. They (the clerks) say that the workers beat them. How many persons were beaten? I think that if these people begin to beat so much, not a single clerk will be left. X X I think that those persons who have begun to hold meetings with the help of the Police will not fail to run away if persons come forward to beat them (I) have to request them with folded hands that they should not go against the strikers. You are one with us. You received education and therefore you became clerks otherwise you would have also become mill-workers (lit. looms-men). Therefore take these circumstances into consideration and do nothing against the strikers. What have the strikers to gain (lit. to do) by beating you? Will two cowries come (thereby) into our pockets? We shall not use their names even for the disburdening of nature. This is as regards the clerks. The clerks should take a warning from this. Now one question has remained for us. ('It is) the last thing. Now seeing what talk about settlement takes place tomorrow and the day after new things must be thought out in the matter of systematically conducting the strike thereafter. The Strike Committee is already doing that. One thing is that we must have money. The more the money the more days will we be able to hold on. Because persons reduced to extremity must first be given food and kept alive some how. The Strike Committee has been doing that work. The second thing is about how to stop the persons that have faithlessly begun to go (to work) to-day. From Wednesday we are going to make picketing more

vigorous. I am sure that if we do that vigorously and if we hold on for some time they will have to give us at least something. I am sure that you people do not want to go again on strike. What will happen if you go to work from tomorrow? We will again be compelled to go on strike and there will be no preparations for a fresh strike. The only thing left before us is to keep up the strike till its final decision is arrived at, till seventeen demands are granted, till the cuts in wages are restored. This thing we must do. Success lies in our doing that thing. Many persons are making efforts to break this (strike). You must be often sending (post) cards to your village and I have to tell you that on every such occasion you should inform the village that the mills have not yet begun to work. Because some mischevious persons to whom the owners have paid money are sending such false letters. Therefore everyone of you whenever he sends letters to (his) village should on every occasion write that the mills have not yet begun to work, just as he sends salutations to maternal uncle. I hear that some people are going to start the mills on the first. Ten meetings were held everywhere on the 30th, 1st and 2nd. Excitement was caused everywhere. Advice is to be given to continue the strike. It has been decided to hold meetings like that and to explain everywhere the real situation (lit. information). We shall do this on the 30th, 1st and 2nd. In the next week a newspaper on behalf of the workers and peasants is to be issued in order that true news about our strike should be published. We are going to publish for that purpose our paper, by name Kranti. It has become extremely necessary to do this in order to publish real news about the strike. Because at present the *Taji Batimi*

*This name meaning "Stale news" does not indicate any actually existing paper, but has been coined to contrast with the name *Taji Batimi* which means "fresh news".

the *Shili*Batmi, Vidhava Vritta (Vividh Vritta) are going on vigorously in order to circulate false rumours. It is because this will have a bad result that we have decided to start this newspaper and you should not fail to buy and read that paper.

Remember that the news in that paper will be hundred per cent true and that in other papers will be all gutter news. In this manner we and our Strike Committee is devoting attention to doing all those things which it is possible to do in order to continue the strike. And your work is that if in your chawl, mohalla or lane there are some people who have begun to think of breaking the strike and going to work you should make them understand that if the strike breaks we cannot again go on strike (lit. take the name) for ten years. This thing you must make them understand. Several persons have suffered in this strike in various ways. If after suffering thus we fall back at this critical time our enemies and owners will find it convenient and they will not fail to punish (lit. beat) us. We will be in a sorry plight, people will also spit at us. Our owners themselves will punish us in such a manner that (we) will not be able to say (anything) for the next ten years. And therefore on such an occasion when you have with a single determination proclaimed this war,

you must stand forward boldly (and) with a single determination that you will not break the strike so long as your demands, your seventeen demands have not been granted. You must with one voice say that we will continue the strike just like this. Are you prepared to do this or not? (Reply "yes" from the audience).
* In English in the original. Those persons who are raw like this do not realise this. What is the meaning of taking back (your) step at this time? Request them, tell them with folded hands: sirs, do not take back at this time, do not go to work at this time. If you go to work at this time everything will be ruined and for the next ten years you will not be able to raise your head (lit. face). With these words I close the meeting." (Applause).

Sd. R.M. Deobhankar,
 Inspector of Police,
 C.I.D. poona.

P. 1698 M. T.

On 5th July 1928 a meeting was held in the Damodar Thakersey Hall in which Mr. Jhabwala said:-

"I fully support the X which my friend Mr. Dange has told you. The first thing is that it is our goal that none but workers should be in the meeting of us workers. Up—till now we have really caused ourselves considerable damage by allowing outside reporters, outside C.I.D (men) and (outside) people under some designation to attend our meetings (lit: here). Up till today we have not been able to find out (some) good scheme to advance your Varaghoda*. If anybody carries (lit: tellsus) news it is magnified in the report and one thing is substituted for another and loss is caused to workers and to those carrying on the war for the workers. Now we are going to discuss in the strike committee whether the C.I.D. reporters are to be allowed to take report in the workers' meeting. In my opinion if they are allowed to do so, one thing gets substituted for another in our speech and the work becomes fruitless. The great question now is when the strike will break. I have everywhere met people, outside people (and) people from among the workers X most of whom have begun to ask when the strike will break. Not that they wish to go to work. Merely for the sake of luxury they ask when the mills will work. They are in a great financial difficulty (lit: their

*The word lit means the bridal procession Its meaning here is unintelligible

pocket gets a deep (cut) .(When asked) when the strike will break we answer that the strike will not break. Up till now we used to say that see, it will be (over) in fifteen days, in a month. But from now we had begun to say that this strike will not break and the mill industry is going to stop completely in the city of Bombay. What is the reason for saying so? The reason is that the owners had up-till today kept open the way (lit: the window) for negotiations and taking your side and showing some sympathy for you we were fighting for your case. But the owners now say that what they have given in writing is their law, what they have given in writing are the rates they are (offering), that we should go to work if we like (and-that) any way (lit: otherwise) their industry is ruined. This their talk is not true (lit: false). Some people in the mill (industry) may be incurring losses but most people are such that they (lit: many of-them) get profits. In 1927 these persons got rupees one lakh forty one thousand as agency commission. They received larger salaries even than the Viceroy. The owners are not working the mills in the way they were doing. They say that they would not work them (offering) the same rates as previously. (This) is their rascality. Now the question has arisen how the mills are to be worked, how we are to work. Some persons from among us are trying provide you with grain. Some person have gone to Ahmedabad to bring money from there. From today you have been told that we have worked very hard (lit: we have turned our blood into water). You had not understood the principle (lit: goal) that the mills belong to the workers, that the mills in which you have worked very hard (lit. turned blood into water) do not belong to the millowners, to the father of the owners, to capitalism, to the shareholders. Understand that they belong to the workers, to the persons (actualiy) working. When you will come to the decision, when you will think that you have lost all, that no money is left with you, that the ornaments of your women—folk have gone, that everything is gone, that you have got nothing excepting the clothes you wear, on that day we shall decide among ourselves. We are trying to offer satyagrah in mills. There are two kinds of Satyagrah. Some say non-voilent Satyagrah that is going to mills (but) not working (and) sitting quietly. Even if the police are called X we will not go. We one thousand persons will sit here because our leaders have told us that the mills are ours. The police will lift and throw you out. One thousand policemen will be required to lift one thousand persons . When they throw out we must enter and sit down again. If ten thousand out of (lit: for) one and a half lakh become ready we shall (completely) ruin one mill. And how many persons will even Government pour into these jails? If ten thousand persons go simultaneously to Jail they will not get there to eat. But some people may think that (they) do not want such non-voilent Satyagrah. Some person may lose head and will say to the police: do not touch

us. (If) they beat, they (will) beat and confusion will be caused, there will be fighting among one thousand persons, there will be firing which will cause loss to the people and which will cause heavy loss in the city of Bombay. Therefore from today it is to be considered that the mills belong to us, we shall practise Satyagrah by going into the mills, we shall practise non-violent Satyagrah so long as possible. The eyes of the Government do not open, the eyes of the Governor do not open. At first they had come with great dash but the owners made them quiet (lit: to sit). They went away for good and one does not know whether Governor is in the city of Bombay or not. In the city where then thousand persons are dying with starvation there is no Government from that point of view. You begin to say from today that we have no Government of ours in the city of Bombay from today. If there had been really a *Sarkar* in the city of Bombay, if there had been the Government XX they don't come to know. Nearly XXXXX under them. Have the eyes of the Governor been closed, the Government should say that it is not living. The millowners have killed it (the Government). From to-morrow we will say that the mill is ours. We shall assume the ownership of the mills, will go inside (the mills) and will practise Satyagrah. We shall not come to work so long as all our people are not admitted inside. (When the) grain is exhausted, everything has been exhausted, no strength (lit: nothing) has been left in the body now, then the decision should be as was that of the Rajputs. When their kingdom was lost and money gone those people, wearing only an ochre coloured gown, set out in (groups) of ten thousand, twenty thousand. They set out with the determination that we one thousand people shall now either die or win success. At that time Rana Partab was a (great) man. Rajputs again acquired the royal power under him. From today it must be decided that (we) will either gain success or die. We must begin to wage a war in a new way. We can do nothing by carrying on negotiations with the owners peacefully in this manner. The Government is left aside, the owners are left aside XX war in a new way is to be waged and once you begin to wage such a war the strike will be won (lit: will be as if ours) in fifteen days and you will get the rates as required by you.

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D. Poona

P. 1699 M. T.

Dated 19th July 1928.

Place: Damodar Thakersey Hall, Bombay.

Mr. Alve said:—

"I will start the proceedings by telling one thing. It is that since this workmen's strike was declared three months have elapsed and the fourth is completing. The eyes of all are still turned towards the result of the strike. We hold meetings for this. I think that it has become difficult to hold meetings. It is not necessary for us now to keep the fight peaceful. The men have become desperate. They are suffering without food in the fight that is going on. *In this city of Bombay causing (them) to die without food by the Bombay Government Bombay's king is * (You) may call (him) Commissioner if you like. I think that these rulers (Rajas) have today become unfit for the rulership of the city of Bombay. It is unjust for those men who are rulers to sit quietly at home and see the fun while one and a half lakh of people out of the five or six lakhs of Bombay are suffering extremely. These are unjust rulers. It is a sin to live in this Raj. These are sinful officers. Today there are eighty-two mills. In order to protect them our policemen are kept there to guard them. This Government is so shameless that (it) must keep safe the mill machinery where three or four lakhs of people are starving. Such a King untrue to his salt. These rulers do not care. Why should those who are enemies, who do not understand (how to wield their) authority be the Commissioner or Governor why should they not go away? Today while a lakh and a half of the workmen are starving the Government has kept a continuous guard day and night for twenty-four hours in order that the machines may be kept clean, in order that the machines of Capitalism may remain clean. But while people have been dying for four (or) five months, if there be any wicked Government if there be any cruel Government in the world it is this. Several Governors might have come and gone but a cruel demon like this will not be found. It is the duty of every workman to drive away such men in authority and to take their reins in our hands. Instead of starving like this is it bad to commence a fight with this bludgeon rule? We must begin to fight for the belly. If the owners x x do not now listen to the Government it must tell them that it has provided policemen for them. We will not give you policemen. We do not ask for more. We will not allow our wages to be cut down. Why should they (officers) not tell them (the owners) that no policemen will be provided unless their (of the workmen, demands were granted? The Governor and the Commissioner are the underlings of Capitalism.

We earn money by the sweat (of our brow). These dogs fattened by eating our food have begun to bark at us. You now think over. Whoever may be a Governor, whoever (he) may be, this strike that is going on is just. While this just strike is going on, while four lakhs are starving, should the English Government not do something in that connection? Big funds are started and not even one has compassion as regards the livelihood of these (workmen). The workmen are a desire-yielding cow just as a machine is. The city of Bombay is dependent upon the mill workmen and (you) earn money with their help (lit. upon their life). x x x It is a just strike. Ten, or twelve rupees do not suffice for our living (lit. worldly life). Capitalism has no sense. These rulers have no sense. How can (we) provide ourselves within these low wages? If those big persons come from the Fort to Parel area fourteen rupees are spent over petrol. The strike of the workmen is not unjust. The hirelings of Capitalism say that its trade has stopped. We tell them: donkeys, think over. You alone might be fools like yourselves. What do we demand? Do not cut fifteen or sixteen rupees 'whatever they might be. We are not able to pull on, in the city of Bombay (where the cost of living is) dear on account of cuts (in the wages) of our wives and children. Grant an increase when you will but do not cut down the wages at present. While this is (our) demand, this cruel Government or the wicked Capitalism has today played the game of killing us by starvation. (If) on account of this the heads of these workmen get uncontrolled, if an offence is committed at their hands why should it not be pardonable? If such persons where there is no food, rise in rebellion, if (they) plunder for the sake of belly, why should (it) not be pardonable? Then, if of this Government of Capitalism xxx why were policemen kept for their protection if you (the officers) have to take the side of both the parties? If you are straight-forward rulers all people are equal (lit. similar) to them. For, why should the wicked idea (lit. desire) that one is mine the other is of strangers, remain in their mind? The people of the Government are rascals. They beat the workmen being incited by Capitalism. I do not belong to any side. I am really a workman. These flames of hunger are coming out of my mouth. I tell them: you give up demoniacal tendency. You recall the policemen kept for the protection of mills. We shall make such even one policeman will remain there. The people who are making this bandobast are ours, if these persons get enraged bludgeon-rule will disappear. And the Raj of the workmen themselves will be established in this city of Bombay. Therefore I definitely tell you in to-day's meeting that peaceful things have happened up till now but on account of this peacefulness the occasion of our complete ruin has arrived. Looking at one's home our children are starving for tea and Chapati. Our strike is just. This is a rightful strike. What should we do in these wages? Will these terms be accepted? Four or five people cause strike (and) one lakh and a half of people are at their back. Today these four lakhs

would not have depended upon the assurance of three (or) four persons. Because the livelihood of our families cannot be managed in ten (or) fifteen rupees. These are capitalist men, (they) are the underlings of Capitalism. On one side - the wages have been cut down by Rs 2/- and on the other the rent has increased by Rs 2/-. This is Capitalism. XXXXXXXX because whether a man becomes a merchant or whether (he) becomes a Governor, all men are equal to them. The Governor wants food to eat XXX Such a person wants a place to live in. Although one works as a millhand one has no horn etc. He is also a human being. Every person must get the rights of a human being. Some rich persons may be eating ghee and roti but the workmen must get bread and vegetables. This is a just right. I definitely tell (these) our Government reporters the workmen should now throw over the ruling power. Every workman should resolve to throw over such power. Others who are carrying on trade and business are also workmen. They also should render help. Every workman should now remain alert to teach a lesson to this Government. These rulers, this foreign Government, the foreign Government envies us like the son of a rival mother. They do not care for the Indians. They have the care that their men should live in safety. Therefore though we may be the sons of a rival wife, India is of us Hindus (and) instead of suffering calamities in India (we) shall give up our lives using our feet. (if they use) their hands, just as our forefathers died falling a prey to the guns of this Government, proclaiming the bludgeon rule XX. If (you) do not take care of the sufferings of the workmen within four or eight days from now, if (you) will practise shamelessness in the same manner (we) will begin to spread a rebellion against these demons. Up to now we have continued the strike peacefully. Upto now many persons died of starvation. (This) is a strike of capitalism. Why are so many people of this Government behind them? If these rules are examined (lit: seen) they are (indicative of) the wickedness of this capitalism. In spite of these things this Government did not exert some influence on capitalism. They should hand over the rule in the hands of this capitalism and go away. But for the present if they have got the ability they should think over the mother. (They) should keep bandobast. They should recall those policemen of theirs if the owners are not ready to accept the terms. A riot will begin in the city of Bombay if the Police are not taken out of mills within eight days. (We) must fight. The Government is anxious that their (owners) machines should remain safe. The mills belong to us. We have earned this money of the mills. These mills are ours. We are hungry. Recall the policemen that have been stationed from to-morrow. After eight days, on the 9th day we shall practise Satyagraha for four days and will start a fight between the workmen and the Police. Every workman X it is the question of every one in what direction we should now turn. Now as regards the way (lit. to find out the way) this path is

one. Instead of dying of starvation I tell (you) this path. I wish to take all the charges regarding these things that I speak on me. If the Government has to do anything regarding this it should arrest me and take me away and should do to me anything that it wishes. To speak about the strike it is going on. Now Municipality, the capitalism had sanctioned some money to be given to you. (They) were printing in papers the amount only in name that the leaders of the workmen did not accept this money. Where is the money? Let us not speak about it because it is the City Corporation. In this City Corporation, this corporation of the city of Bombay, City Corporation that looks after, a resolution was placed before it that one thousand rupees may be given to the workmen. The resolution was thrown out because the children of the workmen do not die struggling in this manner. Dr. Choksey started another fund. I say that if (you) wish to give milk to the children of the workmen do not give it to them if (you) are going to give it after they die. This is a fund in name. The milk will be of use for the tea of the persons who started the fund. To-day there may be X between capitalism and the workmen from the point of view of universal compassion. The City Corporation had no reason to intervene. Several persons were members of capitalism. XXXX If they had started the fund from the point of view of universal compassion they should have given (it) to us. The fund was started but it has not still been received. The workmen have started a fund and have made some arrangement for the people. Do not be deceived by the stratagems of others. (I) learnt a new thing. One mill will begin to work. Some jobbers go to work. I definitely tell them that there are seventeen demands of us. Go to the houses of those jobbers that go to work, see (them) and tell (them) that they should not do so. We shall take them out after the list of their names is published, (and) when now the mills commence running tomorrow. Pass a resolution that those jobbers should be taken out. The 18th demand is to take those out who go to work with the intention of breaking our strike. This is the 18th demand. I request you to carry this out with loud cheers. This is the 18th demand. If our workmen are of this sort they are persons ruinous to us. They tell the owners that the workmen have now become unemployed. They will soon come to work. If two parties begin to fight and (some persons) of one party turn traitors and join the other party, the other party becomes weak. The person who sows dissensions is ruinous to society. The Government knows these things. It is our duty next to try that they will not get service in the city of Bombay. We have no power we must make efforts to obtain that power. When the strike will end we shall demand the 18th demand on the strength of us all and then go to work. The mills can not go on by two or four persons going (to work). Though the owners might have heard false things we do

not hear them. They are sowing dissensions. Make them understand things. Tell them that they should also die because so many persons are dying. (I) would not have cared if the workmen had gone to work. Those persons are jobbers receiving Rs. 100/- to 150/-. That such persons should go to work is ruinous to the workmen. It is very bad that these persons should practise rascality (lit: the profession of a pimp. The word is generally used as a term of abuse) while the strike is being won. You should try that they will not get service in the city of Bombay hereafter. ”

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P. 1700—M. T.

Dated 21st July 1928.

Place: Damodar Thakersey Hall, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

“Brothers, it is past eight o'clock I think that we should now begin the work of our meeting. Some other persons will come here till then and will deliver speeches one after another. For the present I begin my work. I learnt yesterday that all of you had come here. The cause of my being somewhat late is this. I had told the other day when our meeting was held behind Gokhale's hotel that we would arrange these meetings on every alternate day. To hold meetings every day means to put ten rupees in the purse of the manager. We must use properly the little money (we have). I came here a little late yesterday after seeing picketing thinking that there would be no meeting as it was decided to hold meeting every alternate day. (I) learnt on coming here that several persons had gathered and went as they had come. It was published in the evening newspapers that the people called for the meeting came and not even one person (leader) was present there. It was published in newspapers that the persons who used to deliver speeches in meetings do not now come (to the meetings). You know the real thing. The newspaper does not know, the police do not know. The reporters of newspapers make inquiries in the office xxx of the Saheb there and they (the Sahebs) give some perverted (lit. topsy-turvy) version and they (the reporters) write (it). Such preparations against us are vigorously going on. For they have managed to put in their men among

you and attempts for effecting a division amongst you are going on. A meeting was not fixed for yesterday. All (of you) know that it was not held (yesterday) as settled the other day. We have to pay ten rupees as rent every day at present and remember that it was decided the other day that (it) would be held every alternate day instead of every day, in order to diminish this expenditure. We shall hold a meeting tomorrow if (you) want it. We shall call (it) on Sunday anyhow and instead of holding that of the day after on Monday (we) shall hold it on Tuesday. This much about meetings. Then the other arrangement made is that there is a gentleman in Girgaun who is a drill-master who can teach drill to our men. We are not yet trained (lit. preparation amongst us has not yet been made). Today we have not got men who can keep order (lit. peace) if there is any rowdyism in our meeting, (and) while our procession* is going on, (and) will make such arrangement as will not leave the fear of the bludgeon of the police if disturbance occurs anywhere. It is necessary to have such men at a time when day by day the workmen's movement will reach such a stage. Another thing is that we are going to make arrangements on behalf of our union to train a batch of hundred men who can ply the lathi and who know drill. Hundred youths of twenty-five years each are to be trained to ply (lit. who can ply) lathi. Every Sunday drill will be taught to those people who want to join the volunteers (corps), those workers amongst you fine youthful persons who want to learn drill and to enlist themselves in the army of the workers. (We) are not to stop when the strike ends tomorrow. For, many things must be learnt in this. Our Union must be made powerful. The policemen who enter inside must be driven out. *Bandobast* must be made in regard to the news of different sorts that is published. It is necessary to have trained persons ready for this reason. A good army of such hundred men will be trained. Whoever wishes to join should join it. The Mayor has started a fund and rupees thirty five (to) thirty-six thousands have been collected in that fund. And milk will be distributed to women and children at different places from Monday and children upto (lit. of) twelve years will be fed. They have opened five centres. (We) will get news about the Lal Baug, Worli, Dadar and other centres and tell it tomorrow. As many workmen's children as there may be should all be sent there and as many women as there may be should all be sent all grain and milk pots for us x x must be got. We people must use it. For, they are going to engage a Brahmin at the Centres, who is to prepare there boiled rice, *Ambati* etc. Milk in a pot of particular (measure) (will be given) to the workmen's children that will come there and women and children (are to go there) with dishes, take their meals and come out comfortably (lit. systematically) eating betel-nut. The women and children should take advantage of this opportunity. All this money is ours. These fat men have robbed our

*In English in the original

money. It is coming back to us today of which (we) must take advantage. You should not consider that this is not good for you. If some say so they must be given a slap. This money has been craftily robbed from you. It must be remembered that they are giving a small portion out of it. And therefore full advantage must be taken of the milk that is to be distributed from tomorrow and of the meals that will be given to all men, to persons that may be mill-workers. As much rice as they will bring must be finished in one day. Thirty-five thousand rupees must be finished within two or three days. And if they have got a sense of shame, if they are ashamed, they will again draw out Rs 10,000 and again collect fund if (the grain etc.) is spent within two or three days. That (fund) will again be kept open. Once they start it they will have to continue it so long as women and children are starving. All must take advantage of it. You should keep in mind that this money is ours. This money has been robbed. We manufactured twenty yards of cloth everyday and (they) gave (us) the price of one yard and pocketed the price of nineteen yards and out of that (money) (they) have given us a small portion that is Rs 10,000, Rs 5000. A small portion out of our money has been returned. There is nothing against religion (in it). This thing must be publicly told to their face x x. You must explain to your wives that they and their children who create confusion at our centres are to go there. (I) tell you one thing more. In Russia there is a country called Russia—a Raj wholly of Workers has been established. Men like you and me carry the Raj there. The Police (there) is of the workers, the army is of the workers, the ministers are of the workers, (and) the trains are of the workers. Workers have got their complete systematic programme. There was a private Telegraph Company in that country. The workers (lit. persons) in that Telegraph Company had been promised promotion after a certain number of years. When the time for giving (promotion) came the manager of the Company who was crafty like the English people refused (to grant it) and as soon as he refused (to grant it) the union sent a representation to the manager of the Company that unless the pay is given within two days they would go on strike and stop the line. He thought that the strike would not increase in that way, just as the owners had thought that the strike of mill-workers would not take place and that their men were wise, that they were very clever and that they would not go on strike. Similarly the manager (lit. man) of the Company thought that XXXX though strike within two days was threatened they will not go on strike. But what happened was this, the period of two days notice expired and the men went on strike and the business of the Company came to a standstill. As soon as that business came to a standstill the European manager thought that the Russian Government will give help to wield bludgeons against the workers just as in other countries Capitalism gets the help of

the Police as soon as a strike is declared here as soon as the strike was declared the owners got the help of the Police, of Long Dada, of the superintendent; all the white and black sepoys began to run in front of them. He (the manager) sent a letter to the Russian Government asking for help. Do you know what the Russian Government said in reply (lit. at that time)? The eyes of the manager opened as soon as he was reprimanded thus: settle within one day the cause of the strike of these people otherwise remember what we shall do. Would another Government have given such a reprimand, did the Governor of Bombay give such a reprimand to the owners here? He is sitting silent. He cannot reprimand us. He knows that if we are reprimanded we shall in return reprimand him. Therefore he has not reprimanded (us). (Applause). He has not rebuked us. There is a difference between the Government in Russia and the Governments in other countries. Because the workers' Raj is there, that Government reprimanded the manager in that way and the strike was broken within two days and the demands (lit. saying) of those people were accepted. Those people got an increase in their wages. All this, nothing can be done so long as power, the power of governing does not come into the hands of the workers. Our Union must be strengthened. All workers must become one. Strikes must be made (and) the owners must be left no shelter. When they are told thus on that occasion they must be terribly frightened (lit. get three motions). All the workers in India must do this. The power of this Government also must come into the hands of the workers. So long as that is not so our other movements will remain weak, they will not gain strength. As the strength of the Russian Government is at the back of the workers, a strike of the workers even if it takes place is immediately settled, because that Government is the Government of the workers. Had there been such a Government in Bombay (the strike) would have broken, what of three months in three days and that (Government) would have told the owners within three days that they should concede the demand of the workers otherwise they would be thrown into the sea at Chaupatty. But we have to suffer because circumstances are not like that. The Government does not look to us, the owners do not look to us and none looks at us. We have not made our Union strong. You must remember that our Union is to be made strong. If one and a half lakh of workers join the Union the Governor Saheb's bungalow at Mahabaleshwar will begin to totter and will fall into the sea. Remember that as soon as that is done things will happen as we want. After the strike is settled efforts must be made to make our union strong and then out of that will be created paths for the future, the idea that the powers of Government are to be taken in our hand. Another thing is, that the other day there has been declared a very big strike on the Railway. The Bengali Baboo and the old man from Madras had sent a notice to the Agent that unless the grievances

of the workers were redressed they would stop the lines everywhere. Accordingly the owners told the Agent that the workers (lit. people) would not go on strike. The Agent thought just as the Russian manager had thought that the workers (lit people) would not go on strike. But what happened is that on the night of the 18th trains were stopped everywhere, mail trains were stopped. A very big strike has taken place all over the Railway. Remember why such strikes take place. The Railway is a very important thing. If the Government is to be conducted the Railway must be in its hands. There are unions on the Railway. Efforts are being made to make these unions as weak as possible. The Railway officials have with that purpose adopted the new policy of dismissing members of the union. If Railway strikes take place the Government will be non-plussed, everything will be finished. Suppose to-morrow the people in Bombay think of assuming full control (lit. all threads) over Bombay, how many unions may there be in Bombay? There are a few. XX If the Railway is in hand, trains must run if the army from Poona is to be brought to Bombay. How can the army come otherwise? The Railway is a very important matter. Therefore efforts are being made to see that the Railway unions do not become strong (and) Railway workers are opposed to that. A fight should be commenced, to strengthen Railway unions and to offer mutual help between the mill workers (and the Railway workers). (Such a fight) has begun on the G. I. P. Railway, Bradley, Jhabwala are busy fighting with Government for one month. Our Mr. Spratt a young English boy has come to work in Bengal (and) is busy working there. Remember that such extremely strong agitation has begun on the Railway. Remember that when the Railway union becomes strong (and) the mill-workers and Railwaymen begin to work (lit. walk) hand in hand, half the strength (lit. feet) of Government will be cut off and Capitalism will fall to the ground (lit. sleep). Therefore efforts must be made to make the union vigorous. After this a final

A kind of Hindu religious preacher. honoured "Mantra" (incantation) for you the *Hardas** before you reverts to his original text is that you people are going to break your strike within four to eight days and will go to work, such are the winds blowing outside. This means that idle reports have begun outside that (though) you have made self-sacrifice for three and a quarter of months, have suffered starvation, starved your wives and children xx you are going to kick them aside and go to work. The workers have suffered so much that it does not appear possible that for the sake of eight or fifteen days or a month they will cut their own feet and will themselves keep a knife over their own necks. But yesterday xx a meeting of the share-holders was held. False reports are circulating that the strike of the workers is going to break. We are not affected

by those reports I have to revert finally to the refrain that we must keep up our unity as at present and must continue the strike till the end, till decision is arrived at. Efforts are made to create disunity among us, to create dissensions (among us). Though such efforts be going on we must, without being afraid of them resolve that whatever happens, whatever be the outcome of it, we shall continue our strike to the last, we shall put forth our utmost efforts. And then follow the way of success keeping up the resolve to the end. This resolve must be borne in mind. I take your leave after saying that you should keep up that resolve." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P. 1701 M [1] T

Dated 21st July 1928.

Place: Marwadi Vidyalaya, Bombay.

Mr. Jhabwala said :—

“ President and brothers, my friend Mr. Nimbkar has said that Mr. Bradley alone will speak in English and all (else) in Marathi. I too am compelled to speak in Marathi. My Marathi is not for the people in Girgaon. That Marathi is labour Marathi. I know that all people here speak Marathi. Mr. Chowna is called the bafoon of the Corporation. He knew that all persons in the corporation knew English. Still he talks in Marathi in order to ridicule the workers. Therefore he was given the name bafoon of the Corporation. My friend Mr. Joshi has told all the account of the strike. People say—by people I do not mean mill-workers but outside people the middle class—why do you cause this strike? Oh, do the strikers belong to our father that we should cause the strike? People do not understand anything. We are not such bad-men. We are doing some service to the people to the poor people in order that they should be benefited, their (condition) should be bettered, their welfare should be advanced. We censure nobody and as Joshi Sahab has said we have not the ability to be the leaders of one and a half lakh of people. The owners are adopting tactics in

order to squash us. They deceive you middle class people. They themselves work the mills of which you are share-holders. They work the mills embezzling all the money. They say to you that we have stopped the mills. They are stormy individuals, these people called the Communist Party are creating confusion. We do not know what is the meaning of Bolsevisism. But I say as a matter of fact that ten out of twelve lakhs of people in this city sleep with their stomachs half full. It is our duty to do some service for poor people like them. If we set out to discharge this duty people dismiss us from service. I have been dismissed. I was dismissed the other day. (They) do not give us service (lit. profession). And say to the people (these) are Communists (these) are bad (people). xx A Parsee said to me : you create this confusion because the Japanese and the British cloth interests pay you money. The middle class people do not understand (this) thing. The capitalists say that they are being oppressed. This movement is not of the Communists. You have been told that xx today the *Times of India* has specially reserved one page for labour activities. || What is their object in this ? The Bolshevik movement is going on and entire ruin is to be effected by an understanding with (lit. talking with) the King of Afghanistan. I assure you that such is not the fact. The real fact is that our Government exercises repression over these poor people, over the masses (and) the classes. Government's policy is based upon Imperialialism. And the classes say so much to the masses that you should be ready and threw Government in the ditch of Mahalakshmi and mills in the Arabian

* In English in the original.

*The sentence may also mean that people in India should now read the reports (as follows)

*In English in the original.

In English in the original

In English in the original.

Sea. Have resort to joint *action and subvert Government. And so long as the Raj of labourers is not established, bread will not be had to eat (lit. for the stomach). *Now you people read the report in the Hindustan. The *masses have now begun to awaken. There is *awakening among the masses. The present strikes are indicative of mass *awakening. It it is an expression of mass movement. (1) point out to capitalism and the Government : brothers, remember that we have become ready; and if you do not respond to us in this preparation we will throw off your Raj one of these days. The first thing you should be sure of is that this is is not the struggle of one man, not the struggle of

*In English in the original.

one party. There is *mass *action and mass revolt in India and if Government and Capitalism do not respond to it the necks of both will be cut. The root cause of this strike is the Tariff Board and the currency system of Government and the selfishness of the owners. I will give the example of our Jehangir Petit Saheb who is the president of the Association. He is the agent of the Manechji Petit mill and the report for the year 1927, the so-called *worst *year has come out.

*In English in the original.

*In English in the original.

During this *worst *year a profit of one lakh forty-one thousand rupees accrues. Did this fall or not into the hands of (lit. stomach of) Jehangir Petit ? One man

eats up one lakh forty-one thousand rupees and tells the workers (lit. men) that they (mill-owners) have no profit that they must effect reduction. He has not seen the door of the mill (He receives) commission on lorries, on everything. Though you are shareholders—you ought on some occasion to attend the shareholders' meeting and extract the profits swallowed by the mill-owners (lit. should tear up their stomach that has swollen)—you do not do so. You give help to the Bardoli movement then why don't you give help to the mill-strike? What people do is that they gather together where the Government is to be slapped. That is good (and) we want that. Do not give up the principle. The principle of our Swaraj is that the voice of every person in every village who might be labouring must reach to the Council and he must get sufficient to eat. That principle is present in the Bardoli movement and it is also present in the strike (lit. here). When you are giving help to Bardoli, do not forget the mill-workers. If you want real Swaraj you give help to our mass action that is going on. I do not beg for mercy from you. You must share in that (mass action) otherwise the time will come for your neck to be cut. Now the masses have begun to rise up. Break up classes and the Government. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1701 M (2) T

Dated 21st July, 1928.

Place: Marwadi Vidyalaya, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Upto now the Government statistics have been systematically narrated. I shall tell you the internal management of this. We are doing whatever efforts are necessary to continue the strike. You must remember how the Government of these owners and the police of these owners came in the way, how they attacked our

In English in the original. workers, our volunteers, our picketers (you must remember that) these police also belong to the owners and are making efforts to break the strike of the workers by taking bribes from the owners. They publish false accounts in the newspaper in which the account of the attacks made by the police upon us which have been published in newspapers have been suppressed. When this is taken into consideration there is not the least ground for the idea which you may be entertaining that this Government is our *ind-bap* Government. This is not a *ma-bap* Government but is as much our enemy as the owners are. You should realise it that the workers' Raj will not be established here until Government and Capitalism and Governmentism are cut down. This Government which is considered a *ma-bap* Government should also remember this. While we people are fighting our battle, the battle for our livelihood, Government's police constables come amongst us, beat our men, enter (lit. rush into) our chawls. By entering (lit. rushing) into the rooms they not only give beating to men but have also beaten women. Such is the rascality practised by the Bombay Police. The strike of our workers is extremely just. Our In English in the original. demands are *moderate. While these (demands) are moderate while we have kept the agitation peaceful none can assert (lit. say with his hand on his chest) that a single thing has happened against us during the three months strike. Though incitement was going on amongst you that we are extremists, Communists, agents from Russia, the strikers have done nothing that will go against the strike. Remember that the newspapers do not say the Times (of India) does not write that the Police of Bombay being incited by the owners are making efforts to get such things done at the hands of these (strikers) that the police will be able to wield their buldgeons. And remember that the workers' movement is to-day on the increase in India that as said by our Mr. Jhabwala, the Time (of India) has reserved two or three columns. The movement of the workers, of the peasants is on the increase. Once the workers' movement and the peasants' movement become united, Government will be destroyed (lit. killed) and Capitalism will disappear. To destroy Capitalism and to drive away Government that is what we have to do.

Sd. B. M. Deobhankar

Inspector of Police

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1702-W. T

Dated 22nd July, 1928.

Place : Maidan behind Gokhale's hotel, Poibadi, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

“ This morning the Strike Committee got rupees ten. As there is no rain to-day it (rain) has contributed ten rupees. Had it been raining, we would have held the meeting in the hall and (we) would have been required to pay ten rupees as rent; let us thank the rain for it. I do not know whether half (the number or our) men are (still) sitting in the Nagusayji's Wadi. Some persons from among us had gone yesterday to the meeting in the Marvadi Vidyalaya and you have seen there how a meeting of educated men is conducted. There is no maidan there, the work goes on with such pomp as a big hall, four fans, five electric lamps and so many chairs. This is case of the clerks' meeting. But they are also labourers like us. They think that they are the son-in-laws of the brother of the Sahebs. But the Saheb gives every day a kick with his boot. I myself was a clerk for seven years. The workmen will never bear such oppression. For, they know that they have got strenght (and) power in them. The

clerks are persons living on the vegetable of
*Expressive of weakness. *Alu. They cannot go on strike just as we workmen can. They have got no strength in them.

They are to remain in the very place how many kicks the Saheb gives, how much pay he may cut. And therefore all of them, those clerks, those educated persons, those teachers, those professors, those collegians, those boys felt greatly surprised that the labourers who appear to be weak (lit. lean or shabby) who earn twenty to twenty-five rupees, who are not educated and who cannot write, waged a superbly grand fight and continued it for three months. But they have no idea of the workers' strength. (As to) the strength of the workers, when a big meeting was held in front of the municipality (they) saw that they could not withstand (lit. could not go before) the workers now. Their (of the workers) real strength lies in unity. They were convinced that it was not proper to read (lit. hear) baseless false news through the newspapers and they were surprised (lit. placed the finger into the

*Used apparently in imitation of the War cry of the Muslims

mouth). When the flood of thirty to thirty-five thousand people passed by the road saying* Din Din, when the roads in Girgaon got shaken we showed that the mill-workers had awakened and would defeat the allies of the owners. Conviction was brought from that day and from the next day people began to say. Your strike is justified, we are sure that if you maintain the strike just like this you will get

(lit. win) your demands. Those people are convinced that the unity of the workers, the strength of the workers, the movement of the workers is not simple movement in which big lectures on Swaraj are given while (sitting) under a fan with a cheroot in the mouth, to be followed by going home and sitting quietly. They convinced that this movement is revolutionary, one calculated to bring about a revolution, one that will vanquish the owners. Yesterday's meeting was held in order to convince them. Uptill now the meetings that are recently held in the Marvadi Vadyalaya XXX on that day hundred to hundred and fifty men did not come still yesterday's was a lively meeting. Yesterday's meeting was one befitting revolutionaries and a special feature about it was that yesterday's meetings did not involve any expenditure. Uptill now none had circulated caps (for collection) in the meetings held in the Marvadi Vidyalaya. Circulating them (caps) sixteen rupees were collected by annas, two annas and two pice. On that day twelve rupees were paid as rent for the hall (lit. place) (so that) four rupees were got in the meeting. Remember that the strike Committee got an addition of fourteen rupees to the fund. Yesterday I had asked (you) to mark the picture of that day. Think how these two pictures are, the bad picture of the clerks and the picture of the revolutionary workers. The picture seen yesterday was that of extremely imbecile but slightly educated people and today's of the workers who have resolved in their mind that they would make the movement of our Indian workers, of our Bombay workers also as unyielding as the movement of all workers that has begun in the world. This picture is calculated to give courage even if we are dying. This picture is an encouraging one. All of us are going along the way (lit. steps) of unity. We are going to vanquish our owners tomorrow. If we keep this picture in our mind, before our eyes, conviction will be brought that we shall win the strike. Those people on that side who were up till now opposed to the strike (were so because) anti-strike atmosphere was created amongst them. Newspapers the allies of the owners, gentlemen speaking on the side of the owners had told the people on that side that the strikers were greatly aggressive, that the condition of the owners had become very bad, the mill industry had become such that the mills should be thrown into the pit at Mahalakshmi that the mills industry did not pay. Great misconception regarding us was created among them by spreading such false stories but however much misconception, false stories spread, a day will come on which real facts will be brought home to the people. You know that real facts get victory. Accordingly the misconception about the workers (and) about the strike of the workers that was spread among the people on that side has diminished to a considerable extent and will diminish day by day. People have now begun to say that what the workers say is extremely

proper that their demands are not irresponsible, that their demands are proper and must be granted, and they (i. e. people on the Girgaon side) are convinced that if you hold out for a few days the owners will have to fall at the feet of the workers in order that the mill industry should not be ruined (lit. mills should not go into the pit). These people say that the workers by maintaining all through their unity have brought the the policy of the strike to such a stage that the strike must now become successful, their is no other alternative for the owners except that. The chain on their side (has) begun to loosen XX the links in the chain of the owners that is the Mill-owners' Association, are broken. That chain is broken and though they are telling us that they are one, their chain is alright, still their chain is broken as will

*It is not clear to what these pronouns refer

be seen in eight days. Some persons, some owners do not openly listen to what the workers say. Remember that *they are prepared to give a slap to #them. Therefore all the world is admiring (us) because this strike has been uptill today maintained systematically (and) peacefully. In the end you will realise that we are going to succeed. Some students from Girgaon, persons working in newspaper (offices) had said fifteen days back that our strike would not last. I told them that they are persons doing intelligent work, that we would give them place, that (we) would give them an opportunity of lecturing. Because the conception was spread among them that this strike was caused by us three or four men. The work of breaking the strike should in that manner be carried on in three or four months. It is not realised that for two or three men to bring out one and a half lakh of workers is like bringing the moon from the sky into (one's) hand. You know the story of Rama: He was saying that the sun should be given to him. They (Girgaon people) did not understand that to call out one and a half lakh of workers from the mills and to induce them to go on strike was as impossible for two or three men as was that thing (getting the sun for Rama). Therefore they were saying: You should send inside the men that you have called out, we cannot see (them out). If you cannot see them starving give money. But that is not to be done, (only) great pretensions are to be made. Those persons in Girgaon who were saying so before fifteen days have now begun to say that they have today realised that the end of the strike is now near. Remember today that (this strike) is not ending in this manner without the demands of workers being just. It is gradually approaching success on the strength of the facts that our demands were extremely just, our demads were based on truth, our demands were not based on untruth like the mean (untruth) of the owners. If the owners say that the mills are working at a loss, what objection is there for (them) to show their (account) books to the workers? Convince us. Then we (shall) say to workers that this is a big

national industry. They (mill-owners) say that this is a national industry of our country, the owners suffer losses. We shall tell (the workers) to go to work with reduced wages. But to say that the industry is incurring losses is sheer stupidity (lit. asinine conduct). They know this. *If their books are shown to our workers

The word meaning and followed by X occurs in the sentence. they shall not fail to disgrace (lit: to put the cow dung in the mouth) them, therefore they do not dare to show their books. Mahatma Gandhi had sent one man here. Three or four men had gone there, they saw Gandhi, they saw Anasuyaben. Big bellied men saw them, they said: How can we know if what you say is correct, is true? We are starving for three months and a half. And it is a shameless thing for a man like Mahatma Gandhi who is carrying on the struggle for the country to say this. It is sheerly disgraceful for Gandhi to ask whether what the workers say is true or untrue. Why should that Mahatma live in the world if he does not understand such a simple thing that if our cause (lit: story) had been unjust it would not have lasted for so many days, the workmen's strike would not have lasted for so many days? He had sent a man of his, a devotee of *Khadi*. He saw (us) one day (and) got as much information from us as he wanted. We have no secrets, our dealings are quite open. But all their dealings are based on untruth. Nothing goes on openly there, everything there is secret. (He) had gone to see the owners just as he had come to see us. He said that he had come to see if the strike was just or unjust. Show me your condition X your books. But one owner said. We say, take it for granted that we are incurring losses. They do not however come forward to carry conviction whether (they) are incurring losses or not. They are sure that they will be able to convince none. The friend of Mr. Gandhi came to us and secured information about the labourers. He (alone) knows that information about the owners he got. (He said) We shall go to Ahmedabad and think for twelve to fifteen days. Then when the wives and children of the Bombay workers have died with starvation, the Manatmaji of Ahmedabad is going to send us money. Remember this Mahatmahood. Our brothers have gone there. They had not got the help of the Mahatmaji, of the Suprme Being above. Our jobbers headjobbers move among the workers. They know whether they have got their sufferings or not. (They) have collected rupees one thousand (to) five thousand by contributing to the fund, some annas eight, some one rupee, some two rupees. The sufferings of workmen are properly understood by the workmen. Simpletons (lit: snotty-nosed persons) carrying on political work cannot understand (sufferings). They have never slept on a torn quilt. They have rolled in luxury on beds and cushions. They have had never the occasion to starve. They would have understood what is the condition of the workers in Bombay if they would have been reduced to the (condition) of passing the whole day on the vegetable of Teri (or) Alu. Time will come, these are persons

travelling about in motor cars, these are persons making a show of quarrelling with the Government, (these) are persons doing political work X they are spiritless because they are not ardent. If they do not to-day understand the movement of the workers, the condition of the workers, they will one day when power comes into the hands of the workers be made workers in order that they should understand the conditions of the workers. [They] will be made to sit as workers at looms, will be given brooms in their hands as work will be made sepoys as workers, [and] will be given the work of sweeping here as workers. [Then] they will understand the condition of the workers, what is the condition of the workers, how to live on Rs 15/- on Rs 13/- XX will come to know this. And then they will understand what is the difference between going about in motor cars, sleeping on beds and cushions and the condition of the workers. Those donkeys will then understand. Remember that this time is coming soon. Take the case of the workers in Bombay [of those] in India, [of] the workers in the neighbourhood of India [of] the workers in Turkey, [of] the workers in China, they have hoisted their Red Flag in order to fight against these rich owners, against capitalism. This Red Flag will proclaim the unity of us mill workers, on account of which (unity) revolution will come about.

When more power will come into the hands of the workers, all the

Here occur words powers that exist to day,—the police and other meaning (in the hands of the workers). This appears to be mere repetition. affairs, the whole administration of land revenue education department, when the administration of all the department of the Government that exists

comes into the hands of the workers, they will come to know how to make arrangements from the view point of the welfare of the workers and of the peasants. Perhaps that time the life of the workers may become somewhat happier. We will conduct our strike that way. It is the right of the workers to demand. Will the workers go and fall at your feet and demand more? They marry wives and construct motorcars on the strength of the wealth produced by the workers. It is the right of the workers to demand rightfully proper wages out of that wealth. We are carrying on the fight on this principle.

Today we have made a simple demand, a demand quite like that of the moderates a demand like that of Joshibuva (N. M. Joshi).

We do not demand more. A time will however come when we will tell Petit Saheb, Fazalbhoj Saheb that they should march away from the mills, the mills are not yours, they are of our father. The time is not today. Give us wages enough for our living. The first lesson has been learnt. It appears from it that the boy will be very wise. When a boy goes to school and takes a pen in his hand and begins to write a good hand, the teacher says the boy will be wise. The pen which the workers have today taken in their hands is such that it can be said with certainty from it that within ten years these workmen will ask Petit to go away from the mill, will never fail to

ask that. If you wish that this demand should be postponed be a little wise O donkeys! do not still be stupid (lit: asinine) settle the strike at once. The demand will be postponed for some days. We will not fail to foist upon your heads new demands one after another if you will not settle (it) early. (I) have told what our eighteenth demand should be side by side with our seventeen demands. They have foisted these strikes upon us. If it is anybody's in hand to break this strike it is in the hands of the owners. XXX if (you) ^{In English in the original,} will begin to distribute hand bills tomorrow morning the workmen will go inside to work. But when that time comes it will be taken in writing from the owners that they have restored the cut wages. We are ready to break the strike to-day as soon as this is (given) in writing. But if that (lit this work) is not done early, the only meaning that can be deduced (from it) is that they are intentionally obliging (us) to remain on strike. If they are obliging us to remain on strike in this way, we are going to proclaim our eighteenth demand that they must give us the wages of the strike-days, that we will oblige (them) to give it. For, we would not have made this demand if we had willingly remained on strike. But they have obliged us. The owners have obliged us to starve ourselves, to fall into difficulties. (We) are going to add our eighteenth demand on account of that. Thereafter the demands will be increasing one by one just as (they) prolong the strike. Another demand is that we are not ready to go in unless the people who have been working against this strike of ours, (who) go into the mills XX help the owners, are driven out. This is our nineteenth demand. The owners should remember that (we) shall not fail to foist on their head one new demand for every three days if they continue the strike in this manner. For, you are obliging us to prolong the strike. We are not ready to continue the strike out of our (own) will. In our demands which are trivial we have not asked for such high wages that the money to be given to your concubine will be stopped, your liquor drinking will be stopped and one of your motor-cars will have to be auctioned. If you can pocket (lit. eat up) rupees one lakh forty-one thousand as commission, as the property (lit goods) of (your) father. What authority (have you) to cut our wages? I ask Petit Saheb if the mills are incurring loss he should show it to me. In the accounts of mills which Petit Saheb has published [lit given], he has swallowed {lit put into his stomach} rupees one lakh forty-one thousand as commission, and his stomach has grown big like that of a woman pregnant for nine months. XX Their dodges are going on. Formerly our workers were ignorant, they did not know the strength of unity. They did not know how to use the weapon of strike. Day by day they have begun to understand it quite well. They did not know how the owners robbed them, how the owners tried to pocket profits by using old and new tactics. The workers in

Bombay did not so long properly understand how the owners sucked blood like leeches. The persons who would make them understand had not so long come among you. But they should properly bear in mind that such people have come, and the workers have correctly understood the situation that the owners are like mosquitoes, they are like serpents, they are like leeches, they are like insects sucking blood, they are demons, they are a very low community, (and) that there is no salvation for workers until that community is entirely exterminated, eradicated. These mill workers, railway-men, dock workers, municipal workers, all workers have now realised this thing. And on account of it a new policy, a new revolution has started among them. Before this revolution, before the wave of your revolution, their rush-like grass will be washed away. But beware because you will not understand the thing that such a wave will come, the rush-like grass will be washed away by it in the Arabian Sea (and) the fish in the Arabian Sea will eat it up. (I) therefore tell the owners to beware and at the same time not to allow the discontent among the workers to increase further. I tell them to keep in mind along with this that these people have been suffering extreme hardships for three months and a quarter, they have received beating at the hands of the Police, (they) have suffered any amount of harrassment at the hands of the Police, our women and children have been abused, we have heard (that abuse) with our own ears, we were obliged to bear them on account of our circumstances, take all things into consideration (and) hereafter being cautious grant our demands, grant them at once and settle the strike within eight days, settle it within four days, settle it within two days, settle it as early as possible, the more early (you) settle the strike the more long lived will you be. The more you prolong the strike (lit: the more time you spend on strike), the earlier will you die, the Government, the Governmentism will die, the Police rule will die, taking this into consideration I tell them to make arrangements to settle this strike early. Tomorrow the Gundas are going to create confusion in this part. The strength of the workers must be brought home to them. They are thinking that the children will come like beggars, they will give them food (and) they (children) will call them merciful. I tell them that those days have gone. Four or five years back when they came in motor cars in this part and if a workman came (across-them) he thought them to be divine persons. That condition has today changed. With the passing of time new education, new thoughts, new revolution has begun among the workers and if today some one comes to deceive, if some one performing sleights of hand comes among us today, the workers have begun to understand that they should catch him by the ears and ask him not to exhibit such cleverness. This fund has been started (lit. made) for children. Children upto (lit: of, two years' age should be taken there (and)

should be given milk. The arrangement made for supplying grain and boiled rice for children above two years is so irritating, (that) it is shameful to humanity. If the persons on that side had been in such predicament, if they had been told if Dr. Leshmukh had been told to bring his two year old brat to our Worly to receive boiled rice what would he have said? If because we are in such condition we are to take (our children) there and to beg for boiled rice in the most piteous tone, what would Petit, Mody and Deshmukh have thought if they had been in such predicament? It is a shameless act, they think that if rice is given to children, you people will boil it and eat. They think that if milk is given to you, you will use it for making tea. Do they think that we workers have no humanity? Have we become monstors? We workers are preped not even to glance at anything given today to the children. If it is given for the children we shall spend it for the children. The President of the Mill-Owners' Association (lit. mills) says that our wives and children have been driven away. See (lit. examine) the hearts of those who drive away our women and children in spite of having untold wealth. The tiger thinks that there is no mercy in the heart of others just as there is none in his. Our two years' old children eat boiled-rice mixed with milk and drink milk. If they intended to be charitable, to give real help (they) ought to have given rice at the centres and the child's mother x x will feed the child after boiling the rice. This is an important thing. This is a shameless affair. This is a thing not becoming humanity. Should they show such want of trust about us? Should they make such accusation against us? Owing to these (mistrust and accusation) you have brought such prodicament that our children are (expected) to take milk and eat a ball of boiled rice and we are to go home crying with our children. Within ten years there will be such a revolution in Bombay, in the world that at that time the motor cars of Mr. Deshmukh, of all other owners, of all other Capitalism will be flung away in pits and* we shall bring here all the brats of the owners that may be in existence, we shall ask that Brahmin (cook) to prepare boiled rice we shall prepare a measure and will tell them to eat (the rice) on the spot otherwise they would get lashes with a whip. If those people who create wealth, who create lakhs (and) crores of rupees, who create other means of luxury are placed in such a predicament that they (lit. we) are hated, that they are placed in such a position that their heart gets scorched, what crime is there if some people lose their heads at that time and acting accordingly they begin to give you slaps. If some people from us begin to commit theft, begin to loot shops, what ass will call it unjust? It happened in a court that two strikers got involved in a charge of theft. Five seers of sugar were stolen and (they) asked the

*Two words occur here meaning 'you brats' apparently words meaning 'your brats' were intended.

Magistrate in the Court what they should do if not steai as they did not get to eat owing to their being on strike. The

*The word in the original means but 'he' has been translated as 'they' to suit the context

The word in the original is 'Sakar' which appears to have been mis-written for 'Sarkhar' i.e., sugar

Magistrate could give no reply. *They ought to have said emphatically only five seers of *sugar have been stolen, tomorrow we shall enter your house and shall take away before your eyes all that money which Government places in your safe. You place us in difficulties, compel us to go on strike, do not give us education, do not

give us good quarters to live in, place us in such circumstances that our wives and children do not get food and clothes, how are then we to blame if some wrong-doers come forth from among us? Give us education, give our wives x x (and) us sufficient to eat twice (in the day), provide us with means for thought, give us at least some facilities for luxury and catch us by the ear if after that we commit thefts. We begin to drink liquor, we begin to drink brandy like you. We are placed in difficulty, what crime is then ours if such wrong-doers are found? What arrangement about education has the British Government during its rule of hundred and fifty years made? (See) at Japan nearby. The people in Japan took it into their head to educate all the people in that country and they achieved that all within thirty years (persons) all over Japan learnt to read and write. Our *mabap* Government has ruled for these hundred and fifty years. In the Raj of this Government (it was said that) gold should be carried being tied to a stick. Where (is) gold? (It) has been carried away by the British Government, by capitalism in these hundred and fifty years. What has the higher class the Brahmins done by which our condition has improved in the least? Did (they) make arrangements for our education? Did (they) make arrangements that we should get good pay? (They) did nothing. Even if (they) did nothing (they) have created difficulties when we ourselves began to do (something). We shall no longer allow these difficulties to exist. We shall remove these difficulties with our own hands. (We) shall start our unions, shall start schools on behalf of the unions, shall produce more educated persons like your children. Because there is intelect among the workers, they do not lack intellect. We shall demonstrate these thing, we shall carry on Union movement. We shall conduct strike, to-day of the mill-workers tomorrow of the Railway, the next day of the dock employees and the day after that of the municipality. We shall leave no shelter (lit. mother earth, give us shelter) to the owners (and) to Government. We shall carry on minor movements so long as arrangements about revolution have not been made. One day taking the weapon in hand we shall fight with you. We shall cut your necks, shall drive you away, shall kill Capitalism. Motorwalas x x (we) shall establish the workers' Raj after driving away the Government. It is to be shown to the whole world that the workers are not

impotent that they are fighters. Make a resolve to show that. Remember, as regards the strike that every day that passes brings us quite near the success of the strike. Only remember thoroughly that the owners cannot but be subdued now. Be assured in mind. Learn to think yourselves over all these things that have been told. Courage does not lie in out-siders coming to instruct (lit. to tell). Persons from the workers themselves must begin to think. As Mr. Alwe has been trained from among the workers hundred Alwes like him must be trained here. Mahatma Gandhi will not come to conduct the workes' movement. None but a worker will do it. The wearer alone knows where the shoe pinches (lit. he will understand who gets pinched). The situation will be understood by him who knows how to manage the family on rupees twenty. Train the young men that are to be trained from among us to carry the present movement forward. Increase unity. In this manner carry forward our workers' revolutionary movement. One day we should hoist our Red Flag in our India. With these words I take your leave (Applause).

(Sd) R.M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of polic,

C. I. D. Poona

P. 1703-M. [1] T.

Dated 24th July 1928

Place : Damodar Thukersey Hall-Bombay.

Mr. Joglekar said:—

“They were thinking that they had the monopoly of wisdom. It is a matter for great surprise that these people should not understand the things that are understood even by the ordinary people. I was saying that (owing) to the customs of the people they will not come with their children to receive boiled rice, we shall not come to receive boiled rice (and) bread. But their craftiness is that they do not want the fund to be of any use to you whatsoever. It was said at the time of collecting the fund that it was collected because children died in larger numbers owing to the strike. The fund was opened in the name of your children. Many people were deceived. But what has happened now? The sufferings of your children have been lost sight of (lit: missed) and at present the

owners are inclined towards charity. When the starting of this fund was published in papers, I had said on that day that even if this fund amounts to Rs 5000/-it will be of no use to us. Many people questioned at that time whether it would be so. Now you see that proved. The former covering of craftiness has now gone. They were asking the people to give the fund for the children of the strikers, that has now disappeared. Now Sasakura of the Toyo Poddar gave one thousand rupees for this fund to Dr Deshmukh, the Mayor, who is collecting the fund, and (he) secured one thousand rupees from a friend and sent a letter that the fund started should not be used for the children of the strikers but for children generally. Dr. Deshmukh by way of reply sent an assurance that the fund was not meant for the people of the strikers, it was meant for the children lying by the roadside (lit: on the road). Take note of such rascality of the fund Committee. If they want to give (it) to the strikers (lit: people) they should distribute rice (which) people will boil in their own way. There are Bhayyas (up-countrymen) among us who do not eat food boiled by another. Among us also nobody eats the food boiled by the person of any (other) caste. We shall prepare according to our custom and eat. If you want to do (anything) for the children, do it properly (and) systematically. Open fourteen or fifteen centres. Give with your own hands if you like but do not play such tricks. You are practising treachery. You are robbing (us) of the legal help we are getting, by craftily and treacherously giving out our name. This Mayor Saheb appears to be a guileless person. Many people likely to help were thus deceived into helping this fund. The help coming to us went (instead) to the Mayor's fund. I definitely say that though they thus tried to mislead the people still it is sheer treachery, robbery rascality. They must remember that the fund collected in this manner for us must be properly applied to our work. As suggested by the Strike Committee grain should be distributed with their own hand but it should be so distributed that all people will get to eat in their own way. If they do not distribute (it) that way we shall never fail to accuse them like this. We shall never fail to say that these faithless persons have deceived the people, (have deceived the workers. I shall not fail to make this accusation against the Mayor's fund. It (that fund) is of no use to us. See if you want it. Even hundred to two hundred men of ours that are gone to Poibavdi did not get food to eat. They should be wise even now. We shall have to raise a clamour in the whole of the town about (their) deceitful act (lit: false things). I do not feel like saying anything about the strike. See, how the owners have to take resort to all rumours, to all lies. They raised (lit: started) a scarecrow in the form of the mayor's fund. They are performing such false (and) crafty things (lit: rumours and lies). They have suffered great loss on account of our strike. We are dying. We have also suffered

excessive loss. We are firm in our resolve. Whatever happens we are not ready to break this strike without receiving (our) wages. Look to your brethren just as you (look) to yourselves. The dodge of the owners is to exploit the whole public, the workers. The owners (and) the Government is wholly a gang of robbers. The Government is the owner on the G. I. P. Railway. It is also putting (the workers) there into extreme difficulty. What a great havoc is prevailing on the South Indian Railway today but the oppressed people say: see, we will die without food. See how people toil on the South Indian Railway disregarding their lives. They have been carrying on their strike with such daring that our strike is nothing (before it). Their Unions were not many, their leaders also were not many. None also told (them): brothers, such a calamity will overcome you. Where is the necessity of others telling (a thing) when they were starving (lit: the fire of the stomach is there)? Where men have to work for the whole month on rupees eight, nine (or) ten, can they be able to live on this (even) on rice-gruel? How can the men help being reckless of their lives when they cannot get (lit. has no place for) even rice-gruel after working twelve (to) fourteen hours a day during the month? How is the

A term used to express a benign rule. Here used ironically as seen from the following sentences. Ram Raj of the Government? It is a wholly Satanic Raj. What is the Bardoli movement? It is true that the movement is intended in order that the land revenue assessment should not be increased. They ought to have done that these assessments xxx people. Every person must have an income of five hundred rupees. Then something would have been left for the poor, starving peasants to eat and drink. It is suggested that they should do so. Vallabhai contends that he will not take back. The case of the Government is, the Government says: we are Government, our word must be obeyed (lit. must be true). How are your taxes to be paid when the workmen are starving? We shall collect the tax depriving you (lit take away from your hands and mouth) of your rice-gruel. This is the law (and) you must obey (it). This is no law. The Governor Saheb made a speech that law must not be broken. The law should be for our welfare. It is law when it will give happiness to the masses, when it will take care of the worldly life of the masses, it is not law which makes provision for starving all people, it is an unjust oppressive system and (I tell the Governor Saheb on behalf of the mill-workers that the masses of the country will never be ready to call such a system law. The law starves us. What a (wonderful) law (it) is. You have no right to make laws. The Governor Saheb says that it is the Emperor's law and the Emperor's Raj. It depends upon our will to create emperors etc. He is a (real) Emperor if he so directs matters as to enable us to provide ourselves with our livelihood in a decent manner. The Emperor is not our ruler, he is our servant. His work is to make such arrangements as will conduce to the welfare of all the people. It is the duty (lit:

work) of the Emperor (and) his subordinates to do such work. All these people are not our masters, (our) owners. xx They are the servants of our masses, of the workers, of the peasants. They are to do (their) work accordingly. It is their duty to make such arrangements that there will remain no difficulty for the worldly life of every person in the country. The servant became the owner*, the thief has become arrogant, and is putting on airs. *Literally *the phrase means a thief has but-witted another thief. And the Governor Saheb shamelessly says that the law of the Emperor must be obeyed. Had anyone given a copper plate to the Emperor? It is therefore that the work of disregarding (lit. of saying that this is no law) this unjust law is going on in the Bardoli Taluka. It is quite just that our peasant brothers are taking part (in it). Though we may be differing a little in this matter, there must be proper provision for the livelihood of every person. And if Government will try to ruin (lit. mix the livelihood with earth) the livelihood of persons by levying unjust additional taxes and by oppression and force, we shall not consent to this act of the Government. Today (we) will not recognise the Government. And (we will be) ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with our other workmen brothers xx Vallabhbhai Patel had ridiculed us. Today he has been confronted with the difficulty (lit. occasion). He has given a warning to the Governor Sahab. Today Vallabhbhai will be tested. All of them will be tested. The reporter should take down. I do not say (so) with the intention of lowering them in the estimation (of others). (They) were stigmatising (us) that we will not fail to give in. If you will give in it will be proved that you runaways have given in. If you will exhibit your daring today we will also congratulate you. We workers never belong to the side of the Government. We, whose struggle is against injustice will not do injustice to another. This simple thing (they) have not shamelessly understood. Our mind is liberal. Here we are liberally conniving at our insult. We say, you do not give in. If you require ten thousand volunteers if you are in need (of them) for putting a check to the arrogant behaviour of the owners, we ten thousand workers are ready to come and go to jail. (You) insulted us that time, (still) in the end you and we are one. Let us all poor people be one while fighting with the Government, and with Capitalism. Forget the insult of that time, but remember, if you will give in, you will not be forgiven. Last time Mahatma Gandhi had given in at Bardoli. Our brothers are there. Be true to your word and not fall back.

The Governor Saheb began to storm and bellow, began to threaten you. You were not afraid of the highhandedness of the Police (and) we have maintained the strike by picketing mills. Any number, of people from among us will become volunteers. We are prepared to fight with the Government and with the owners along with you. We shall come there with a batch of ten thousand people. Do not however be faithless to the work of the persons

living on labour. When this has been told all the people will understand that in a struggle of the working class the workers will never fall back. When other people do not carry on the struggle and in order to feather their own nests xx we blame such people. From this point of view we blame Vallabhai but it is the decision of workers that where (they) are right, where truth is on their side (lit: in a true thing) they will not take back even if they lose their lives. That is (the resolve) of the Bardoli people. I have to tell (you) how people are fighting on the South Indian Railway. Our brethren are fighting with the determination that they will starve (but) will not allow a train to run, will stop (lit: make cool) the engines, will destroy trains, will not on their strength allow others to become fat. If it is realised how the conflagration of strikes is spreading all over the country, it will be understood how Government's people have become haughty through intoxication. We have maintained the strike for four months. Remember, if these people do not yet open their eyes and accept our just demands they will surely have to suffer the bitter fruits of injustice. They might be thinking that they shall crush us and will swallow twenty to twenty-five rupees from the pay of each one. We have not remained so silly. Hunger has made our heads hot and the owners have begun to know who is the friend (and) who the enemy XX we shall never remain without exterminating the enemy. That is the only thing we are going to do.' (Applause).

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

- C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1703-M.(2) T.

Dated 24th July 1928.

Place: Damodar Thakersey Hall, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

“Brothers, after having come here, (I) had gone to see how picketing was going on. Remember that (I) am a little late because I had been to five or ten mills. Now in the first place I am going to

speak before you about this fund of the Mayor Saheb, about yesterday's milk and about the children (that had grown) excessively plump by drinking milk, seen this morning. The children drank milk yesterday and (they) have become so very plump today that I was afraid that the fear will not fail to rise again in the minds (lit. stomachs) of the owners that if the children of the workers would go on growing more and more fat the heads of the owners will not but be broken in a short time. We saw what happened yesterday and holding an urgent meeting at once, protested against this nonsense. These five centres have been opened. Do you know how much milk is distributed at these five centres? One Handa (big pot) that is one maund of milk and thirteen bags of rice are brought at every centre (lit. place). At our (centres) even when four hundred bags were sent at every centre they were not sufficient. They have got with them nearly Rs 40000/-. They know that if they spend more money (they) will get more money. (They) have a capital of Rs 40000/-. (They) have opened centres at five places and do (you) know how much they spend on them? Five Handas of milk which means Rs 40/- to 45/- and thirteen bags of rice which will not be sufficient even for rats on our side. Do not tell stories of charity to the people. You keep quiet. These things going on are of your *Karma*. These persons tell the Girgaon people pleaders, Barristers, educated persons: See how charitable we (are), the strikers are opposed to us though we have started a fund, and though we distribute it in this manner to their children. What is the state of things here? Not even one child of the strikers receives help, receives milk. Thereby the street children, the beggars have gained. (They) will be able to pass some days. Let (them) eat. Why are they beggars? (Because) they do not get work, (they) have not got the facility for education. We know that we shall be in the same condition tomorrow if there is no arrangement for our livelihood, if we do not get employment. Let them eat today if they like. You say to the people on that side feigning great resentment: that you have collected a fund for the children of the strikers. This is false. Some donkeys told that this help is not distributed among (lit. for) the children of the strikers. Our fund is for the children of the strikers, all these are the children of the strikers. There was one donkey there who said that their fund was not for the children of the strikers, it was for poor people. A board has been fixed there, on which is (written) x x for the children of the poor. What do we people do? We are rich? Who created riches in Bombay? Who carried on these mills? Who produced these profits? Who manufactures this cloth? And you call us poor, beggars (and) put us to shame. Build bungalows x x you beggars x x you prick us. It does not matter. We shall pursue you with a goad and prick you. The time (lit turn) has come. We tell the owners in Bombay that if you will starve us and disgrace us we shall never fail to take

revenge. I have to tell the Mayor Sahab regarding the fund that if he wants to continue the distribution of milk, he should at once (lit at the very beginning) remove the board that the milk is for the children of the poor and should publicly notify in the newspapers that this fund is not for children, should say that this fund is for the poor. The board should be removed from there if the people on that side are to be misled, if the people on that side, the people in other (parts) are to be kept under the impression that the milk is distributed among (lit. for) the children of the strikers. If (you) will not remove it we shall not fail to remove it in their presence and burn it then and there in the presence of the Police. *You Fund

A term applied to those gunds should remain on one side. Do not deride at who misappropriate funds us in this way. To deride (at us) in this way is to set fire to the roof (lit) ridge-pole taking a torch in one's own hand. If you will deride at us hereafter (we) shall force you out, give slaps on (your) cheek and kick you. (I) tell the Mayor Sahab (this) publicly rather than tell the people. The Mayor Sahab may be under the impression that the (work of) fund is going on, the wives and children of the strikers are getting (it). So the pleaders, the Barristers in Girgaon, in Fort have began to say (lit. ask): It is good the Mayor Sahab has started a fund, rupees thirty to forty thousand have been collected (and) provision has been made for the maintenance of the wives (and) children of the strikers. I smiled when they told me this and (I) told them. You are wise, very wise. Come to Parel tomorrow, I will take you to the five centres and then (you) will understand the situation. They should not try to mislead the people in this way. (I) have to tell Dr. Deshmukh, the head of the city that if he has to remain in the office (lit. title) of the Mayor, he should see that fraud does not go on in the fund started in his name. These (men) will not fail to receive commission (even) if milk is purchased. These persons are so much accustomed to take commission that even the father will not fail to pocket commission if sweatmeats are brought for children. It is not that these people take commission only in mill (management) but they even take commission on the funds of the Congress organisations in a very respectable manner. These people are (considered) simple and blameless XX whatever craftiness they may practise, whatever rascality they may commit, whatever money they may pour into (their) pockets. Other people do not at all look at them. People on that side are rascals. (They) have practised Gundism on all funds. One person has pocketed (lit. eaten up) the money of our workers. He was (lit. continued happily) as the leader of the Tramwaymen. Beware how the Tramwaymen will disgrace you (if you come forward) as a leader today. The Mayor fund is of that kind. The impression that the wives and children of the workers get help out of it is wrong. Mayor Sahab should do one thing. The board (lit. curtain) 'for the children of the poor' fixed outside should

'be removed.' If it is not removed we will consider that (you) are deliberately insulting us and it should be remembered that (we) will set fire to the board (lit. curtain) in the presence of your men, in the presence of the Police. The Bardoli question has become so important (lit. great) that it will not at all do if the workers fail to express their opinion about it. Because, while increasing this strenght and while carrying on fight even with the Government, both the workers and the peasants are to carry on their fight hand in hand. The Bardoli peasants started the Stayagrah movement refusing to pay the increased land revenue assessment. I had spoken (to you) what was our opinion in the matter. Leave aside our opinion for a time. Now (lit. us turn to) the policy adopted by the Government. What is the policy of Government? The Governor Saheb of the Government said in the Council with great arrogance: never mind, we will collect the land revenue in Bardoli which has been enhanced by us with the use of all (our) best resources. The resources at their command (are) the Police (and) the army and these people are going to collect land revenue by taking the Police and the army there, by firing bullets, by firing guns on the people, frightening the people, by sending (them) to jail (and) by putting them to death. I say: Do so, if you have the courage and see how we as workers come forward (lit. to face) to fight with your

✓ army. We shall never fail to do so for the help of the peasant brothers. The Bardoli struggle is (going on) on the *B. B. C. I. line. The Government will have to take the army by this line. We shall stop the the whole *B. B. C. I. line, (we) shall not fail to make such an attempt that the workers will not be available to run even one train. On whose strength are these persons putting on airs? Poor people like you and us join the army when they cannot get employment and fight on behalf of the Government. These your and our brethren are in the army, (we) shall go amongst them and carry on our propaganda and (will) tell them: It is bad that tomarrów you are going to discharge bullets on the Bardoli peasants, you should not do (so), the Government is going to tell (you) to discharge bullets on your brethren at your hand (and) you should not do it. Now a new turn must be

In English in the original.

In English in the original

The words meaning 'to this movement' occurring here appear to be a repetition.

given to this *movement. The people in the whole of India should ask such a question XXX that we would not under the new circumstances pay the increased land revenue, that we would not pay land revenue to Government at all. A movement of this sort was going on some time back in the Pen Taluka. As soon as this strike is over the Peasants and Workers Party will go among the peasants wherever means for agitation are in existence and will not fail to carry on a movement to refuse totally to give land revenue to the Government because of its having adopted such a policy of intimidation, such a

policy of holding out threats, in order to eradicate that Government to pull down the flag of that Government. Accordingly this time has already come. The people of Bardoli, the peasants must then and there give a straight forward reply to the Governor Saheb that not only will they not pay the increased assessment but that they shall pay no assessment at all whatever he does. He must be given a slap even for the speech he made yesterday in the Council with great arrogance. The Governor Saheb thinks that as the movement of the Congress is in the hands of a few Barristers and pleader as these people are like the Hijadas (Herma-phrodites) in Nal Bazar because they have not the least spirit, they the Hijadas do not understand how (any) movement should be strengthened by getting support of the people-therefore (lit. the Governor Saheb thought that) whatever he says before the Hijadas in the Council will convince (them). If these people sitting in the Council has possessed real manhood they would have immediately got up from there and would have said to the Governor Saheb: Be silent, sit down, don't talk more, what are you talking? Are you insulting the people of India? Such a question they would have asked. These are educated people. As the politics of pleaders have become the politics of Hijadas not a single spirited man was found. The Governor Saheb should remember, the Government should now remember that if they begin to use force, if they begin to use bayonets with violence, if they begin to fire bullets against the *workers, we the workers in Bombay, the workers of the *B. B. C. I., G.I.P, S. I., the dock workers will not fail to fight with you (Governor Saheb) by all uniting together taking as weapon whatever comes to our hand. The politics in India and the movement in India instead of remaining any longer that of only the educated classes, that is of the Hijadas, is about to become the movement of real men. The Bardoli people now with determination XX must increase. The Government should remember that the workers of Bombay, the workers in Bengal, the workers in Madras, all the workers and peasants in the world will not fail to run to the help of Bardoli. If thereafter the army sets out for Bardoli, a *hartal* will be made on the *B B. C. I. and thereafter practising Satyagrah the *B. B. C. I. line* will be devastated. The Governor Saheb does not know the strength of the workers. The people in his country have shown (it) to the Governor Saheb there. The Governor Saheb there at the mention of the workers movement gets terribly frightened (lit. begins to answer the call of nature in his panta'oon). The Governor Saheb does not know that when the workers in Bombay, the workers in Madras these revolutionary workers all over the world will run to the help of the peasants, they will not turn back without winning success. The Bardoli Satyagrah will become an all India question,

Words occur here meaning 'these, in the dock' followed by a *B. B. C. I., G.I.P, S. I., the dock workers will not fail to fight with you (Governor Saheb) by all uniting together taking as weapon whatever comes to our hand. The politics in India and the movement in India instead of remaining any longer that of only the educated classes, that is of the Hijadas, is about to become the movement of real men. The Bardoli people now with determination XX must increase. The Government should remember that the workers of Bombay, the workers in Bengal, the workers in Madras, all the workers and peasants in the world will not fail to run to the help of Bardoli. If thereafter the army sets out for Bardoli, a *hartal* will be made on the *B B. C. I. and thereafter practising Satyagrah the *B. B. C. I. line* will be devastated. The Governor Saheb does not know the strength of the workers. The people in his country have shown (it) to the Governor Saheb there. The Governor Saheb there at the mention of the workers movement gets terribly frightened (lit. begins to answer the call of nature in his panta'oon). The Governor Saheb does not know that when the workers in Bombay, the workers in Madras these revolutionary workers all over the world will run to the help of the peasants, they will not turn back without winning success. The Bardoli Satyagrah will become an all India question,

In English in the original.

In English in the original.

the people of the whole of India will pursue it and offering a fight to Government will show to the Governor Saheb whether it was the power of the Government or of the people that was greater. Yesterday the Governor Saheb asked the question whether here in their (of the British) Raj their power was greater or that of the people. The time (lit. thing) has now come for workers to show by Satyagrah whether the power of the people or of the Government is greater and the Governor Saheb should remember it that we shall not fail to show it. I speak next about the strike. Last evening I understood from a man somewhat in the know that uptill now two owners Sasoon and Fazlbhoy were entirely opposed to the strike. It is said, one does not know far truly, that on (lit. till) yesterday or the day before Sasoon Saheb lost courage (lit. his feet got broken) and he has begun to say that some compromise should be brought about. When the owner begins to say that a compromise should be brought about it means that he has lost courage (lit. his feet have been broken). When an opponent (in wrestling) becomes vanquished (he says): it is enough, let us finish the wrestling now. He does fight so long as he has got strength. When the strength is exhausted, he stops. It is learnt that that is what is happening in the Sasoon group. It is a matter for great joy that the Sasoon group has come to the side of those quarrelsome owners who (are urging) that the demands of the workers should be granted and the strike settled. If the Sasoon group has lost courage (lit. has got its feet broken) there is not a single owner among the owners of Bombay who can hold on. Whatever happens, the thing before us (is) that the strike is to be maintained till our seventeen demands are granted, even if it lasts for one month or for a month and a half (more). Whatever happens, the strike which we have continued for three and a half months is to be maintained in tact till our demands are granted, till the wages in 1925 are given. Because such a time has come that we are almost about to approach our goal and at such a time we shall not be deprived of our success even if some people from us fall out. Therefore keep on doing properly whatever things we have settled and try to maintain in tact our unity. Let the strike last for a month or a month and a half, we shall not fail anyhow to provide for the maintenace of those among us who may be starving. Tomorrow is the day for the distribution of grain. Grain worth Rs 5000/- was distributed uptill the last two weeks. The Strike Committee cannot distribute grain in larger quantities. The fight is to be carried on still for somedays. Remember that if it had been likely to be settled within fifteen days even all the grain would perhaps have been distributed. (For) of Rs. 5000/- the grain that is to be distributed tomorrow, people who have nothing to eat should come to the centres and should make efforts to maintain our strike systematically. I give (you) an assurance that surely it will not but succeed if you hold on with such determination. What I talk here is not merely for the sake of talking.

it is for the purpose of giving full hundred percent conviction, nay assurance. You should therefore have no doubt, you should not allow doubt of any kind to enter your mind. Signs of success have begun to appear in the front. When the sun rises up, hot rays are seen, similarly the rays of success have become visible. Our strike must be carried on with determination. Picketing must be helped. (If any one) begins to create dissension among you he must be driven out. Be properly awake. Be thinking calmly of how the owners and their friends think of new tactics to involve the workers into dangers. If we have learnt one thing in the year 1928, we have drawn up the curtain of the owners' craftiness (and) all possible effort was made to roll it up completely. Think of this thing. Think of how necessary it is to go to the help of the peasants. Think of how the peasants and workers are brothers. When you learn to think about all these things, there is no salvation for us till thousands of things are done. Good days will not come to us till those things are done. Without them the condition of our workers will not improve. Be prepared to do these things, XX come forward for the fight like sepoys, like warriors, like sepoys. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1703-M. [3] T.

Dated 24th July 1928.

Place:—Damodar Thakersey Hall, Bombay.

Mr. Bradley delivered his speech in English and Mr. Mirajkar translated it into Marathi. Mr. Bradley said:—

“Workmen brothers, a few days have elapsed since I spoke the other day in your meeting. And now-a-days I cannot come every day. The cause of it is that the other matters in connection with the strike have been placed before the owners and so also I have been fighting out the question of the G. I. P. Railwaymen. Much of my time passes in helping them in respect of that question. I am, therefore unable to attend this meeting. Both your struggle and that of the G. I. P. Railwaymen is similar. How is this similar?

Both are fighting against Capitalism to keep their wages sufficient. The G. I. P. Railwaymen are fighting against the Government and the Railway Board and we are fighting against the owners. That is both of us are also fighting with capitalism. Capitalism is the rule of crafty persons. At such a time I have to tell you that this fight which you are carrying on is carried on in any extremely beautiful manner and if you carry on the struggle in this manner you will not certainly fail to become successful. (Applause). The fund that has been started by the owners with the help of the Mayor has been started to mislead the people. The owners represent to the public that they help the wives and the children of the strikers. All this roguery is known to us and has been made known to the people. We must to the last persist in the struggle which we have been carrying on with the owners. We must continue our struggle even though all the army, all the soldiers belonging to the Government are made to stand against us and even though all possible attempts are made to break our strike. Because the Government to-day helps the owners, it does not help the workmen. Whose help have we got? Some money has been sent to the Strike Committee by the workmen in England and the Government has not paid us the money. It is my conjecture that such money must have been received from several workmen in foreign countries. And it is true that that money is not given to us. The Government is compelling us to break the strike by creating such circumstances and by straitening and oppressing us under many difficulties. From this it is proved that wherever (lit away) the Government exists it is the Government of Capitalism. I have narrated this thousand times yet in spite of all the efforts of the Government we must carry on our fight with as great a rigour as we should. Though thousands of obstacles intervene in our paths we must kick them aside and carry on our movement. A meeting of the owners was held 15 days back. I think that another meeting will be held shortly within a day or two. That time we saw that there were two parties amongst them and that two cocks were fighting between themselves. We saw this thing. It is without dispute that the owners were falling back. The owners have fallen back. We are united and unity is strength, therefore they will have to fall back still more. Mr. Sasoon is the leader of these owners (and) he had encouraged them. (We have) shown the strength of our unity. They, the owners, will have to fall back still more. And remember this that the owners will never fail to fall back. The struggle which has been carried by you is extremely praiseworthy. It is not possible to see a strike of this sort in Britain, my country. The capitalism in Britain, the Government of that place is trying to break the strikes of the workmen. The struggle that is carried on by you is in no way inferior to any struggle in Britain. This is of as great an importance as the struggle of this place. [I have] therefore to congratulate you on behalf of the workmen brethren in Britain.

You should fight out your struggle in this manner. You will certainly be successful. Remember that when a strike takes place when the workmen is ready to fight in this manner making his back stubborn, success is ours.

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D Poona.

P. 1704 M. T.

Dated 26th July 1928.

Place: Damodar Thakersey Hall, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

“Brothers yesterday was our grain distribution day and as decided, by the Strike Committee we distributed yesterday grain of all the money we had that is Rs 5000/-. It is true that the distress among the workers is increasing (lit. is being great) day by day and we know that it is equally true that on account of that the distribution of grain of Rs 5000/- is insufficient. But the Strike Committee has directed its attention to the curtailment of as much expenditure as possible if it is to be decided to prolong our strike for some days and therefore (it) has brought (down) the distribution of grain to Rs5000 from that of Rs10,000 being distributed three weeks back. The cause of this is only this much that what little money we have must be provided to the end by giving food to all in small quantities and that the strike must be continued. For if we weaken the strike at such a time, if we spend all the money we have there is the probability of the strike being broken at an early date and on account of that (our) labour of three and a half month will be washed and for this reason I have to request you that I do not think it to be true what the men had begun to shout while going out of this hall that (they) did not get food (lit. to eat) for three months. The men that were shouting were dock workers A good many outsiders come (and) take away grain. We are mill workers. We do not work properly. Mang-garudi women take away grain. The reference apparently is to the proper distribution of grain. Therefore we workers must do this. We must visit different localities (and) make inquiry whether the men in that locality receive grain. Yesterday it happened that one woman received grain at Chinchpokli and keeping it under her armpit, received

grain here again. Our volunteers saw (this) and we drove (her) out. If our men begin to do like this, they who are really in need of grain do not get it and those who have got it once get it thrice and this causes great confusion. Arrangements must be made so that all the workers in each locality will come to the centres to take away grain. It is a very bad state of things that one man should receive grain five times. We ought not to allow this. We workers are extremely sensible people. From next time we must make such an arrangement that our grain will suffice for all those who are in need. An article has been written in the *Times (of India)* about grain distribution. It says that the workers have not got sufficient money and a suggestion has been made to us that the strikers should fall at the feet of the owners and should make efforts to bring about a compromise. The *Times (of India)* says to these people that we have no money. Then you have much money, give us the plenty of money with you. The second suggestion is, the *Times (of India)* has suggested that (you) should fall at the feet of the owners. Do you agree to this? (No, from* the *audience). The owners want to set on foot talk about compromise. There are newspapers under the control of (lit. In English in the original. the hand of) the (owners) have they (owners) suggested that the condition of the men has become one of great distress at present, (and) therefore if you (newspapers) make a suggestion like this then the leaders will perhaps again approach the owners for negotiations. The owners have been utterly discomfited. The talk of negotiations which they were carrying on has been put a stop to. If they now call (us) for bringing about a compromise, it will mean that the owners have come to their senses (and) they will not tolerate that the world should say (so). Therefore (they) are making suggestions to the *Times (of India)*. We want a compromise but we shall not do it of our own accord. If the owners wanted a compromise they ought to have said so. (They ought to have said) if you are not coming today, we shall come together after eight days. If some room had been left for compromise like this we would have again begun (talk about) a compromise. If the owners now want a compromise, they ought to write a letter to the Committee, saying that they are again ready for a compromise. It is not that we are opposed to a compromise. But we shall not go of our own accord to fall at the feet of the owners. (I) have to tell this to them and also to suggest to the *Times (of India)*. If the *Times (of India)* really feels compassion it should immediately send us today a cheque for Rs 5000 and we give a guarantee to the *Times (of India)* that we shall arrange to distribute next week grain worth Rs. 10,000. But do you know what kind of compassion is this? If the owners had got a good motive in this compassion then the *Times (of India)* would have written another article and would have told all the people in Bombay that they should now go to the help of the workers and get money for them. A second article to that effect

would have been written. The *Times (of India)* is to be told that if it is entertaining the vain idea that we do not understand its craftiness then it should give up that idea. The only thing to be told to the *Times (of India)* is that its game will be of no use before us. Then a second thing is to be told to you. The Governor Saheb said the other day in the council that he was a great friend of India. We have realised (that). We people are on strike for three and a half months, we are dying, women are starving, children are starving. At such a time our great friend is enjoying the air full well at Mahableshwar. He is sitting (*in his bungalow*) at Ganeshkhind and is going about in motor-cars. Remember that such a Governor Saheb is our great friend. He said in a speech that he was a friend of India. Even though he be a friend, even though (he) be a friend of rich India, he is not (a friend) of the poor. If (he) had been a friend of the poor he would have come at least one day when three to four lakhs of people have become unemployed today (He) had come for one day from Mahableshwar after Parshuram Jadhav was murdered. Whom did he see? (He met) the rich owners and Mr. Joshi met him. After discussions with the owners he went away. At that time we had requested him to come and see the sufferings of the poor. Bear in mind what kind of friend this who calls himself 'friend, friend' is. Even now if he feels that he is really a friend of India he should send his salary for two months to the Strike Committee. If he is really a friend he should immediately ameliorate the Police oppression against us (and our) sufferings, (and) should take away the Police from the mill doors. If you are really a friend, come in a motor-car to the Damodar Thakersey Hall to see how the poor are suffering, how we are suffering. In the city of Bombay, in your capital town itself, your ryots, the poor people, we the poor people who create all the wealth in Bombay are starving and it is the duty of the Governor Saheb that he should come here, should see the condition of the people, should get an idea of the sufferings of the people. If he begins today that then alone he is a friend of the poor and a friend of India, otherwise he is not a friend of India. (He) is a friend (who has) come (here) to squeeze the people of India as in a press. Had he been a real friend of India, would he have given a threat that bayonets will be used against the Bardoli people? Therefore if the talk about friendship is to be proved true then two or three things that have been mentioned should be done. This strike is going on for $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{3}{4}$ months. It was the duty of the Governor to bring about a compromise regarding the strike. Has he performed that duty? He is not a friend of us, the poor. As he is a friend of the rich, we shall get no help from him whatsoever. The Mayor's fund was started the other day. As soon as the rich started (it) the Governor Saheb sent rupees one thousand immediately. He knew that the fund was of no help to us. Has

it occurred to the Governor Saheb, did he think (even) for one day that he should send a cheque to the Strike Committee here which is looking after the people who are starving? This Governor Saheb is not our friend but our enemy. He has no value beyond that (he is) a sepoy, a representative, a big officer, a big clerk of capitalism, of imperialism, who has come here to swallow a big salary from India and to make us, the people in India, poorer. And even if he vaunts about his being a friend we do not believe it. This the workers must declare publicly. An extremely critical time has come. On this critical occasion speak with one voice, speak unanimously whether you are going to continue the strike or you are going to allow a condition to come in which some people have begun to go to work, some people have rushed inside. Are you going to stick to the strike or not? (Reply "we shall stick" from In English in the original the audience*.) If you stick unanimously you shall not but get the fruit of the sufferings borne for three months and a half. If our unity begins to get spoiled, if some people from us begin to go to the doors of the mills because they have to suffer at our hands, that will be an extremely bad thing, that will mean that all the sufferings borne up till now will be wasted. Therefore think well in your mind. After thinking in your mind take courage that you will, if required bear greater sufferings even than those borne during the last three months and a half and that you will continue the strike for some days more with the same vigour and tenacity with which you have continued it up till now. I am sure that if the strike is tenaciously continued for one, two, three weeks (more) the owners cannot but call us and concede our demands. Therefore make a resolve in your mind that you will continue the strike after this just as you had continued it for so many days, never mind if the grain is distributed or not. Make the determination, be resolved that you will keep up the war which you have declared yourselves in order to lessen your days of sufferings till you get success, (and) be successful.

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1705 M. T.

Dated the 29th July 1928.

Place: Near the Spring Mill, Bombay.

Mr. Bradley delivered his speech in English and Mr. Joglekar translated it into Marathi. It is as follows:—

“Workmen brothers, the owners made the utmost efforts in order to break our strike. They set afloat different rumours. They foretold different prophecies. They circulated various false reports such as that our money was exhausted, the zeal of the people had disappeared. But all of them have vanished. Their two (or) four conjectures about us were mistaken. They questioned how unity can continue to be maintained among us. But in that matter they have been put to shame (lit. their noses have turned down). They have been disappointed in the other matter that our money will be exhausted. Though (they) began to bawl out that the funds were exhausted we did distribute rice-gruel every week. They thought that no one will help these (workmen). They (the owners) were undeceived. At this time a cheque of Rs3000/- has come for helping you from our Saklatwala Saheb who is in Britain. That is by the by we are conducting all things systematically. You remember that our strength will not be diminished even a bit whatever proclamations the owners may make. One request to make you is that it will not do us to sit quietly in this manner. We must lend some help to the work of continuing the strike. (To help) in one way is to get money for our strike Committee. For that purpose each of you must come forward to render help. Though these owners do not look towards us, the workmen have become one (of the life) with us. It is known how the G. I. P. (Railwaymen), (the workmen in the) docks, (the workmen in the) municipality, the B. B. C. I railwaymen have helped our strike. This time they will not fail to render similar help. Eight or ten persons of the Strike Committee will not suffice to get this help. The wages are to be (paid) on the first. Several persons amongst you must come forward. They must enlist their names among the volunteers. They must form themselves in batches. Help to the workmen must be collected by going at every place with your boxes. When this is done more zeal will arise for continuing the strike and we will not fail to succeed. To-day outsiders have begun to raise a hubbub against us about Communism. They want to make it appear as a big bogey. The sentence is disconnected. Terasi is (a member) of the merchants' association. All of them have been bewildered because their means of livelihood have been endangered on account of our strike. They have begun

to chafe with anger, they say that they are not allowed to take profits, that they cannot live in luxury. Yesterday (we) were talking with the pleaders. The pleaders said, what is this going on, we understand this. The owners put you in extreme difficulty. You say this is correct according to law. There is a mistake in what they call the Company Law. It is an instrument for committing theft. On account of it the English Government and its underlings have started this business of making the workmen starve on the strength of law. This law must be changed. The laws made by you have not been made for our benefit. You must change them, if not, we will have to get them changed. (We) say that these laws are wrong. How can that law which makes (people) starve be called a law? For, this law is in order that they should be able to lead a life of luxury after we die through starvation. In his way (they) speak of law. But we are prepared to disregard even laws themselves (lit: at the very beginning). (We) do not respect these laws. The world is coming to form the opinion that that law is necessary which will provide for our livelihood. The laws after this will be framed by us, so that arrangements will be made for providing for the livelihood of every person. That is to be called law which will make such provision. Condition of this sort xx has been created in the hearts of the people. An awakening has been created among all the people. The English Government has become extremely anxious. The owners have become anxious as to what is this hubbub XX. The owners and the Government have become anxious (wondering) why these (people) suddenly get enraged like this. The persons who had no anxiety to think about, (who) used to enjoy themselves sitting in (their) carriages. You know the story of the Badshah. Do you or do you not know the story of Damaji? People here are starving XX. They are told to eat ghee and sugar. Such is the condition of all the owners. The Government and the owners did not know up till today that we were starving. Now as soon as we got enraged and said that we would no longer starve, fear has arisen in their hearts. In this manner they have got terrified. They must be made to understand: Sirs, do not talk of law. The power of changing these laws lies in our wrists. (We) shall make such arrangements as would provide livelihood for every workman. That strength has begun to bring about unity among us. We shall not fail to improve our condition by unifying (our) strength. Tersa Saheb asks (us) to settle the strike. One man here is the thief and the other one is enjoying himself on the theft. How can settlement take place between the two? If settlement is to take place you should say that you would not commit theft. Robbing (us) all of our livelihood, (you) invest it in motor cars. We will not allow that however. But so long as the owners have not given up this profession of theft, so long as the Government has not prohibited

them, till then it is not possible for us to come to an agreement with the owners. Even if our strength has not increased, (we) will bring in a day on which, seeing our uprisen strength they must collapse, they must be levelled to the dust and the workmen must succeed. Such condition X no agreement with us can be made. If agreement is required provide for the livelihood of all. A very critical time has come. The owners are putting forth their utmost efforts. Their condition has become perturbed. Sasoon alone is active. The owners are trying to see whether you can be vanquished by depriving you of the final success by taking advantage of the payment day (lit: first day of the month) by bribing some persons. At such an opportunity either (you) will level them to the dust otherwise XX if we are levelled to the dust (we) shall have to be one with the dust for ten years. Therefore we must put forth the utmost effort at this time. Today we have received Rupees 3000/- The Strike Committee has got money. Utmost efforts should be made to increase this amount. (Money) will be had in the shops in the Fort (and) in the grain-market. Those who are opposed to you have become pleased at your bravery. Some of the owners— thought they may give no help— and persons in offices are gradually coming to your side. The boxes (for subscriptions) must be circulated on their pay days. To-day's (monetary) strength of the Strike Committee will not allow any shortage in your ^{*In English in the original} ration for one month. On such an occasion if some persons from among you have become more impotent, if weakness has come we shall make some arrangement for rice-gruel. This final opportunity should not be lost. Keeping up the strength at this time care must be taken in the end on the first day of the month during the first week. (You will see your efforts crowned with success within fifteen to twenty days. To the owners X will be required and days of good fortune will come. Arrangements should be made that there should not be the least slackening in our strike. If you hold on for these two weeks the strength for opening the mills has not remained with the owners (lit: there). They are cursing Sasoon. Quarrels are going on among them. They say that we shall catch the opportunity of the first day of the month. After saying so, Bradley Saheb requests you that you should not slacken your tenacity in the least.

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar.

Inspector of police.

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1706-W. (1) T.

Dated 31st July, 1928

Place: Nagusayaji's Wadi, Bombay.

Mr. Alve said:—

“Brothers, the gentleman (Shet) who spoke to you just now must be congratulated and (I) request that my workmen brethren will congratulate him with loud cheers. Now why are (we) getting such persons? The patriot leaders in the whole nation, in India will join us. Yesterday I heard in Poona that the strike in Bombay was broken, that the mills began to work. Since I heard this news I was very eager to reach my place in the night. The policemen in Bombay had followed us. They thought that if the people in Poona expressed their sympathy the strike will continue and Capitalism will certainly disappear. Men in the C. I. D. have become Volunteers. Have the people come here without reason? The strike is broken and the mills began to work. They asked me: have the mills begun to work? They were afraid that all these (persons) will really become the leaders of the nation if the people in the city of Poona begin to express their sympathy. See the *Nava Kal* of today, two or four mills will begin to work in Parel area. But you find out who is going to work them. If that happens what has been the result of three (or) four months (of the strike)? It is very bad to start the mills. What I told you was that our strike will not be broken till *Dasara* or *Divali*. Give up the hope that the strike will be broken in one or two days. Every one should run to our help out of patriotism. What has happened uptill now? There was now news-paper of the workmen. There is no champion of the workmen. The workmen are not educated. And therefore the condition was such that any person came forward and called the workmen fools. But the eyes of all have begun to dazzle on seeing your condition. And the advocates of Swaraj have begun to say that we will get Swaraj if help is given to such people. If tomorrow a time for giving a fight to the Government arises the workmen will really fight. Every one has begun to think that if the foreign Government and foreign Capitalism are to be driven from India, it is these workmen (that will do so) and it is natural to think so. We are the decedents of those very mavlas who (lit. When) Swaraj was established in India. We know how to fight. A big war took place with Germany in the year 1913. At that time you held on. Those persons who fight relying on their own strength are really workmen. All people began to think that these workmen were fighters. They must be helped. The patriots have become the slaves of this foreign capitalism.

To be a patriot involves talking awkward (things), when the question of the owners arises and going to jail if anything is said against the Government. They had therefore this two-fold fear.} Now the present leaders are not afraid of anyone and therefore they clearly set forth all these things without speaking ill of anybody. I therefore ask you to declare whether you want to break the strike. And if you want to continue the strike give such an assurance. Excitement has begun every where in the city (that) the mills will begin to work from the first and that the strike will be over. You prove it (to me) how they will break it. All of you raise up your hands if you are going to accept defeat. If you want success, if you want the fulfilment of your demands, if you want the strike to succeed then

*In English in the original, raise your hands. *All raised their hands)*. Now my soul (lit. life) has calmed down. Let us now turn to our strike. Four months have elapsed since our strike (began). There is no fear of the strike being broken. We will get more help. Tomorrow is the day for (distributing) grain. Today Nimbkar Saheb's case will be decided. The strike Committee has got money to distribute grain to those who may be in distress. Uptill now you had no help. Now the people will really help you. You should not now fall back in the nick of time. Keep this resolution firm if the foreign Government is to be driven away today. The foreign Government by ruling over us upto now has made our life dirt cheap. We must become independent. If (independence) will not be got so long as the workmen will not stand on their legs. If you want the amenities (of life) you must stand on your own legs. The strike that has taken place is not (meant) for earning four pice. This strike is in order that four pice more may be got, that amenities (of life) may be provided (and) that some other rights may be secured. Today we are being crushed under the foreign power which is (ruling) over us. The Government is afraid as to when these police men (used to) the rule of the bludgeon may turn (hostile). This movement will be started in India by (the Government) being afraid in this manner. Therefore you commence this movement from this time. This movement will continue so long as our nation has not permanently got all rights. We must take great (lit. putting oil in our eyes) care (and) think over all these things (viz) what our rule is, who should go to the Council. Days of remaining asleep are now no more. Foreign Capitalism and the foreign Government began therefore to rule over you. Every one should therefore keep aside his timidity. It is our duty to see at this time what is happening in the world, who is (our) friend. Otherwise if the mills begin to work, cease talking about *makadams*. Today they have not carried on the agitation which they ought to have. We were obedient to (lit. bound by) their threats, because they are our masters. They have not taught us a proper lesson. Abandon the fear of the Manager (and) the

*In English in the original. *weaving master. It is because of this that they made the rule yesterday that badges (lit. tickets) would be hung around your necks (to show) that you were slaves. Do not therefore believe in the masters or the Mukadams. You must come yourselves to the Union to get your anxiety removed. If a man is slapped he must at once inform the Union (about it) and the Union must give immediate redress. The master is a slave and he enslaves you. (You) should not do so. Every person should remain alert from today. I had gone to Poona. A meeting was held in the Kirlosker theatre. A meeting was held in the Sarvajahik Sabha. There I narrated the account of the strike. There were learned patriots at Poona who thought that they had acted foolishly till that time. They apologised for that mistake: we committed a mistake, we did not pay attention to the workmen's movement. The workmen are the pillars of the nation, our attention was not attracted towards it. (The worker's movement) you have removed the curtain that Capitalism and the Government had so far placed over (our) eyes. Now they have given the assurance of giving you as much help as possible. Only yesterday five hundred rupees were collected on the spot in the Kirloskar theatre..... College students have become volunteers and they said: if you cannot do picketing, call us, we will do picketing at the mills. (They) are collecting money from every shop, becoming volunteers for you. All people have begun to understand that our strike is just. Now our strike will be successful. This will end in a few days. (It) will be successful. If (you) become victorious, keep this movement going so long as our power does not come to our hands, so long as Swaraj is not established. Take care of yourselves. Consider in your mind that we should not remain quiet till the Raj of the labourers is established. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1706 M. [2] T.

Dated 31st July 1928.

Place: Nagusayaji's Wadi, Bombay.

Mr. Nimbkar said:—

"Brothers, to-day may perhaps be my last speech before you in this strike. If I am acquitted to-day I shall come among you tomorrow morning. I am speaking about this strike as if

finally this time. I am going to say a few (lit. four) things. The first thing is that after I came here to-day, I saw there the new friend Mr. Virechand Panachand. I smiled on seeing him. I was glad. Alwe, Dange, all of us have been in this struggle from the beginning. We are poor people. The stones on the Ratnagiri side have come to our share as they have come to yours. Our friend

*It is 'Shaw' in the original but apparently it is the Gujrati name 'Shah'

Mr. *Shah is a big merchant. He has got tremendous influence in Mandvi, the big mercantile locality of Bombay. When I saw our Shah Saheb among the striker brethren—our Strike Committee has become bankrupt—I thought that rice (and) dal in Mandvi wholly belonged to us and I request, I publicly say to Shah Saheb that during the one or two months for which our workmen will have to fight to win their demands, he should bring his own money to Nagusayaji's Wadi (and) give food to our men for two months. Now to speak about our strike, our friend Mirajkar has told (you) all things. The owners have begun a game to create dissension among us. Five to ten mills (will) open soon. x x x How was the situation when we began the strike? There are 84 mills in Bombay. The rates in these were not cut down. They cut (them) down in the 'Textile (Mill),' were cut them down in 'Canara'. In this manner, when the owners played a crafty game, (we) understood it. To day the rate of 'Kasturchand' was cut down, which means that the rates of the whole of Bombay (mills) were cut down. There-

*In the English in original.

fore the whole world understood it, only the blind **Times (of India)* did not understand it. Now I explain (lit. tell) the game of the owners. You know one thing. As soon as our strike took place, the owners gave a notice that we had no concern with them (lit. were not theirs) from that day. Because it does not matter (even) if the owners have performed your Shradha (death anniversary) and offered Pindas (balls of rice). And thereafter the owners prepared a new scheme. What did they do in that scheme? Ten rupees each (to) twelve rupees of our weavers have been cut down. The spinners' (wages) have been further reduced and the working hours have been raised from eight and a half to ten. And the owners said this (is) the scheme. Take match-box from our pocket and you make acquaintance with both (the scheme and the match-box). Not a single worker from among us will accept your wages. They said that we (and) you do not agree. A month (or) a month and a half has passed since then. The owners were thinking two, two and a half (or) three months have passed. Where will the workers go? The workers have not spent money on the ornaments of their women. If the workers begin to starve they will necessarily come (to work) even if ten rupees less are paid to each. They remained in haughtiness and they came to know after three months and a half after the strike was declared that they had been deceived. What (is to be done) now? The owners realised that our workers did not

even throw a glance at the mills though three months and a half had passed. The fact is that a strike for three months and a half had never lasted in any place. A strike of a lakh and a half of workers had at no place lasted in the world for three and a half months, it had not lasted without money. Take note of this I say to you that in maintaining this strike of (us) one and a half lakh of people in the city of Bombay, peacefully and unitedly, we have laid down (a) lesson to the workers in the world. Thereafter we are fighting (lit. quarreling) to-day. I say to my friend Mr. Shah that the wages of the workers are still inadequate. Earning twenty (to) twenty-five rupees, we have to pay rupees ten each as rent for dirty pigeon-hole (like) rooms in the city of Bombay. If the owners give us less wages, wages of the workers of Madras, Sholapur etc. will be cut down. Clerks and Government servants should

*The reference apparently is here to the reduction of wages.

know as a matter of certainty that their necks will be cut if the wages of the labourers are to-day cut down. After this, what are the owners doing now? They have realised the unity of the workers. But an ass is an ass and does not think of improvement. Similar has become the condition of the owners. They think that if they play their game, they will still be able to cut the necks of the workers. They have decided that ten mills are to be found out, whoever be their owner. After finding out five (to) ten (mills) notices are going to be posted that they will be opened from a certain date. The Police ready with their lorries are going to help the owners. The owners will post notices regarding reduced wages and our friends the Police will wield the lathi against you. Remember this and decide how to behave in future. The first thing is this. When such notices about reduced wages will be posted we are to pay no attention to them. The notice that will be posted is to be removed and handed over to the Strike Committee and then we shall see what (to do). Thereafter as we all the strike xx though when we went on strike one (owner) posted a notice and tried to creat a split among us still we X shall maintain. Remember the one thing that we shall go to work on the day that we went on strike. I have to request you that every one should get this impressed on his mind. Then the second thing I say as a warning to the owners. I tell the owners that if you have got wisdom, do not make an effort like this, because you know what will happen. The men sitting here will agree to what I say. I am perfectly sure that we are able to distribute grain of Rs 5/ (to) Rs 10/. The strike will last for two (to) three months. I say that if you go to your villages and the rest of the people stay in Bombay we have got the power to distribute grain to them. I warn the owners whether they think that the mills will work if they open them. I speak on your side. Let us suppose that the owners have opened the mills and after opening them those among us who do not as yet understand, who do not attend meetings all people do not

understand what we say, (they) understand whatever we all may be speaking (and) not the remaining. Therefore what I say to all who, I am sure, does not realize, who does not know, who has not understood our principles, who does not know how our movement is to be fought, if such brothers are deceived into going into mills, I publicly ask the owners whether the mill can be made to work. In this Textile Mill in which strike took place there are five to ten thousand people. The weavers went on strike and the Manager Saheb closed the mill within half an hour. All the departments will work but if the weavers are not there the mill (will become) insolvent. I am sitting (here) as a physician. I say on our behalf that our workers will not be deceived. I think that we shall not go into mill till our seventeen demands are got. Even if [some workers] go to work through ignorance your mills will not work. Our men in the Weaving Department are the cleverest of all. The weavers X their wages have been cut down by ten to twelve rupees by the owners. You begin to work a mill, some ignorant people come in, (but) so long as not a single weaver has come in, mills will not work even though the forty-two ancestors of Petit or Sassoon come down. I know this. (Even if) some ignorant people go into the mills still so long as we weavers, we looms-men, (we) thirty to forty thousand men continue to maintain our strike, even if the mills remain open for two days, the owners will themselves have on the fifth day to ask (the people) to go out because looms-men had not come. Therefore I say to owners that they should not take this trouble. XXX to speak about the Police. I again give (lit: say) a message of love to the Commissioner Saheb. The Commissioner Saheb talks sweetly. (He is) very crafty, is clever. If we go to him he indulges in tall-talk for hours that he is a worker (and is) on our side. (I say) to the Commissioner Saheb whether he knows what Long does. Even though we speak against him he is not transferred. The Commissioner Saheb has said to the owners: You begin to work the mills, we shall give help. I say openly to the Commissioner Saheb, the protector of our city that by helping the owners you will create disturbance among the workers who have been peaceful for these three and a half months, you can do nothing more about that. If you help one man against another you will be causing a riot in Parel where there was none, instead of that taking place through us. It is not the duty of the Police to create a riot. The second thing is though we have been starving for three months and a half, though we have been hungry, we have kept our heads cool to-day, no disturbance has been caused uptill now. But it is not that we who are peaceful today will remain peaceful in future if the Police side with the owners. If a riot takes place in Bombay, if a disturbance is caused, if there is bloodshed then the Police Commissioner will have to mount the gallows. I say this to Government

publicly. (If) I go to jail (and) hear there that our strike is broken, then I am perfectly sure that I shall understand that the demands of the workers have been granted. (And) there X and you behaved in that manner. Then to speak about to-day's affair. I wish that there should be no riot among us workers. There is no strength in our wrists. I am not against rioting but rioting should be made on the day when we shall kill more people of the enemy and less of ours will die. If we make a riot to-day we shall die and Government, Police will remain as arrogant, as vigorous as they are (to-day). This must be remembered. Till our condition

*In English in the original improves *volunteers from among us must be trained

I heartily wish that there should be no rioting among us. Because if I have to give slaps on the face of Pendse (or) of Mirajkar. Pendse must go away otherwise Pendse will give me five slaps on the face. There is no objection on if he gives. Therefore you should remain peaceful. I have been to Poona. What did I see after going to Poona? The *Kesri* paper had adversely criticised us, had written in favour of the owners. But after our strike had lasted for three and a half months, Kelkar Saheb, the leader sitting on the *gaddi* of Lokamanya *Tilak said that he

*Here occurs one meaning 'did which appears to be out of place' apologized for writing in favour of the owners and not of us. Take note of this. We workers have a right on Poona. We are all from

Maharashta. Most of us are from Maharastra. Our blood is the same as that of this Kelkar from Poona, (of people) in Ratnagari, Kolaba, Satara, Sholapur. Our blood is (one) with that of Lokamanya Tilak. *If the paper of Lokamanya Tilak begins to go

The sentence appears against us. When Mr. Tilak was sentenced in 1907 the workers of Parel on learning that

to be incomplete Lokomanya had been sentenced, came forward to fight with Government and put up with firing. If you continue peaceful after this I am sure that we shall get our demands and go to work. I wish that you should not go into the court. If you come into the court, Gole Saheb is ready with a whip. I request that if you go into the court, behave peacefully. If I am acquitted that is a matter for joy. If I go to jail persons like Alve, Mirajkar, Pendse are with you. They are always capable of struggling X on your side. Bear all these things in mind. Do not look to the mills till success is got in the strike. I have not to say (anything) beyond this. Then I have to say about that after our strike ends, continue our meetings in Nagusayaji's Wadi, continue (them). Every Sunday after the strike is over and the movement is to be continued as regards how our union is going on, people from which mill have joined it what is going on in the world, what we people in Bombay must do, how ten hours are to be reduced to nine hours, who are to be sent to the municipality, who are to be sent to councils, who fight on behalf of us, who are our enemies, (and) who are our friends. My request is that after strike is ended, conduct

meetings properly every Sunday in the Chhavni. Then (about) the union. However weak we may be as regards this strike it must be borne in mind how our union will become vigorous. Make our union vigorous, bring every worker into the union and do all you can to make our union vigorous in a good way. With these words I take your leave." (Applause.)

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1707 M. T.

Dated 3rd August, 1928.

Place: Nagusayji's Wadi.

Mr. Alve said:—

" Brothers, now there remains nothing to be said. For, if I had stood at first (to speak) I would have told some things. Nothing has been left for me now after my friends told all things. Should (I) tell some imaginary thing? (I) am telling thing for these four months tomorrow on the 6th the people of foreign Capitalism are going to work the mills. This is a national industry. The people have declared strike to ruin this industry. This industry is of a foreign nation. If it had been of our nation each of (us) would receive rupees two less. (We) are not ready to send the money to Japan. This foreign Government is not ours. XX these owners are foreign and the Government that helps (them) is foreign. Who will help us now? I, therefore, tell you that the foreign Government went to help the foreign Capitalism, so we workmen are all one. If these policemen, the foreign Government gives help to this foreign Capitalism on the 6th your brethren must be informed to give help to you. If such violence appears to be used to the people of Tardeo must give help. If help is insufficient give (the information) to the men in the Tramway (Company) and the docks, they are our brethren. They will help us. What will you do if the foreign Government gives help to the foreign Capitalism? They have told (us) that they will help us. Now we are one and a half lakh of people. XX Several workmen are in Tadwadi, the docks and the Municipality X. Every one of them should try to feed one mill-workman each. Every brother must help in order to face this

difficulty, in order to make our strike successful. This strike will be a protracted one and our demands must be got in full. Every one must feed one workman each. We must strive in this manner till our strike becomes successful. This is the money. (We distribute the grain. (We) cannot maintain ourselves on it. There are several brothers. Tell the shop-keepers to give one meal. We are fighting for (our) rights. We are not ready to become the slaves of foreign Capitalism. We would have done (it) if it had been the industry of our country. This industry belongs to foreign countries. It is not our duty to pass (our) days in suffering, spending our money for the industry of Japan, America (and) Lancashire (and) in order that the children of Europeans may be fat (lit. good). If it had been a national industry we would have done anything. I tell you that if tomorrow on the 6th, on the 7th, on the 2nd (or) the 4th oppression is used against you (lit. for you), if the Police use oppression, you at once inform (of it) to your brethren. Call the workmen in the whole city of Bombay to your help. If the Government helps Capitalism we must take the help of the workmen. Since it helps them we want help. These people must be included in the strike. If we all unite let us see what Capitalism and the ruling power can do ? A day will come, where will this Capitalism remain and where will the Government go. Such outcry is going on. Go to every lodging. Holding meetings does not suffice. Those people that remain sitting at home are very bad. When a person comes to the meeting the people in the Chawl ask him, what is the matter, what happened in the meeting. Go to every Chawl and going there ask (the people) to go to their respective villages. Ask them to determine what to do. These things are not accomplished by holding meetings. Meetings (lit: the programme of meetings) will be held in the morning and in the evening. More attention must be paid to these matters than to meetings. Again if any persons are distressed (they should) go to the lodgings of their brethren. This strike has been (declared). This strike is in truth of the belly. To-morrow it will be of the nation. We are going to secure our rights till the question of the belly is solved. These rights are for your children. I persistently tell you that happiness must be obtained. Your children will think that you, their forefathers did not acquire your rights (and) that you carried on the mills by receiving ten (or) twelve rupees as your wages. Therefore let something take place once (for all). If you do not get happiness your children will say that we eat because our father had gone on strike. Give help to our strike. If (you) wish that our children should live happily, give up wicked desires. Every one must take part in this strike if comfortable livelihood (lit. happiness to the belly) is to be secured Take care of your future generation. It is our demand that we must get more wages. It is not a crime to ask food for the belly. We are human beings. Human beings

must live. We do not demand without reason. We work from morning to evening. At present the owners are living in luxury in foreign countries earning excessive money on our labour (lit life). Stopping this all, the money must be used for (the welfare of) the workmen. We are thinking of this. The help of every person is required to make this strike successful. Several people ask where the leaders disappear (lit. die) when some trouble arises. I am a leader from among you. I am a human being like you. I have not got more money. I am not also a man of action. Nothing is possible of being done at my hands. If the men go to the mill what can the leader do ? This is not the work of one person. All of us must help him. There is no happiness if they break the strike. Sorrow is not felt if they win it. You people are ignorant. They are trying to impart the knowledge to you because Capitalism deceives you. You will have to suffer hardships You must think over it. Every endeavour will be done on our part, on the part of leaders. They want your help We must keep ourselves acquainted as to where the mills work, who goes to work, who are our enemies, who are (our) friends we must eagerly take part in being informed of this. Time does not now pass by sitting at home. It is easy to sit at home. Some business must be done in order to get food for one time. Make your brethren understand it. This much should be told to every workman: do not ruin yourselves at such a critical juncture. The persons who do not attend the meetings do not know the thing. They mock at you when you go home. Tell them emphatically not to bring in an obstacle in this strike that is going on. There are several malicious persons in our society. The people who have got food to eat hate (others). Let alone the clerks. The clerks have become more inimical than the foreign Government. Upto now jobbers are being deceived by the carftiness of the owners. Why were they not deceived up till now? The owners have now called. Ignorant persons, lifeless persons, have ruined us upto now. I warn them, the jobbers should remember: you are going to cut the necks of one lakh and a half of people, (you) are going to ruin their livelihood (lit: to mix earth with their food). Do what you like, give your life, do not deceive us. You are not twenty-five (or) thirty thousand people here. Two (or) two and a half lakhs have gone to theirs villages. It does not matter even if you people die there. Go to villages. Those who have gone are determined that (they) will not go to work till our demands are granted. Do not prove treacherous to them. Each of you should remember and think over this thing. Think after you sleep at night XXX then if you break the strike there is a possibility of a strike being declared again. There will be quarrels among yourselves at that time. The (mill) officers will give you more kicks. They will give you one kick because you had gone on strike, because you had held meetings, till all this is avenged. We have put forth the 18th.

demand that the wages for one month must be given. We will not go to work till the wages for at least one month are received. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar.

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1708-M. T.

Dated 6th August 1928.

Place: Cement Chawls, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, the war, the battle that is to take place between us and the owners now for fourteen days has begun this morning and after a battle between the army brought by the owners and our army the owners were defeated, the whole of Capitalism (lit. Ownerism) was killed. Our army triumphed, our army got success and the occasion of today the first day passed off so well that not a single man entered the eleven mills kept open by the owners this morning. Not only did the men not go in but even a dog did not go in. Tomorrow morning also the programme (will be) just like today. You people are to work tomorrow just as you have behaved peacefully today. The volunteers will go there in the morning. We people shall go at our time just as we had gone at four o'clock today and shall take care that even tomorrow not a single man will enter those mills. The only care you have to take is that you have to remain watching from your chawls what we people do, what the volunteers do, you have to do (nothing) beyond that. And in this way giving a blow (lit. slap) to the fourteen days, programme of the owners, (we) shall make the owners realize that their high notions will prove futile. They must understand only today that we workers will not allow their high notions to prevail. If the owners are wise they must take a lesson from what became of their programme this morning (and) keeping the mills closed for some days from to-morrow must write a letter to the Strike Committee for some kind of compromise. But if they lack in wisdom let them keep

the doors open for fourteen days and we shall make efforts so that not a single man will go inside. And our efforts will succeed because the owners are not prepared to accept the conditions that have been laid down. Or if they are prepared and they begin to say that they are going in, we shall tell (them). You may go inside if you please, go and accept reduced wages, accept the badge and go inside to receive the kicks of the manager. But I know that the workers are not prepared to accept those conditions and therefore we shall fight systematically against this fourteen days, programme of the owners and shall show them well that on the 15th day the owners must come to their senses. Some people say that the owners will now close the mills for good. Well, if the owners close the mills for good we shall work them. You should take care, we shall no longer believe what is said that the owners are going to close the mills. This will not frighten us, this will not terrify us, these are sheerly idle reports. We have no belief in these gutter reports. What we people say is that do not increase our wages but do not give us reduced wages. Secondly we will show from the owner's reports that they have got profits of lakhs of rupees. If the owners have got profits, does your father lose if our wages are paid? Such is the question we place before the owners. Secondly, the owners have begun this *tamasha* for fourteen days and have brought all the women from their house to dance in it. We shall watch those dances, we shall enjoy and on the fifteenth day we shall tell the owner that he should stop his dance (and we shall ask him) to say now whether he accepts our condition or not. The workers have better intelligence than the owners as to what is to be done next. The Strike Committee is thinking fully well how the fight is to be carried on afterwards. They should remember that we shall thereafter take the next step. The owners are arrogant to-day. They were saying, the owners' news-papers were saying. To-morrow morning the workers will enter the mills leaving aside what their leaders say. Today they did not get even a dog to enter the mills. What a shamelessness on the part of the owners. Even a dog did not glance (at the mills). On the other hand when I went at four o'clock the dogs were weeping in the name of the owners and were telling the owners to be wise lest the time would come for their insolvency. But the brains of the owners have got rotten. They (brains) have dried up like cocoanut-kernel. They have no wisdom. What a big loss you are incurring by keeping the mills closed for one day. The owners are causing this loss at their own hands. Do we ask them to close the mills? Let them work tomorrow morning. Even the train by its shouting asks (them) to work the mills. Give in writing that the wages of 1925 will be paid, (then) work (the mills) tomorrow morning and all men will come inside tomorrow morning. But the owners are making efforts to frighten us by intimidation, by showing guns, by showing the

Police, by showing all the means of intimidation. At night I had slept in the Parel office for picketing. As soon as it was half past three I was awakened. A Police lorry came, a second one came, a third one came, a fourth one came, a fifth one came. (I) said; what is this? I was going to ask that loudly. But the Police tried to do one thing and quite another thing happened. The Police came to help the owners (but) gave help to us. You know there is an adage in Marathi 'tried to do to you and happened to me.' They brought there thousand or a thousand and a half police men for help. And what happened because of that? Our workers thought, who will go today A number of policemen have come. (Applause). Those people who went to work, who went stealthily to work, thought that the Police would beat them (therefore) they stayed at home. The engineering people were complaining today that their oilmen, fire-men, x x who went in stealthily everyday, also remained outside. The police went to help the owners but we got the help. A very good thing was done. I give thanks to the police. We should not be misled by the victory of the first day, and if however you remain quietly sleeping tomorrow then our result will be bad. The owners have increased this fight by fifteen days. We shall tell them that we shall fight by fifteen days. We shall tell them that we shall fight for seventeen days. If the police come at four o'clock at the mill-doors, we shall be there at half past three. If the police sergeant comes there at five o'clock our sergeant (will be there) at four o'clock. If you advance one step we shall advance three. (We) expressed our joy by loud applause because we have succeeded on the first day and all of you people must behave tomorrow just as you have behaved today. Tomorrow there will be picketing at these mills. Even a dog will not care to look at (them) just like today. We shall make such an arrangement in this manner that a dog will not care to look at them even tomorrow. The day after tomorrow the mills will be opened at Sat Rasta (seven roads) and the Madanpura. A meeting of our Strike Committee will be held tomorrow and picketing will be done there the day after tomorrow in order to make efforts that no oilmen (and) fire-men will go in the mills that will be opened at the Sat Rasta. You people are only to behave as you have been told. (You) are not to go out of your houses, if you go out you are not to make a crowd on the road, you are not to pick up a quarrel with the police. If you behave like that you will have rendered good service to our fight. If we carry on our fight in the manner for fourteen (or) fifteen days more the owners will have no other alternative. One alternative will be to give up the mills, to declare insolvency and to take (in hand) the begging bowl (lit. the cocoanut shell.) The second alternative is to say, to give in writing that the wages of 1925 have been granted, x x to give in writing to the Strike Committee, allow the men

(to come in). Such ways will rise out of that. I have to ask you first to stick to the resolution which you have made. Then I must say that the police this morning behaved in a somewhat good manner. But there is no wonder in that. We persons behaved still better than that. Had we given an opportunity, they will not fail to wield the bludgeon. All new police had been brought there. Had you given an opportunity, they would not have failed to use the bludgeon (lit. to establish bludgeon rule,) by taking advantage of the opportunity. But this much must be said that this morning they behaved well. One complaint is to be made against the police. It is this. I say that the police help the owners. They say that they do not help the owners, (and) will help us if we require help. We did not require police help and it is doubtful whether we will get it if we require. Even if the workers beat me, I shall not take the help of the police. If you want to fling stones at me, you may do so if you please. I shall not lodge a complaint with the police. I do not think that the police will give help if you begin to beat me. The police say that they do not help the owners (but) try to preserve peace. If you help in preserving the peace why do you take *Ladisas* from the owners? I have got strong proof that the Sasoon company had provided the police with the *Ladisas* of the owners. I say to the Police Commissioner Saheb that this system should be immediately stopped. Why do you take bribe from the owners. Has Government got no money? If not, declare insolvency. Come to us to ask for money. We shall buy *Ladisas* for you. You take *Ladisas* from the owners that is take a bribe, that is if I go with some one and take a 'single' (cup) of tea, I will have to salute him tomorrow. Therefore as soon as *Ladisas* are accepted from the owners. Cooperation will have to be offered to them. (You) are angry at what we say. Give up taking *Ladisas* from the owners. It is to be suggested to the Police Commissioner Saheb that the *Ladisas* from the owners should not be accepted. (They) should be purchased from the money with the Government, otherwise start a fund. By contributing a pie we shall buy them for you. I am greatly irritated. The Police Commissioner Saheb should pay attention. One Saheb had asked whether the Police Commissioner does not know this. (You) allow your men to be taken in *Ladisas*. Take down in writing. Let us see what the Commissioner Saheb does. Then I have heard from you that the *Dadas* will help the owners when the mills are going to be opened in the Delisle Road locality, in the Fergusson (Road) locality. But I do not think that those people will give help. Because this morning I was having a stroll in the Kala Chowki locality, when I met four (or) five *Dadas*. They said all of us are fully prepared, (we) shall help you (and) not the owners. If the *Dadas* from that locality have become ready to help us, what harm have we caused to the *Dadas* here that they should work against us? I do not think that that will happen. If they are thinking of

that, I have to request the *Dadas* with folded hands that they should kindly run to the help of us poor people. It is the duty of the strong to help the poor. If any one stands in need of help, it is the whole of the poor working class.

And therefore I have to say to the people here, to the *Dadas* that whatever *Dada-giri* they want to do, they should do on our behalf, on behalf of the workers. When after that *Dada-giri* we succeed, we shall give you one bottle of liquor to drink (and) not half of a quarter seer. Some people may ask (why we) promise liquor. It is to be told with folded hands to them that these gymnasts from this locality should come to our help on the day that the mills will be opened. Come to the help of the poor. I request you with folded hands and falling at (your) feet that the poor need help, the rich do not require help. You (*Dadas*) are all getting your livelihood today because of the poor. Because, you are from among the poor and not from among the rich. I hope that they will accept my request. Then now I (tell) you what happened this morning. In our Kaurav-Pandav battle much of the army of the Kauravas. Much army had today been vanquished on that battle field. Not a soldier from our army has fallen. Not a single soldier from our army has been vanquished. Our soldiers were awake, all had come systematically (and) in joy without a single one being wounded. That is about today's battle. What happens in tomorrow's battle will be told to you when the meeting is held tomorrow evening. When tomorrow the army of us Pandavas will come out to have a fight all you people should remain in your respective chawls, and when your help will be required we shall tell you. So long as we have not told you, do not leave your chawls and come out. Keep peace. Do not give any such encouragement to the Police. The police are merely waiting for an opportunity. At the slightest pretext they will use the bludgeon. They have brought the military today. Because (they thought) that the people would go inside as soon as they saw their two thousand police-men. We do not require the military. They will never fail to bring armed police. There is not the least doubt that they will fire bullets if they get an opportunity. That Power Saheb fired a bullet at Parasharam Jadhav and killed him. Parashram Jadhav sacrificed his life for our strike. Remember that Jadhav. Let all of us try our best that a similar thing will not happen again. If our strength lies in anything it is in our unity. There is strength in our unity, in our peace. Till then the uncles of the police, the father of the owners and God will not be able to break our strike. Many efforts are made in order that our strike should be broken. But all the efforts must be given

*The meanings is not the *stabet of Nana Shankershet.* All those efforts clear. have been killed. This morning we have buried all the efforts of the owners. The other day one brother said that we must observe fourteen days' mourning for the owners. We

have come here because all the owners are dead. We must observe this mourning peacefully. On the thirteenth day (after death) we perform the Terava (parts of the obsequies). Similarly after fourteen days we shall observe the fifteenth day of the owners (as a day for Obsequies). We shall all eat in the meeting the *Laddus* of the (funeral feast) of the owners (lit. people of ownerism). On the sixteenth day we shall tell the owners that we have observed their *Terava* and that if they are alive now, that is their ghost. Will you give now the demand of 1925 or not? We have handed you the master key of this fight. Keep peace as told by me. If peace is kept success is ours. Seeing that we are getting success, those who were against the strike have now begun to issue handbills. Mayekar has issued a handbill, what does it mean? He saw that we people cannot but get success why should he then take discredit to himself therefore he issued a handbill. Now matters have reached such a stage that success is sure for the workers. Therefore Mayekar should be told that he will get nothing. (He) tried to break the strike and now he has issued a handbill that (the workers) should not go to work. He is greatly deceiving himself. Success has come before our eyes. Therefore maintain peace. *Saying this* make ^{This has been left} efforts to bring well into practice all the things that ^{suspended.} have been told. (My) throat is very much hoarse. (I) had begun work from half past three at night. (I) got no sleep. Therefore I do not speak more. Only this xx I stop here the Punjab Mail (lit. the train) that is running. With these words I take your leave."

(Sd.) R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1709 M. T.

Dated 7th August, 1928.

Meeting of the mill-strikers.

Place: Chamelibag, Delisle Road, Bombay

Time: From 4: 45 in the evening to 6 in the evening.

Mr. Mirajkar-

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, I first apologize to you for being late in coming here. I apologize to you for being late to attend today's meeting as

I had to go to the Fort for the work of the dock-workers, as the work of other unions has been entrusted to me. (lit. is with me) Just as (I) have to do the work of our mill-strikers here. Now, I turn to the subject of our meeting to-day. In the first place I tell you a story. I tell (you) how a scuffle took place between two boys. And what happened between them. Once there were two boys. They began to beat (each other) in a lane. While beating, one boy gave a sound beating to the other and the latter was humbled. He became helpless as soon as he was humbled (and) this second boy who had received a sound beating began to say while running away: Why, do you come to beat me, you come to my lane, I will beat you with the thick stick that I have kept (there). The condition of the owners to-day has become similar to it. The owners thought that men would come into the mills (when) they were opened. (But) by giving a fight to them yesterday and today we have given such a slap on their cheeks (lit. mouth) and kick on their buttocks that their cheeks have become red and they have been applying turpentine to the place where they received the kick. After this has happened, it has been published in to-day's newspapers that the owners have not understood the real situation. But it has been published in the newspapers of the owners that they were going to close the mills permanently. They did not say, the owners themselves did not say (whether the mills would be closed) for three months, four months (or), for how many months, but just as the boy after he was beaten said that he would beat with the thick stick in his house (so the owners) have shown the thick stick in their house that they were going to close the mills. See the thick stick now after the owners have been beaten. Remember that this thick stick is (indicative) of the silliness of owners as the boy who showed the thick stick was silly and sheepish. Seeing that there was no remedy now in their hands the owners are trying to frighten you. The owners have now shown us this thick stick on seeing that these people do not return to work though three months, four months have now elapsed and the fifth month is about to begin. We say to the owners from here: O, owners O, *hijadas*, O *hijadas* from the Nal Bazar, you have no spirit. We had not tested your spirit. Now we shall not be deceived, shall not be cowed down, shall not be confused, shall not be frightened however much you may frighten (us). Say if you want to work these mills or not. If you want to close the mills then get out for begging with your wives and children. Because if the mills are closed, as said by the owners, they will have to declare insolvency within six months. Remember that when you take this begging bowl (lit. coconut shell) in hand, you will have to beg. The luxury of the owners is dependent on the mill industry. The profit which the owners make is on this mill industry. And if these mills are closed their profits (lit. a cake made up with milk, sugar and butter) will be completely stopped and then they cannot but be compelled to beg. And therefore I

feel sure that even the owners' father will not be able to keep the mills closed. Only by threatening thus, by showing this *Dada-giri*, by showing the thick stick in their house, they are making efforts to deceive us, to frighten us if we get frightened. This is on the whole the meaning of their act. It has got no meaning beyond that. And we say to the owners that if they really want to close the mills we too ask them publicly to close them if they have the courage and to bear in mind what different situation is created within three months. I say from here to Government, to the Police Commissioner, to Government officials, to the Viceroy, to the Government in England and that if the owners are allowed to (make) this lock-out, to close the mills, (and) if they close the mills then the workers in India will make revolution, will make a rebellion and we shall proclaim that rebellion. Because if these mills are closed, the one and a half lakh of workers in Bombay will be unemployed without food without bread. (If) the one and a half lakh of workers in Bombay are unemployed we shall join together with them the Railway-workers, the dock-workers, the tramway workers, the Railway workers in all the Railways in India and will get them to declare such a big *hartal* all over India, (we) will make such a big strike that not only the owners will be killed thereby but the Government also must be killed. I do not say this as a mere threat but we shall not fail to do so in fact. Because today all over India discontent is rife among the workers, they are being subjected to oppression, they are being exposed to various sorrows by the owners, by this Government, by this Police, and if the owners want to be early vanquished, if they want to be killed early, they should if they have got the courage prove the reality of their intimidations. If they have the courage, I challenge them to prove its reality. I am sure that the owners have not got the courage for that. The owners cannot close the mills. Remember that this is only a new game of the owners intended to bring pressure (lit. weight) to bear upon you, in order that you people-tomorrow the Tardeo people, the day after the people from the Ferguson, the Shivri (locality) should rush into the mills. Now persons have got trained among the workers to understand the game of the owners. Uptill now such was the condition of the workers that what the owners said was accepted as true (lit. was the eastern direction), what the owner said was accepted as true just as what the priest said was (regarded) as decisive. But now henceforth the workers after realising that the owners are faithless, crafty persons, are not prepared to trust in their word. As the workers have understood that the owner is an insect like the leech sucking the blood of the workers, they are henceforth not prepared to trust in anything that the owners say. How are we workers to trust the owners? The owners cry out and tell the people on that side that they are not getting profits. O donkeys, you made a profit of lakhs of rupees last year. *We have begun to think that

⁴ [•] you must have a monstrously enlarged heart to tell
[•] this plain untruth (lit. thing) to the world. • These
[•] owners place false things before the whole world (and)
[•] try to show that their side is genuine. They are sinking day by day.
[•] The people are not ready to believe in them (and) are prepared to
[•] believe in every thing that the workers say. Day by day the workers
[•] have begun to get more help from the people. The workers in Britain
[•] have sent ten thousand rupees to the workers (here) to keep up
[•] this strike. The people in India have begun to promise help to the
[•] workers. (They) have begun to say that they would help the workers
[•] in Bombay, that they knew that the owners were crafty, and (they)
[•] have begun to collect fund every where. I say to you with folded
[•] hands that you should not be very much (lit. for a long time)
[•] frightened by the intimidations, the thick stick shown by the owners
[•] (and) should carry out the programme of fourteen days chalked out
[•] by us that even if the owners keep the doors of the mills open, not
[•] even a dog is to go there to leave its extreta on the name of the
[•] owners, that not only men are not to go into the mill but dogs, cats
[•] (and) cocks (also) are not to glance at the mills. I tell you with
[•] certainty that some new way will rise out of it if you, people of
[•] Tardeo, of Sat Rasta, of Madanpura, of Worli, carry out this pro-
[•] gramme. Some of our leaders calling themselves nationalists, were saying
[•] that this was a national industry, an industry of the whole of India.
[•] Is it (an industry) of their father ? This is your mistake. Do you
[•] get the profits accruing from that industry ? Each one of you manu-
[•] facture 20, 25, 30 (to) 40 yards of cloth (and) you, your children
[•] your wives have to go about in a naked condition, then say whether
[•] it is not a roguery, deceitfulness to say that this industry is national
[•] that it belongs to all the people. We have to tell these people calling
[•] themselves nationalists: Sir, see what these national donkeys, the
[•] owners do. These donkeys have taken up a big weapon against the
[•] industry of Bombay. If this industry is ruined, if the mills are now
[•] ruined the responsibility of it will lie only upon the owners (and) not
[•] on the workers. All the workers are ready to go to work tomorrow, if only
[•] their reduced wages are paid, the workers are ready to play the looms
[•] tomorrow morning, the fire-men are ready to prepare the fire to-
[•] morrow morning, the oil-men are ready to apply oil tomorrow morning,
[•] are ready to pour oil into the ears of the owners. But bales of cotton
[•] have got fixed into the ears of these owners x x x such gross blunders
[•] are being committed by them that every man will have to bear its
[•] evil consequences. But we tell openly to the Government of Bombay,
[•] to the Government of India, to the Parliament in England, that if
[•] you pay no attention to these machinations (of the owners) if the
[•] owners adopt the policy of closing the mills, then we shall
[•] make a rebellion in India, then we shall get killed both you and
[•] the owners. I say this openly. Prosecute us tomorrow if you
[•] like. The reason for saying this is that the question of livelihood
[•] is involved in this. If the Government do not solve this question,

it will have to be said that Government is unfit to rule over India. This Governor is unfit to rule in this Bombay and tomorrow he must be sent to England with a coolie's basket. The day after tomorrow (we) shall send (him) away from India with broom stick. If these people be not prepared to make up quarrels they will at their own hands be getting a stone hurled at their own feet. This is going to lead to a very bad result. (But) the result (will be) good from our point of view. Because we shall be independent that much earlier, we shall earlier get free from the net of the owners, the net of the Government, the net of the Police. This result (is) good from our point of view but from the point of view of the Government they will have to suffer this extremely bad consequence. I have to give such a public warning in this public meeting. Remember that if they begin to say who cares for these worthless workers, they will have to go away tomorrow with a broom-stick in their hand. Do not be deceived in the least at the scare crow of the owners. We have drawn up a programme for fourteen days. (We) have started a Kauray Pandav War. The Pandavas are getting victory every day. The army of the Kauravas is being killed. Killing the Kauravas outright in fourteen days, the Kauravas who reduced us to slavery (and) who are bringing badges to hang around our (necks.) These Pandavas will in fourteen days vanquish their army of 64* Yonis. (We) shall win this war for the Pandavas and shall vanquish the Kauravas and shall maintain intact the wages for the year 1925. This I have to say to you publicly. Do not glance at the mills in the Tardeo locality to be opened tomorrow. Be seated in your respective rooms. Keep peace. The time is not for disturbing peace. But I ask (you) today to keep peace. (But) if tomorrow the owners intend to do something wrong (lit. queer) then I shall come forward and ask you to break peace. I shall say, let us openly declare war with the police, with the rich. Keep complete peace till fourteen days are over. The fourteen days' fight is further going on. With these words I take your leave."

*The word appears to be wrongly used. Literally it means a class of created assistance.

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C.I.D., Poona.

P. 1710-M. (1) T.

9th August, 1928.

Place: Near Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Mr. Nimbkar said:—

“Brothers, I have to say one thing at the outset and that is regarding the apology to those men who returned yesterday, the day for grain distribution, from Chinchpokli. Because, what has happened is that those who have got there the corn given by the Strike Committee are getting corn systematically from the very first day. Those who have not got tickets XX non-ticket-holders are not to be seen in large numbers in the beginning. Now a few non-ticket-holders have begun to come in larger numbers. At Chinchpokli four to five hundred non-ticket-holders were sitting. I told them to be seated. I told the persons there to bring (grain) bags and to give to those men. Trusting in my word they sat (there). Persons distributing grain returned after distribution. They remained trusting in my word. They returned. I apologize to them. I publicly say that next Wednesday non-ticket-holders will be given grain first and provision for the ticket-holders will be made afterwards. We shall issue a hand-bill and inform as to what is to be done in this matter. How (I) have to say about our strike. Before that I have to say one thing. Now mills are being opened one by one. While the mills are opening X it is possible for our workers to go (there) through hope. *Those leaders in whose house there is no rice for two days. The men (lit: man) may then think of what to do as there is no rice in the house. Do not think like that. If you find any such man XX do not all come at one time in the office of the Strike Committee. If there is any such man bring him to us, (and) I say that we shall make proper arrangements. After bearing these two things in mind (we) have to see now about our strike. I speak about the strike every day and as most of you people come every day to the meeting nothing more has been left to be said now. Dange Saheb XX mills will be opened. Khatara XXX If you want a cut in your wages then come tomorrow morning to the ‘Khatara mill’. I am sure you will not come. I shall stand there for one hour and then go away. Another amusing thing is to be told next. The owners are openly clamouring through the newspapers that the workers are mad, that the leaders must be sent to jail, that we have fixed the wages and we shall dismiss the men whom we have dismissed. The owners are giving threats in this manner. You know all things, you know the force of Ghodupdav. You know what is going to happen to-morrow. The owners are now threatening on the outside but inwardly have got frightened.

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One (of them) catches hold of Mr. Dange, another comes to me (and asks) how the strike is to be broken. I plainly say: There are the seventeen demands. If you do not come to your senses early, we shall add the 18th demand about the strike pay. You come openly, throw away this veil, be really manly and come to talk in an open manner. Thereafter yesterday one owner met (me). He began to ask why the poor (people) on the Fergusson Road in this locality were not allowed by us to go? I say every day that thirty per cent wages have been cut even in the 'Khatara mill'. What am I to do if the people do not come? What will happen on Friday. What happened on Monday the same will happen on Friday, what happened on Wednesday the same will happen on Friday. Why should I then put coal in the engine and waste five hundred rupees? I asked him to lock (his mill) and he was the owner of one (or) two mills. Even coal will not be put (into the engines) of those mills to-morrow. It is in this fashion that the owners are opening mills. I have to say to the owners that if you have wisdom come to your senses otherwise yourselves and your wives have no alternative except going to the Arthur Road Jail. When the pay for the strike is demanded (you) have no alternative except going there. After that I have now to talk about another thing which does not directly concern the strike but yet concerns our workers' movements. It has happened that during the last two, three (or) four months' strike took place all over India. If one goes to Calcutta (there is) the railway strike (and) the Jamshedpur strike, if one goes to Bombay (people) are merely sitting, if one goes to Madras trains from Madras to Ceylon have been stopped, have been overthrown. After this has happened Government has got frightened and I tell you as a matter of fact that Government is not afraid of big patriots, it is not afraid of Mahatma Gandhi, of Vallabhbhai Patel, of the Congress. If it is afraid of anything it is afraid of this your worker's

This sentence is dis- movement. *Because Government is fully aware that connected.

not a single white man will remain alive if you one and a half lakh of men become one, if you one and a lakh of men if one gun each comes into the hands of the Bombay Police. There is unity among workers. The worker is ready to die. The worker's movement is increasing day by day. The Government, the owners, the rich persons have all got frightened and after getting frightened (Government has begun to think) whether its Raj will disappear now, whether it will disappear within five years, (if) all these workers become one, if the telegraph (lines) are stopped, if the post is stopped, if trains are overthrown, whence can the army come and how can bullets be fired on the people. Government saw all this situation. After seeing (it) Government framed a law (to the effect) that he who goes on strike without notice or abets such strike will be sent to jail. I say to Government: Send us one and a half lakh of people to Jail. ✓

Where has Government's father got the Jails to imprison so many people ? (I) have to say to Government : If you are wise do not make asinine laws, give the people what they want. There will be no strike if people are given what they want. People want bread, give bread, there will be no strike. Give rooms, there will be no strike. Give medicine to the women and children of the men, there will be no strike. You crush the people, you make them work, you levy money from them, and you starve them, you do not give them what they want therefore the strikes take place. People do not go on strike willingly. If you do not want strikes grant the demands of the people. That is what we have to say to the Government. If people are given sufficient to eat there will be no strike. The causes of strike have been told. There is no reason for enacting this law. There is no reason for holding out a threat of imprisonment. If Government has got wisdom it should give to eat. Stopping the lakhs of rupees that are being taken to England more attention should be paid to the ryots. That is what we have to say to the Government. If such a law is enacted you will be driven out in five years instead of in ten. If people are unnecessarily threatened the thirty-three crores in India will become awake and will send away the Government first and the owners afterwards. Take back this law. Remove their villainy. If Government foists this law upon us, if Government passes this law we shall raise a wave of strike every where from Calcutta, from Simla up to Madras, up to Ceylon, upto Trichnapoly and we will give a reply to the Government. After this I do not speak more. Our men must come. Remember tomorrow's day. Fergusson Road is the worst road. You know how the officials there are. To-morrow, on the day of opening the mills, do not come out, nobody should give trouble. Give the owners that same reply that was given (lit: done) at Ghorupdeva. With these words I take your leave."

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P. 1710 M. [2] T.

Dated 9th August, 1928.

Place: Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Mr. Bradley delivered a speech in English which was translated into Marathi by Mr. Jhabwala as follows:—

“ Brothers, to-morrow I am going to do picketing. I am going to stand near one (lit. some) mill and I am going to do picketing there. I am not new to picketing. I used to do (it) in England. I was a turbulent man there. I shall do picketing. I was at Madras (when) a wire was received (that) the mill-owners here blew *whistle and made some sort of effort. You have done well (lit. good work). If you desist from going like this persons like us will not be put to such trouble at the time of picketing. While coming from Madras I stopped for a time at Sholapur. There is a mill *hartal* there. My friend Mr. Joglekar had gone there. (I) saw the condition of the people. I saw what (was) the condition of people. I found that the *hartal* there is good but it is not right that the leaders of you (your) people (should have to go) there. Though the people there are on *hartal*, owing to lack of good leaders, two thousand people go into the mills and thereby weaken the basis of the *hartal*. I resolved that two persons from the Strike-Committee should be sent there and (I) have decided in (my) mind that the

*In English in the original.

*The original in English men at Sholapur should be well trained. *These workers should have been stopped long ago*. The people there the people of Sholapur have their grievances, their condition is like that of the people in the mills here. But relation, contention has been established between their owners and the owners here so that I am not surprised if the condition of these people does not improve. Then we people ought to so arrange that good relation should be established between us and Sholapur. That *hartal* and this *hartal* will gain fine strength. Government proposes now to appoint a board of arbitrators, I say that this strike, its preparation should be made in this manner, reliance must be placed on your strength. Government knows the measure of your strength. You people know (it) and the world knows (it). What if a board of arbitrators is appointed, what if a board for compromise is appointed, you people have been seeing. This board of arbitrators can only compromise (in respect of) your rights in the measure of your strength. The measure of your capacity to accept rights will be known and that committee for compromise will be acceptable to us if you get those rights and not otherwise. Government has brought a bill in the Legislative Assembly at Simla by means of which our people will suffer greatly by means of which the activities (lit. mouths,

hands and feet) of us people will be stopped. You can give an answer to that and this is the answer. The Legislative Assembly is of the Government and not of the workmen. The Legislative Assembly is of the King. If any bill whatsoever is passed in it we do not accept (that) law. What you people ought to do is to build up a legislature of your own by starting a big union. And Government must be confronted with this our legislature. Let that legislature be formed and that law passed by the capitalists (lit. people of Capitalism) by owners, by Government's people, (or) by Khan Sahebs (or) Khan Bahadurs. We shall place forth our law through Union and thus (we) shall create two ruling powers (lit. Kingdoms) in India, one of the Government and one of the workmen (Applause). The owners in order to get you people to attend work deceive you by various (lit. what, what) tactics. (They) go today in the Legislative (Assembly) Hall, tomorrow (they) appoint arbitration boards, next day they appoint a committee for settlement and go to the Governor Saheb, the Viceroy Saheb. In this way many

**In English in the original.* (owners) blew *whistles, opened four mills, opened five mills. They do like this. You people know your strength. Your strength lies in unity. Do not break your unity whatever the tactics adopted by the Government and by the owners. I am going to do picketing tomorrow, do not give me trouble at that time. Do not come to show your faces. With these words I take your leave. (Applause)".

Sd R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P. 1711 M. T.

Dated 10th August 1928,

Place:—Maidan near Kesar-i-Hind Mill, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said: —

“ Brothers, it can be understood by you even from the change of place of to-day's meeting how crafty the owners are. Do you know why to-day's meeting arranged in Naraliwadi had to be changed to this place? The owners pressed the key there and they had made a plan to stop our meeting to-day by bringing to bear influence upon (lit:by pressing the key of) the manager of that place in order that our meeting should not be held there as it is a private place. But you know that we people will not henceforth fall a prey to the dodge of the owners. If we do not

get this Naraliwadi for (our) meetig (we shall find out) some other wadi (and) if (we) cannot get (any) other *Wadi* we shall go to the gate of the police station and hold meetings (there). I am sure that the policemen, our Bycula policemen XX then say to the owners that our meetings will not be stopped by them even though they would try to stop them (meetings) by underhand means (lit: by tightening wooden scrows (and) by applying keys). What is the question facing (us) to-day? The question that is facing us to-day is that we on our part gave three slaps to the owners, the first at Kala Chowki, the second at SatRasta and (the) the third at the Fergusson Road. As soon as these three slaps were given (their) cheeks turned red, all (their) teath (lit: a collection of thirty-two) began to shake, all the teeth of the owners have fallen so that (they are now going to stop the opening of the mills that were to be newly opened on Monday. For, (they) have received three slaps and (their) cheeks have become red (and) they are quite (lit: tired of life) of rubbing them (cheeks). Their friends who have taken all the butter in Bombay have sat rubbing (it). (They) are going to stop the opening of the mills that were to be newly opened on Monday. The policemen began to say that they were saved trouble. We began to say that (we) were saved trouble. The workers began to say that their trouble was saved. I say to you that the owners have now begun efforts to carry on negotiations with us with the help of (certain) people. To-day I do not wish to say anything more than that. Because my other friends have said that I

* * speak much (and that I) should speak cautiously (lit. should not speak more or less.) *I say only this much to you that the owners taking the help of this (man), with these four boys*. But O elderly owners, though (we) be boys in your eyes, though (we) might be shaving off our moustaches still it is proved that we have the wisdom to teach you by holding your ears. We workers have reached such a stage to-day that we will no longer be deceived by the artifices of the owners. We workers know that we shall make the owners' backs touch the red dust (in the wrestling arena) by meeting their dodges with similar dodges and by using all our tricks (in wrestling) against them. The workers are not henceforth prepared to be the slaves of the owners. The workers have learned to behave with the owners on a basis of equality and the owners must understand that the workers will not henceforth be afraid of their deceiving artifices, of their false promises (and) their false talk. The workers were uptill now in slavery. Those teaching the workers properley had not arisen amongst them. But to-day the cricumstances are changed. Owing to the change in circumstances such a new spirit (lit: wind) has been created among the workers that the worker has, because of that, become ready to sit on a basis of equality with the owners (and) to give the owners blunt replies. The other day I had gone to the municipality. At that time the workers in Madanpura told the owner sitting opposite that he was a crafty

(person). (They) said (li: replied) in a blunt straight-forward manner that the owners swallowed their (of the workers) wages. Had the workers learnt to give such replies three years back? Three years back had the worker, sitting on a chair opposite the owner, learnt to say to him: O owner, you are crafty, you swallow our pay. During these three months every worker in Bombay has learnt that thing and that is acting as purgative on the owners. The owners have to-day got frightened. Especially the Bania owners whose dhoti is tucked in like a sail are hard put up to it to keep the tuck of their *dhoti* in its place. You bear well in mind that we workers have now approached victory. Remember that our victory, our success, the garland of victory will soon fall on our necks. We have not fallen back. Our first demand is to the effect that our wages for the year 1925 must not be reduced even by a pie. I have to say to you that we shall not fail to get that demand. Then the second demand now is that we must get our strike pay. We say that it was because of the arrogance, the foolishness of the owners that we starved, that we remained on strike. The owners were thinking that they will in a month (or) one and a half month exhaust these men, the workers and that the men would of themselves begin to come into their mills. But times have changed.

The owners have been fully convinced that the

A term of address generally applied to the members of the mercantile community.

workers are no longer what they were formerly. Yesterday's Sakha Ram worker has to-day become Sukha Ram-Shet worker (and) the owners should be told that he has now become prepared to sit on his (owner's) neck. Till yesterday were considering (him) a slave, to-day though you be the owner still they have begun to consider themselves as of a higher status than you. Because the workers have now already understood that their strength is tremendous, that industries can be carried on, mills can work if they (workers) are there, that the owners can enjoy luxury if they are there, that the owners get *julabs* (stools from purgative) if they are not there. The workers have already understood this. Therefore the workers have today awakened in a new way and have become prepared to fight for their rights. The enemies of the workers and the Sahebs getting fat salaries from the owners say that there are four or five leaders who should be arrested and that the strike will be settled as soon as they are arrested. They must remember that though four or five of the workers' leaders are carried away still there have been trained, in order to fill their places, new men, men from among the workers, men who can conduct meetings. These men can carry on a talk about settlement, they can keep the people properly peaceful. These owners forgetting X are going. Today a new situation has arisen. New blood has begun to come among the strikers. Fresh blood has begun to run, pure blood has begun to run, impure blood has gone away. Remember that the

circumstances so changed will lead you to victory, that the workers will now be crowned with success (lit: that the garland of success will now fall round the neck of the workers). That day has come near. And remember that if we hold out for two or three weeks more, just as we have held out for four months, we will be half owners of the mills. The victory of the year 1928 will give you half the ownership of the mills. Because, the owners will henceforth be always afraid of you. The owners will be perplexed no sooner than you merely talk of going on strike. They will begin to think that as soon as these men speak of strike they will remember the year 1928 (and) just as in the year 1923 they made us linger under obstructions for four months, similarly, if these men again go on strike they will compel us to eat dust. They (owners) have come to know this. Therefore I say to the Sahebs, the friends of the owners. Arrest us, carry to Jail, send to Yeravda (Jail), the workers' movement cannot stop henceforth, the workers have become awakened, remember that they have become prepared to completely eat you up. The workers are an extremely tremendous force, if there is any force in the world, greatest of all, it is the workers and the peasants. Take aside the workers in the world, and the peasant class in the world (and) only corpses are left X the rest (are) corpses. They cannot prepare the means for our livelihood; the corn that (we) want, the cloth that is required to put on the body, as these people cannot prepare (these things) the place of the workers and peasants is extremely high and lofty. (And) the peasants and the workers have realised this place. The Bardoli peasants fought with the Government. They gave a sound slap to the Governor Saheb. If their leaders had been sincere, if their leaders have been good, if they had strength, if they had not been *hijadas*, the Governor Saheb would have been compelled to rub his nose there. They have won victory. They have got their conditions accepted. But if their leaders had been sincere, they would have gone further than that and the Governor Saheb and the Viceroy Saheb would have been compelled to rub their noses by going at the doors of the Bardoli peasants. As the leaders of the Bardoli peasants lacked in strength, as they had not the necessary power to fight, there is much wanting in the victory that has been won to-day. We workers are always to the front. We workers have to take the leadership of the peasants. The workers in cities have awakened. Their backward brothers live in villages, they must be taught, they must be trained for fight and then workers and the peasants both of us together will be ready to fight with the two enemies, the owners who keep us in slavery (and) the Government which keeps (us) in slavery, which does not provide schools (and) education, which keeps us in confinement, which eats (us) up, which sucks (our) blood. Our strike will be settled to-morrow if not to-day. After the strike is settled, we have to take in hand the next work. Every Sunday we shall hold meetings in Nagusayaji's Wadi. (We) shall make our union strong. You have

realised one thing today. Had there been a union of ours, had we got a large fund to rely upon, our strike going on for four months would never have been broken. To-day the following things must be brought into practice and as soon as the strike is settled, we must make efforts to make ours a powerful union. We have to make those efforts. Beyond that (we have to try) for our political power beyond that for securing education for ourselves, beyond that we have to carry on a big fight against the Khots, against the *savkars* who are robbing us. The other day one worker here took a loan of rupees thirty. (He) paid over four times (Rupees thirty) as interest on rupees thirty and in the end rupees thirty remained unpaid. One day a Pathan came there and began to beat him, when the worker committed suicide. See, take note of how this *Savkar* is. We have to struggle against this Pathan, against the Bania *Savkars*, against the Marvaris with their three tufts of hair. We must start a co-operative society, a society providing money at a low rate of interest X efforts must be made that the *Savkar* will not sit on our necks (lit: head). Hereafter we have to struggle with our *Savkars*, our *Zamindars*, our *Khots*. We have to struggle with our Government for our rights and remember that as soon as the strike is settled, we have to take that work in hand. Then in the end I have to say to you that if the mills are opened on Monday I am sure that they will not be opened. The owners have now got tired. To open one mill two to three hundred rupees have to be spent fruitlessly. Coal has to be consumed. None is ready to glance inside. I saw this morning on the Fergusson Road cocks XXX there was that change to-day. This means that cocks, dogs, donkeys cats are all angry with the owners and all are ready to fight with the owners. Therefore if the mills are opened on Monday none is to glance at them and remember that the day of our success has come near. When that day comes we shall gladly celebrate that day of our success. That day will be the day of our Divali. That day will be of great joy, (it) will be the Dasara, because the workers by hoisting flags will really observe that day of joy. (Last) night we performed a *Satyanarayan Puja* in the same way (we) shall perform more *Satyanarayan Pujas* (and) shall bring more Bhajan parties. There are more functions of joy. I give you an assurance that the workers will soon see that day of making joy everywhere. Secondly the assurance (I) give is not empty talk, there are strong reasons to support it, there is proof. I am fully convinced that the mill workers will now win a victory, win a victory, win a victory. Unnecessarily X I do not speak to give. I have to say to you that I am talking before you after taking an estimate of the real situation. Therefore I have to say to you that you should banish thoroughly the spiritlessness that might have arisen and should pass two or three weeks at home in joy. Then the Government, the Government of Simla has decided to frame a law to check the workers' movement that is increasing. This law is that if the workers make a strike,

make a strike without notice, then the strikers and those asking (them) to go on strike will each one be sent to jail for six months. We people, we the workers in Bombay have not gone on strike without notice. The owners cut down our wages which means that the owners gave us a notice asking us to go on strike (and) therefore we went on strike. Now what Government wants is that if we have to go on strike, the Government and the owners must be informed one month in advance. This is the law. Our workers will not simply understand, will not comprehend this law at least for five years. Your law is absurd. Let your law remain there in the Fort. If such laws are made, our workers will not be able to obey it at least for five years. Remember that if we do not obey the law, as soon as the strike is made, provision will be made for our livelihood. Because the Government says that those going on strike and those advising strike are both to be sent to jail. We need not collect fund, need not hold meetings anywhere. When a strike takes place the Police will come (and) arrest (us). (We) have to go to jail and all are to hold meetings there. Let us see how many people the Government imprisons. But let us ask Government to see (what happens) when this law is passed. See how we workers tear (it) up into rags. We shall compel (you) to throw that law into the basket in our latrines. If the Government wants to enact such oppressive laws they will be got flung in your (of the Government) latrine and number of people will void excrement over them. Government should be told that if a law is to be enacted, make a wise law, make a law having some wisdom at its basis. If (you) begin to enact a law like a fool, that law will be disposed of as I have described. I call Sawyar Saheb, the European friend of these owners, *Swine Saheb. Swine is disguised (lit: in a *shawl*) term of abuse in their language. He said that what a good thing it would have been if this law had been passed earlier. We would have to-day shown the workers and the four leaders of the workers the way to jail. Swayar Saheb has no wisdom. He would have been given a slap and thrown into the sea. If we workers set out merely with rolling pins and blow pipes the English will run away (lit: outside). The tall-talk of the English is going on because the people are asleep. If all these people set out with rolling pins, with their pestles (used for cleaning rice) these people will run away. (They) are one lakh of people, we are thirty three crores. It is the height of folly that so few people rule over us. The reason why they rule is this. The masses in our country, that very big class is in the darkness of ignorance, it has no education, there is no provision for its livelihood. It is lying in such (condition). If these people are awakened, if you people are awakened, if the peasants in the villages are awakened then as soon as we set out with our rolling pins, with the handles (of our handmills) with our blow pipes the English will begin to run away leaving behind their wives. The

*In English in the original.

Government should be told that if any law for the workers is to be enacted, enact a law which contains some wisdom, otherwise it should see how we dispose of that law. Now I have told all things. The throat is to be strained (lit. broken) for eight (to) fifteen days more. I cannot speak any further, I shall not speak. Keep peace just as we all have kept peace upto today, (we) have kept patient. The day of our Dewali has come near. The workers Padva (new year's day) has come near. When that day rises (we) all shall express joy by hoisting flags in the city of Bombay, in the Parel locality, in the Shivri locality, in the Madanpura locality. With these words I take your leave. (Applause).

Sd- R. M. Deobhankar

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1712 M. T.

Dated 12th August, 1928.

Place: Maidan near Moon Mill Shivri, Bombay.

Mr. Kasle said:—

“Brothers, as we have got very urgent business to-day this meeting must be finished early. Because our leaders are engaged in other work, therefore this meeting will be dissolved within ten minutes. See, if we had not come here you would have blamed us. If the leaders do not attend any meeting, you should take it for granted that the leaders are engaged in some work or the other. Each of my workmen brothers should remember this. When a meeting will be held we workers should proceed with the meeting. So long as leaders from among the workers do not come forward our struggle will remain in disorder in this manner. Putting no attention to that, every leader must be from among the workers. Every one knows his pleasure or pain. Our stomach is hungry, in order to satisfy (lit: to get) it every workman should stand ready on his own legs. We should not place trust in others. So long as we will place trust in others (we) cannot carry our struggle to its end. I received a telephone that I should go and carry through to-day's meeting. I have got some very urgent business. A dramatic company has performed a drama for our fund. I have come

here leaving aside the drama. Our struggle cannot be successful so long as every workman does not come forward. Brothers, we must also equip ourselves just as the fifty or sixty persons of capitalism are practising rascality in order to defeat our struggle. So long as you are not ready we cannot trample down the rich persons who have become insolent. This capitalism cannot be eradicated from the world so long as (we) are not determined to be united. Remember, whether a workman belongs to a mill, to the railway, to the municipality, to the dock, (they) should be of one mind, one heart (and) united. (We) must (carry on) our struggle, and must get redressed our grievances. We say that this capitalism is rich. If we look at it these rich men depend upon us (lit: our lives). So long as we are not conducting these mills they are lying as if dead. We are not ashamed to say that these rich persons are dead. Brothers, it is a matter for joy, it is a thing to be remembered that we have captured so many places of vantage (forts) up till now. No other strike like that of Bombay has taken place in this world up till now. I must say with great joy that a strike like that going on at Bombay has not taken place in the world during 150 years. To-day the brothers of Bombay have made the strike successful, have carried it through peacefully. Such a strike has taken place nowhere in the world. Now every one must take such part, must (carry on) our struggle, must get redressed our grievances. Ramdas says: He who places his trust in another gets his work spoiled. So long as you have not become ready our police, our capitalism will keep on harassing us. When we become one (they) will realise that (they) should not interfere with us till then they will not fail to crush us. For how many days are you going to stand in fear of them? There is no reason to be afraid of the Police of the Government. Our struggle is for bread. The question is of our livelihood (stomach) There is no reason to be afraid of our cursed capitalism. Every worker must be equipped to frustrate their tactics. So long as (you) are not equipped, this arrogant, mean capitalism will keep on doing just like this. Every worker must become ready to overcome them (lit: to place the feet on their chests). Brothers, remember that the time for success has come near us. And there is no doubt about this success. But capitalism is ashamed because the time has come for it to be disgraced (lit for its nose to be cut). Disgrace in what respect. What will happen if our demands are granted. There will be excitement all over India and they will have to accept (our) demands. This foolish capitalism has made such plans, these should be frustrated. Though the movement is peaceful X should be created. (They) are talking such matters as disturbing peace. In order to frustrate this rascality we must remain with one heart. Our Police throw stones for nothing. You know what happened in Swan mill. That manager was asked, they ought to have told XX had they belonged to our community they would not have acted foolishly. Every one must

remember how meanly they act. There is no time now. The time is approaching. All the managers, weaving masters, spinning masters are feeling it ill that they will feel degradation if these workers get chairs to sit upon. If we sit by them they feel it ill that workers have begun to sit near them. These fools do not realise on whom (lit: on whose life) the manager (depends). See these corpses. Where are the spinning masters and the managers now? So long as our workers are not there these fools cannot get sufficient to eat. The head jobbers might be vainly thinking that they would bring in men. I tell them let us see how you bring men. We are no longer afraid of rifles guns, prisons, jails, gallows. (When) every workman is prepared, their guns and rifles will remain aside. I tell you for certain that all workmen whether they be policemen (or) railwaymen will not fail to join our movement. These persons will remain aside so long as our movement is not successful. It is my firm opinion that a day will come on which we will bring together all our countrymen the people of India and shall never stop till (we) do so. Remember, the Europeans come from Britain. (They) receive two thousand rupees as (their) salary. They will enjoy so long as the people of India are not united. A day will come when we shall kick them and drive them away. Brothers, now I have no time. I must go to the drama. I tell (you) that no one should go to work (lit: mills) till we have not issued a hand-bill on behalf of the Strike Committee, none of you should go (to work) till that time"

(Sd). R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P. 1713 M. T.

Dated:—14th August 1928.

Place:—Maidan near Spring Mill, Bombay.

Mr. Nimbkar said:—

"Brothers, the thing is that to-morrow at two o'clock our four worker brothers and six leaders are going to Government to settle how a compromise committee is to be appointed. To-morrow the owners are coming there, that Sasoon Sahab is coming, Petit, Stone, Sawyer, all Sahabs are coming there. There will be clash there and

if we prove strong, a compromise committee as required by us will be appointed. After the Committee has been appointed, we shall ask (if) to give consideration to our seventeen demands and that compromise committee will have to consider (them) and then we shall ask them to consider within five (or) six days and (then) give decision. If seven (or) eight days after (they) have been told, they gave a decision in our favour, it will be a matter for joy, we shall then all consider and then go to work. But if the decision is not favourable to us we shall have again to continue this strike vigorously till our demands are granted. I wish that we should have no such occasion (but) remember that if it comes, we must face it like human beings, like men. Next about strike picketing. The fact is that last Monday, on Wednesday, on Friday, last Monday, on four days the owners opened nearly fifty mills and (even) after opening fifty mills they did not get even a single man to go to work. You know that when the Ghorapdeo mills were opened it was a battle scene. The Police in the whole city of Bombay (were) dashing (their) heads. The Commissioner Sahab waited for eight days. During the eight days not a single worker turned up (to work). Thereafter the Commissioner Sahab wrote a letter (saying): You opened the mills, we gave you help, but not a single worker comes to work. From Monday I shall not give you help. When the owners opened the mills last Monday there were not as many policemen as during the previous week. The Police help was reduced. The Police came to know that the workers will not go to work till (their) demands are granted. Though during the last eight days (none) went to work, they did not give up the opening of the mills. Tomorrow on Wednesday the mills of Parbadevi, of Dadar are going to be opened. What happened at Ghorapdeo last Monday will happen on Wednesday. Therefore there will as usual be picketing tomorrow. The days of the workers' resolve being broken, have not come. I am perfectly sure that this week will pass like the previous week. We have to give a vigorous reply in that locality when the last (group of) mills is opened on the 20 th. Thereafter in the different mills there is a jobber by name Laxman in this Mor Baug, he will bring some men from Dharavi. I have to ask the people of Dharavi to deal with this Laxman. In the matter of the Jute Company we are going to have a meeting there tomorrow evening. If those Dadas have courage they should come to their senses. News was received that man go inside the Madhavrao Scindia (mill). We went and sat there for the last two (to) four days. The jobbers there were stopped temporarily. I have to say to the jobber whether he should give up humanity like this. There is a woolen mill at our Bombay. (We) had not seen to that mill after our strike (and) that mill was working. But the owners have no wisdom. The name of that mill was given among the names of the mills which were to be opened on day before yesterday on Monday. We sent two sepoy with red sashes. After they went (there) a strike took place there,

all the men came out. The question arose before us whether the cotton mill strike should be extended to the woolen (mill). We began to consider. The manager went to the homes of the men and brought hundred and fifty Bhayyas (up-countrymen) to work. I say to the Bhayyas: Do not forget that you have to stay in Bombay. Bombay is not your city. You have come from thousands of miles for getting bread. Behave just as one and a half lakh of men in the strike behave in the city of Bombay. Learn wisdom from this much, otherwise (we) will drive you out of Bombay without tickets. They will have to go home forthwith. It was decided that there should be no picketing at the woolen mill. There is the China mill at Shivri After the strike began, oil men, fire-men were not to be allowed to go (in) xx persons from the Century Mill came and said that we should allow coolies to go in. We shall give permission if you will not take in the strikers. Their work was over. We stopped (the coolies). There is the China Mill. (They) were building a roof there over the looms. They came to us and asked that the brick-layers should be allowed to be taken in. They were told that their bricklayers will be allowed to go in but that (I) shall withdraw the permission if the strikers are taken in. Permission was given to them. Last Monday, mills began to be opened. We told the engineers that we had no concern with them. They took (in) fifty to sixty men for building work. You have begun to open the mills without granting our demands. We have nothing to do if you go in. Fifty to sixty passes from Shivri are withdrawn. Remember that not a single man is now to be allowed to go inside the China Mill. Work is going on in the new Byculla (Mill). We are stopping (that) work. Till the mills which the owners have begun to open are closed, till our demands are accepted, we x do not wish to see any thing and will not allow a single man to go into the mill. If men are taken inside the New Byculla (Mill) the people of Ghorapdeo should keep an eye over them. Now the position (lit: thing) as regards the strike is this. Four months have passed since our strike began. I have spoken here nearly four hundred to five hundred times. So many speeches have been delivered. So I do not think that now there is anything more to speak about the strike. There is nothing else to be told excepting that we have to continue our fight till our demands are granted, the strike is not to be broken, (you) are not to go to work, peace is to be ept, meetings are to be attended but now I have to tell you two (or) four things about the future work. We have got the experience about this strike that none excepting the workers helps the workers. Lakhs of rupees were collected on behalf of our Strike Committee. Remember that out of three - fourth lakhs of rupees sixty thousand came from the workers of Britain. Remember that out of Rs 75,000/- Rs. 60000/- came from England, which means that the Rs. 15000/- out of Rs. 75000/- have come from our country. You have come to know well in this strike

(when) the worker's fight has begun, (when) the workers have begun to die, our people from our country do not give help to the worker brothers, The workers did not get contribution from our owner, The Municipality did not give help, The Congress gave two thousand rupees, Mahatma Gandhi did not come to help. The followers of Lokamanya did not come though (they) call *jai, jai* of the Lokamanya. Remember that no one gave us help excluding the workers. Therefore, if we want to do any work after this, if we want to increase our strength, if we are to secure what we want, there is no alternative except to bring forward the workers' movement everywhere. If you realise this then I say to you that I shall consider (lit: say) that we have done a great work in this strike and I am perfectly sure that you too will say (the same thing) in the end. Therefore after this strike is decided, I am perfectly sure that your wages for two (to) four months will be spent at the end of the month in paying the rent for the previous month [and] the bills of the grain merchants. (I) realise that you will find yourselves in difficulty. (I) tell you one thing. Those one and a half lakh of workers in this strike, at least those who have understood what is the workers' movement (and) what we have to do, should remember that, let any number of difficulties come, everyone must become a member of a union, must pay the subscription to the union. I earnestly say that everyone from among you should remember this. There were scuffles here twice. Some one's ear got cut. When this man went to the hospital, he was not given medicine, he was driven out with a kick. Remember this. When this hospital was built, the Governor Sahab collected subscriptions from our workers through our owners and our money has been spent in erecting these good buildings. The doctors that are there today are untrue to their salt, (They) have forgotten from whom they receive their salary. The workers went there, the workers were beaten by the Police, the workers got no medicine, the workers x not, Remember that such is the state of things in a hospital erected with the workers' money. What is the reason of that? One reason of this is that the hospital is not under our control (but) is under the control of the Municipality. If the union be ours, we can start night schools, if the union has got money the workers get no doctor when ill, the workers have no dispensaries (it) can provide its paid doctors and medicine can be provided at their hands. All these things we have to do. Let not these our doctors give medicine, (we) will be able to give through the union. If there is a case in the Court, if some one beats (you), if some one cuts down (your) wages, if some one abuses (you), if some one brings an attachment, if (you) go in a court to file a suit, (you) have no pleader, none pays attention to you, you have no money for stamps. Such is the condition (to-day). If the union be vigorous if (it) has

money, if the union officials be good, if (you) elect good men, the union will give legal advice, will fight for you, will restore your wages, will release the attachment against you. You should remember this. Therefore you should remember that the union is for securing whatever help you have not got (to-day). And after paying the rent to the house owner, paying the money of the Marvadi, paying the bills of the grain merchant, do not fail to become members of the union. I tell you earnestly never to forget that the things I have told about will be done through the union if the union has got money. The second thing we have to do is this. I will continuously clamour for it there for eight (to) fifteen days. Twice there was a scuffle, the Police beat (the men). (When) the Police raise a bludgeon, (the men) run here. (They) have not the strength to give two bludgeons if one is given (by the Police). Such is the state of things. I am determined that through our union one thousand volunteers of ours superior to (lit: one one-fourth of) the Police must be raised. There are five (or) ten men of the Police in the volunteers today. Instead of keeping such men of the Police we shall find out bona fide workers, young men, strong men, we shall collect one thousand persons who are known to ten good workers each and these one thousand persons are to be trained on holidays providing them with clothing, teaching them Dandpatta and gymnastics to provide against an attack on the workers. After having done this, after having thus trained one thousand persons, there is one thing before (my) eye. That is about yourselves. We go to work everyday at sunrise, we return when it is evening. I wish that evening gymnasiums should be opened through our union (and) that our workers should go to the gymnasiums and learn lathi. Remember this. Our Pendse Saheb comes here. He has got a brother who can ply the *lathi* well. There was a Hindu Muslim riot in the Baroda State. This one sturdy person kept on flourishing the *lathi* owing to which the Musalmans went to their respective homes. If our workers become *lathi* experts, none can do the workers injustice. All these things are to be done within a year or six months. X Remember one thing. If a man gets victory he should not be elated because of that victory. If a man fails he ought not to be disappointed. If (we) fall once (we) shall rise again. XX Let any kind of occasion come. If (it) brings gain, it is of advantage, if the matter is disappointing (we) ought not to be disappointed. We must begin to fight with double (vigour). You know that the Congress has not done much regarding us. The Congress elections take place after two months. (We) are going to try that all the men of the workers should get into the Congress, you will have to give help at that time. The Municipal election takes place this February. (We) are going to put forth as candidates some leaders of the workers. Those workers

who are paying rupees ten as rent should remember that our leaders are going to stand (for election). Help must not be given to the owners if they stand. Vote must not be given to any Parsee, doctor if they stand. Some of us will stand for the Dadar Ward. Jhabwala will stand for the Parel Ward, he should be given help. X Even if the owners bring a lorry no vote is to be given to them. Remember that the vote is to be given to our men. In this way I have already spoken what was to be spoken after the strike. Bear in mind what work we have to do in future. Take courage to do these things. The workers will do these things with one mind. With these words I take your leave." (Applause)

Sd/ R. M. Deobhankar.

Inspector of Police,

C. I D., Poona.

P. 1714 M. T.

Dated: 15th August 1928.

Place: Lal Baug, Open Maidan, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, our men have gone today to the Government's house to break the heads of the owners, and there it is being considered how to settle the strike by arriving at some compromise. I do not as yet know as to what happened there. Because I was not among our men. Some of them will come here and will tell everything what passed (there), what happened (there) and which owner received how many wounds. But though (they) do not come now we will hold our meeting tomorrow morning in the Nagusayaji's Wadi and will inform the workers all that happened in today's meeting. Now our workers have not remained mere speakers but have also become poets. Some one XX composes poems. It is another extremely good thing in the workers' movement that they have begun to become poets. It is an easy way to make all the people understand what our thoughts are by means of poetry. There were big poets even at the time of our Shivaji Maharaj. Those persons

*A kind of minstrels. by composing poems, the *Gondhalis by composing
*A kind of popular song their *lavis and songs used to create an awakening among the whole of our people by means of poetry. you know the

people reciting *govadas* (ballads). It must be remembered that it is a higher stage (lit: increasing rank) of our movement that ballad singers like that are today arising among the workers. The movement of the workers and that of the peasants has begun to grow vigorously in India, and the friends of the Government have become extremely sorry on account of it. This morning the *times (of India)* a newspaper of Bombay has given a serious (lit: big) warning to the Government, the rich people (and) the owners, regarding the great movement of the workers and peasants which has been started in India and which is increasing day by day. I invite the editor of that paper to attend our meeting and he should be told that after attending our meeting he would get a better idea of how much the movement of the workers (and) peasants had increased. For, there is not a single outsider in today's meeting except myself, and men from among the workers were today conducting the meeting with great (lit: such zeal (and) vigour). Men among the workers have now been trained to carry forward the workers' movement and it must be remembered that this is a new feature of the success of our movement, of the policy of (our) movement. It is at least my opinion, I am sure we will not fail to win victory in our strike. After we win victory in our strike we have not to stop there (but) we must step further then that as told by our other workers. Why have the workers been reduced to this condition? Why are the workers in poverty? Why have the workers and the peasants the men who manufacture all cloth, who grow all crops, who create all wealth been reduced to this condition? The reason of this is that a few *badmashas*, a few mad, faithless capitalists deprive the workers of all wealth and keep it under their own control. (They) keep the houses of the poor people under their own control. Big big *zamindars* make big big lands their own, (and) therefore the peasants though (they) produce grain, do not get to eat. The (workers) though (they) prepare cloth do not get (it) to wear. Though we build houses we do not get (them) to live in. Such a state of things has been created all over the world. The whole working has today become ready to rebel against this state of things. And after destroying those faithless people, the few owners, the few house owners, the few *zamindars*—the worker creates all wealth, the worker builds all houses, it is we, we that prepare the land (all) the grain, all those mill-buildings, those houses, lands, factories, all these tramcars are to be brought under the ownership of the workers. The workers must be benefited from these things, the children of the workers must be able to live well on account of these things, such is the new flag raised by the workers of their rebellion. The workers, not merely those in India, not merely those in Bombay, but the workers in the whole world have today been prompted by this single motive that these few capitalists that exist, these few house-owners that exist,

these few rich that exist, who have taken into their keeping lakhs (and) crores of rupees, who have taken into their keeping big big fields, big big lands, big big buildings, big big factories, who have brought all these (things) under their control by squeezing (and) robbing us (all these) must be divested of all these means of wealth (and) today attempts have been started in the whole world to try that its advantage will go to all the workers, all the peasants, all the workers' children. And a day will be coming on which the working class in the whole world—Ninety eight per cent of the people, all the people have today become ready to establish their own Raj by utterly vanquishing, by putting to death these two per cent of people, the two per cent who are owners, the two owners out of hundred who are the owners of mills, who are the owners of mills (and) factories, who are the owners of railways, who are the owners of mills, who today indulge in luxury as zamindars. The workers' movement in the world has come forward with a great object. When this movement begins, it begins in the form of small strikes. In our Bombay also this movement began in the form of small strikes because the wages had been cut down. But we all have now understood that it does not do to confine our movement merely to getting (back) the wages that had been cut. Wages were cut down in the year 1928, we declared a strike, even if we become victorious in the strike, our victory will be confined only to that. To that extent (only) will we get (back) the reduced rates, the reduced wages. If we stop our movement there, if we stand there, if we decide not to go further than that, then what will happen? What will happen is that in the year 1930, the owners will effect a further cut in the wages, will again effect a further cut in the rates, will again frame new rules, will again try to foist new conditions and strike will have to be declared again. If a strike is made in the year 1930 and it is won, we know that the owners will not fail to put us again in the year 1933 by great stratagems into the same predicament. During the last ten

.....
 This clause is left
 suspended.

years we made nearly four (or) five strikes.
 *Every time the owners *. The head of the mill-
 owners (is full of) very dirty ideas. If the whole

night soil (lit. latrine) be anywhere it is in the head of the owners. By using the whole of this night-soil (lit. latrine), the whole of (this) dirt, the owners will always keep making efforts how thereby the whole world is to be ruined, how the whole working class is to be ruined. And therefore if this dirt is to be permanently removed, what must be done is that this class known as owners, this com-

.....
 The sentence is
 disjointed,

community known as owners, this species of serpents, of mosquitoes, known as owners must be completely crushed. *And the whole ownership, workers, ownership over that source of wealth will use it.*

Remember that unless it (the class) which can keep the life of crores of men in the hands of a single person, is levelled down, the complaints, the grievances, about our workers will never disappear. The policy of our workers' movement must therefore not be only to make the strike successful. One policy is to make the strike successful and after the strike is made successful the ownership of the owners, capitalism, Imperialist Government and their resources are to be entirely knocked down, wherever their power, their poison may be, it is to be knocked down with a blow with a hammer. Their power is to be knocked down. Remember that this is the main work to be done by all the workers in the world, by the workers in India. We people in India, people in Bombay, people in other Provinces, have taken this work in hand. People have today come to know that if one (class) of workers is in difficulty, other workers must run to the help of those workers. If this idea has been ever realised, it has been realised only in the strike of 1928. Our other workers have rendered us help in an extremely good manner in this strike. The railway-workers, have helped us by giving thousands of rupees. The Tramway workers, the dock-workers, the workers of Nagpur, the workers of Sholapur, all workers have today helped us, the mill-workers of Bombay. What is the reason of this. The reason of this is that the workers now realise that the idea about the difficulties of one workers' class, of the difficulties of ourselves must be extended. The more this idea is extended, the more will the workers' movement advance. Secondly the owner class has got frightened. The owners are every-day going to the Nal Bazar and are selling five tin-pots. They have already understood that the workers movement is not confined merely to the withdrawal of reduced rates and of the conditions imposed by them and it has reached the stage of saying that we (workers) are the owners of the factories of which these people (consider themselves) owners. We workers create the produce of these mills. Having understood this the owners are trembling. The owners have now got frightened, have got terrified, because they have realised that their indulgence in luxury will not go on (in future) in the way it has gone on up till now. Therefore I have to say to you that if we people day by day maintain the unity in the way we showed it in the year 1928, if we begin to work hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, with our other workers, we poor workers will be able to establish within a few days our Raj in India. The wealth that exists, the resources will come in our hand, then we will be able to give our wives good clothing, we will be able to make arrangement to give education to our children, we will be able to put on good clothes instead of the tattered rags in which we go about, the question of our livelihood (lit: two meals) will be systematically solved. It must be remembered that at that time we will be able to do these things.

Remember this thing. Do not forget this thing. If any one wants to see how far the workers' movement has advanced during the three years from 1925 to 1928 he should come and see, he should get experience once in the strike meetings being held today. The strike of 1925 took place recently (lit: the day before yesterday). If there be any difference in the strike of that time and the present strike in those times and in the present time, it is that in the present time the workers have got extremely wide awake. The owners are to day cursing (lit. breaking their fingers at) the names of those few persons who did the work of awakening them (workers). The owners are vilifying them. Let the owners do whatever they like, fire bullets at them, imprison them. It does not matter but the work of awakening that has been done today, cannot be put a stop to hereafter even if your father, even if your father's father in the sky, comes down. How many meetings of workers had you seen before in which the workers conducted the work of their meeting though none else came there? But today such has become the state of things that whether outsiders come or not, whether Nimbkar comes or not, whether Mirajkar comes or not, the workers have become prepared today to conduct their own business, the workers have become prepared to conduct the work of their union, the workers have become prepared to conduct their own movement. And this preparation that has taken place, the owners think that the owners are fully convinced that, this preparation is intended to put them down (lit. to place the foot over their chest). Therefore the Sahebs who are their friends, the white-skinned persons who prosper at their cost, have absolutely lost heart (lit. their heart has turned into water). They are thinking as to what we are doing. Sirs, what are we doing? Opposing the oppression that is going on against us the oppression of starvation which you people have foisted upon us, the work of shaking all your teeth (lit. a collection of thirty-two) is going on even though you might possess the strength of unity. The work is going on of making you vomit blood by giving you a blow if our arms have the strength. I know that several workers from among us, several men from among us will be killed. In our China when the people started a movement of this sort against the Capitalism there, the agitators in the street used to be shot dead with bullets. A girl of 16 years of age was shot dead by firing a bullet at her. I know that you have got resources today, the Government is with you, the Government has got army, the army has got pistols (and) there are bullets in the pistols. I know that with their (of the pistols) help (lit. strength) (we) will lose our life one day. Though some persons, a few persons are killed, though a few persons die-do few (persons) die of cholera (and) starvation—even if some persons die, we outsiders shall bring about a revolution and we workers shall rebel and shall raise the red flag

✓ of rebellion in order to defeat the attempts made by you oppressors of killing us by oppression (and) to drive from this country all, owners of mills, the owners of Tramways, the owners of railways

*A contemptuous form of the word 'Sahab'. the owners of other factories, driving away you English, you *Sahebutlas who rule (over us), the owners, the friends of the owners, the underlings of the owners. We know what we are doing. What we are doing today is for our belly one teech (Span measured by the thumb and forefinger) in leagth. Thirty crores out of the thirty-three crores of people are workers and peasants. I publicly say from this place that we have raised a rebellion against the oppression of starvation which is practised by the two crores of people (and) some Englishmen on the big class of workers and peasants which comprises the masses. I say to the Government: hear, if you have ears, if bales of cotton have not gone in (your ears), hear. I again tell (you) thrice that we workers (and) peasants have raised the flag of rebellion. (We) tell you the fact that we people shall not fail to kill you by using all the strength that may be in our body, our wrist so long as you Government, you owners, you underlings of the owners, all people will use weapons against us (and so long as you) will not be ready to become awake, and (so long as) life exists in you. The mill owners in Bombay have today been vanquished. As the story told from here the other day about the mill-owners in Bombay like the jackal dropping down its tail, all labourers held fast the tail of the owners. The owners began to see, the owners have fully realised that, x x they have realised the thing that their tail cannot now be released without rubbing their nose before them. Though the workers in Bombay are starving today, though they are starving for these four months by continuing the strike, still they have sat holding fast your tail with the resolve that their rates that were cut down (and) their wages of the year 1925 should be given (back). *All the men

The clause is incomplete. which you are going to reduce. Are you ready to throw into the fire the new rules you have framed?

We are resolved that (you) should by a match box worth two pice and apply match (to the rules.) And so long as the owners will not give up their obstinacy, so long as the owners will not concede our demands, we the workers in Bombay will see how even one of the 83 mills in Bombay begins to work. What *dada* comes forward, what father of *dada* comes forward, (what) jobbers come forward, (what) clerks come forward, how can they dare? Ask them to come forward and make the mills work. Make one mill in Bombay work without conceding our demands, we workers will then see. Let it be. I am seeing the scene before my eyes that (our) representatives have gone to the Secretariat (and) the owners are sitting in front (of them). Though (I) may not be there among my friends, I am seeing full well from here what my friends are telling the owners in the presence of

Government officials (lit. Government's men) in that hall. The owners are bewildered. I am correctly seeing how that Sawyer Saheb, Petit Saheb (and) lame Sasoon are tearing one another to pieces. For, we people had prepared our demands from the very first which were extremely proper (and) just. We did not tell them that all the profits accruing from mills should be given to us. We did not tell them (to do) so. What we told them (was) Sirs, give us (back) our wages, our rates that were foolishly cut down. And why should we then fall back? Our side is just, is true. Why are we to fall back if there is no change no disorder in (our) side? And therefore my friends do not fall back there and have been fighting with the owners. Going further than that I say that we shall not fail to make our strike successful. If the owners think that we workers will go to work for the sake of eight or fifteen days after continuing the strike for four months they should remove that idea from the latrine. The heads of the owners mean rotten dirt. The intelligence of the owners means a basket of cow-dung. They have no brain, no intelligence. They do not know how the mills work. When three (or) four days of the strike had passed, Fazalbhoj began to say that he had not affected cut in the rates. Oh, you keep sitting on the *gadi*, do you attend to what is going on in your mill, what your manager does, what the Agent does. He began to say that the rates had not been cut down. Within three days he began to say (lit. came to tell) most submissively (lit. holding grass in his teeth) that they had cut down the rates. Yes, yes, behold this wisdom! They have become extremely bewildered on seeing our unity, our peacefulness, our whole system of conducting the strike, that unity among us. The Government's men who do not (generally) side with us say: Bravo, the strike of 1928, we had not seen such a strike (even) in the whole period of our existence (lit: in the birth of our father). Such a strike was never heard to have taken place anywhere in the world. (There) was no violation of peace in any manner, the onions, the unions of not a single woman were robbed, not even one car of potatoes was touched. My object in telling (this) is that we have fought our strike so far in an extremely peaceful (and) lawful manner and we have done the work of giving the workers whatever help of all kinds we could give. Getting whatever money we could, arrangement has been made in the strike of 1928 to make provision as far as possible for the livelihood of the workers who were starving by giving them half a seer or a quarter of a seer, of rice. Hereafter therefore there is only one way. The only thing that should be in our head is this that just as we people conducted this strike for the last four months and a half, four months and a quarter, for the sake of our demands, on account of the oppression practised upon us, it will have to be similarly continued for one month more. If required, continue it

for one month and a half but resolve not to fail to make the belly of the owners which has grown big, empty (lit: to make the belly of the owners touch their backs). If we firmly sit with this resolve, I have begun to strongly hope that some way or other will easily be found and that our strike will become successful. If we are not united the owners would not have come to the meeting of the Government's Government. When at the beginning we had gone to see the Government, the owners thought that the workers would come into their mills after the lapse of fifteen days more, the leaders would sit aside, (and) that they would be able to break the whole strike at once. So the foolish owners thought. Today their foolishness has recoiled upon them (lit. has come into their lap). They have realised that hereafter it will be their rascality, their foolishness not to listen to what the workers say and remember that it is therefore they have attended this meeting called by (lit. of) the Government. I think that out of this meeting some new path will be found out on the strength of our unity. Tomorrow morning we shall specially hold our meeting in the Nagusayaji's Wadi to narrate what happened in our meeting x x x for I do not think that those men will now come. Perhaps the work of their meeting might still be going on. Let us therefore dissolve (our) meeting and tomorrow morning a meeting will be held in Nagusayaji's Wadi to narrate everything about what happened at today's meeting, what talk took place with the owners, what the owners said, (and) how our men administered a sound slap to the owners. All of you should come there. Now (you) should return home peacefully. While going only one **mantra* is to be repeated. If there be any big *mantra* *Incantation. of the workers it is our unity, the strength of our unity and the Union (which is) the institution of us workers. This one thing is to be considered day and night. Begin to consider it. With these words, I conclude the proceedings of this meeting. Asking (you) to come tomorrow morning in Nagusayaji's Wadi, I take your leave."

(Sd.) R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1715 M. T.

Dated : 16th August 1928.

Place: Maidan near Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Mr. Joglekar said:—

“When people had come here to-day the idea was in their mind that the big minister of Government had come from Poona, the big bellied Government officer came and sat there as an important personage. He took the owners to his left hand. He asked our people, what was to be done now. People thought that as Government had intervened, something would now happen. But what has happened is just as I had thought from the first. Nothing new has happened in that. Today I have to impress this thing on the mind of every one of you. The cause of it is that if there had been (even) a particle of truth in the game played by the owners before and what (they said) today, they would not have opened the mills from behind while carrying on negotiations for the appointment of a committee. If the owners had been honest, they should have abandoned the game of opening the mills at the time when (they) opened a talk about a committee. But as (we) know for certain that where there is no trace of truth, where the mind is not pure, such deceitful (lit: black and ugly) things are spoken (and) I know it for certain nothing shall result from today's discussions. The game about this committee was merely a game intended to overawe (lit: raise a scare-crow) us. Yesterday in Share Bazar many firms of the owners have sustained a good deal of loss (lit: shock). Big cotton merchants have today been ruined (lit: completely finished). A settlement day is on this 25th (and) on that day additional loss, bankruptcies will be declared. Many of you do not come to know such things because (you) cannot read newspapers. These things you do not know. Taking advantage of this (the owners wanted) to get that thing done in the name of the committee which had not taken place when the doors of the mills were kept open, so (they wanted that) you should now come to the mills. (The owners desired) to get the mills started and to set at nought the committee afterwards, not to carry on the discussions properly, to make bargains (lit: inquiries) with the merchants when the mills begin to work (and) to deceive (lit: to rub the leaves against the mouth of) the workers. This was their mighty game. Unruly persons among us carried on the strike for four months. XX Now they say: (we) will give you wages till the enquiry of our committee is over, now begin (your) work, let us see what will happen afterwards. On this they thought that those who had begun to lose their heads no sooner than the word strike is mentioned, will take it as the support of a straw to drowning man (and will say) this support has come, let

us settle the strike. (I) told them that the strike had not been declared on the strength of such effeminate persons. The wages of the workers had been cut down. It could not be achieved in 1925. On seeing that the wages got by the workers in 1925 after making a great fight could not be openly cut down (lit. taken off), the owners have been making efforts for the last one (to) one and a half years to wrest from us the success of the year of 1925 without your knowledge by changing the kinds of rates.

.....
In English in the original- Is this not true? (Yes. *From the audience*) On account of this fact all the people have today been anxious. The strike took place that time. Effeminate persons like you have not the least right to discontinue the thing which the people did for the sake of their livelihood. It is the right of the people (to decide) whether the strike is to be broken or continued.

* The sentence is incomplete. * The people who declared the strike for (there) livelihood. When you begin wrestling we shall to day fall, to-morrow we shall make them fall. While our workmen are ready to wrestle in a manly way, while the workers have not fallen prey to any stratagems of the Government and the owners during these four months and have shown wisdom and discipline, you desire to give that sheepish advice to the workers, being confused by these two (or) four days. Against this I X.

(I) vehemently asked (them) to make the cause of the workers successful, to take that advice, to act according to it. As that was decided there was a talk X that you should place your decision in this morning's meeting. (I) do not think that (anything) will result from the committee. I knew that thing. XXX the owners thought that the Government would not intervene. In order to show their goodness, in order to mislead the people, what they did was that they merely sent a representation to the Government, to the corporation. They thought that the Government would not intervene. The Government said that it would come. The owners were afraid (lit: thought that) their records would be brought to light before the committee. They did not at all want a committee. X I knew that the owners would not be ready (to accept) the enquiry. And in order that there should be no occasion to show those books (accounts books,) the owners putting forth the tortuous device of Umar Subhani, were playing the game of effecting a compromise instead of carrying on negotiations in the committee. Umar Subhani who had been put forth had once said that his heart had been torn (with pity) for the workers. I had recognised their game. XXX The owners fell into the same ditch as was the game played by them XXX after seeing that the market rates will be published on the 25th and the 1st, making some excuse or other, declining to make an enquiry if the strike is not first called off then committee XXX. We have been managing our worldly

affairs for so many days. Do you take us³ to be so simple as not to understand that we require food when we feel hungry? Will we feel confidence about such a committee? Therefore the committee was not appointed. It is sheerly foolish to say that the strike should be called off before the committee was appointed. I was telling them this but they wanted some excuse or the other. They found it and what did you go and tell the people? A strike is the question of the livelihood of the whole people. If this is not to be told to them, is it to be kept in our pocket? We are bound to tell them this. (We) shall not fail to say this openly. The workers' question must be openly explained before the workers. Whatever the decision be, it must be heard from the mouths of the workers, there is no reason for you to tell it. It was our duty to come and place properly before your meetings what happened there, what discussion took place in the committee. We have been alive to that duty. Because we were so alive, because all things were placed (forward) for the benefit of the whole of the people, the owners are angry with that. XXX. The people have got power, the people have got wisdom. The Government may be thinking, owners may be thinking what we can do. We have not been bewildered because the talk about the committee ceased. The owners got more bewildered XX (they) placed their foot in the motor, (and) called the Commissioner. Oh, if you are proud, why are you afraid? It is not necessary to call the Police Commissioner to lock (the mills). We will lock (them.) After this game was foiled, they began to devise how black stain can be brought on others. I have told the outline of it. An attempt will be made to close the mouths in some way or the other of all those people among you who are educated. XXX. Now the strike of the workers will not be broken, the workers are fighting unitedly (and) a strenuous attempt will be made by them to break this unity. To make such an attempt the help of the Police Commissioner is wanted. (You) visit the Police Commissioner only to get two (or) four Longs like Long Saheb to create as much confusion as possible. Why (do you want) the Police? What is the necessity of the Police when a disturbance may arise? Why do you feel imbecility? The thief thinks of (i.e., is afraid of) the moonlight. Sir, it is not a thing to be settled this way. The Government may be thinking, the owners may be thinking, that the people will get angry when the Committee fails (and) that (they) will come to work tomorrow. The owners are to be told that they should not teach us who are wiser than them (lit: we have eaten the boiled grain prepared on the 12th day of your birth). XX We have got strength, all these lungs are strongly beating at the back of our throat. XXX (I) tell the owners on behalf of you all to beware, these castles in the air [which you are building] will remain in the air. They should remember that these

mills will be deserted, the workers in Bombay will never fail to repulse the attack of the owners on them. When I say this I speak in order to place before you the link of future preparation in this fight. The owners may be thinking that the mills in Bombay are closed, their mills which are at Sholapur, at Chalisgaon are working, XXX (they) shall work the Khatara Mill on their strength. I have to tell them: wily fellows, be on your guard. The strike of the workers, (we) will see how other mills work. Till that time [we] wait to see whether you come to your senses. As your secret consultations have proved bankrupt, now hereafter the struggle is that there will either be the empire of workers or slavery of the workers. [We] are not ready to connive in any way at such owners, the Government and the capitalism [and] we are going to make the attempt of awakening the worker brothers. Tomorrow on Saturday and Sunday I am going in order to make the attempt to cut off the help [lit: fattening diet] coming from the mill owners of Sholapur. In this way I] will ask the brethren at different places, [those]
* In English in the original in the *Empress Mill, Nagpur, in mills of the owners at Jalgaon [and Chalisgaon, to pay four annas from their wages. I will tell them what will be done by paying four annas. We shall accept four annas, shall accept four hundred rupees if we get them. Do not pay us four annas [but] get down into the arena to fight [along] with us. This much is about the mills. It will not do merely to cut off the help [lit: daily feed] got from the mills, going further [we] shall stop their steamers. Narottam Shet's Scindia (navigation company) is working. The workers are the brothers of one another. All workers must unite. XX (we) shall start the movement among all our dock-workers (and) sailors. All of you should gird up your loins and rise up at once along with us to extirpate those *badmas* owners (and) this capitalism. In this manner the strike at Tata's Jamshedpur xxx we will alienate all the workers in docks, ships, in firms and in railway. (We) will tell the workers there at the top of our voice Brothers, gird up your loins (and) rise. In this way we will hereafter carry on more vigorously the work, the programme of all of awakening the working class which we carried on in Bombay for four months and while it was going on XXX (we) had been doing the work of awakening other workers. The owners should remember that (we) will not fail to make all possible strenuous efforts to bring (together) all workers in other places (and) to give them a sound beating (lit: to soften their bones). (I) give another danger warning to the owners. The owners may be thinking that the Government is at their back. The owners may be thinking that they will be able to give two cudgel strokes to the workers on the strength of the abundance of money. If they want an instance before their eyes of the bravery of people

oppressed by hunger, they should place before their eyes the history of France. We are educated men, (we are) owners studying English books XXX. They are to be reminded as to what bravery was shown by ordinary workers who were beggars, poor, tormented by poverty and oppressed by the tyranny of the zamindars, one hundred and fifty years ago in the movement of 1780 and (how they) brought about a revolution and how the throne of the Emperor was levelled to the dust. This instance should also be brought before their eyes by the Government and the owners. It is a mistake on the part of the Government if it thinks that the thing that took place in France will not take place in India. When the workers will realise that the owners (lit: ownerism) and the Government come in the way of their livelihood (lit: belly), of their wages X (they) will soundly thrash all, the Government (and) ownerism, will reduce them to powder (and) on its strength XXX the instance of this is the revolution in Russia. The revolution in Russia was brought about by beggarly persons, (those) tormented by poverty, oppressed by hunger, whose stomachs had become empty and who had become extremely feeble. They overthrew and extirpated an intoxicated Emperor like the Czar within a minute and a half, within the time taken by a snap with the thumb and a finger, and establishing the workers' Raj they brought about new changes there in order that the worldly existence of all may be comfortable. This Government should take a note of that. It is to be told to the working class XXX it was the game of the owners to show a bait to imbecile leaders among us, on the strength of that game to get the mills started, and to cut your necks outright afterwards. You and we must be congratulated for not being deceived. I have to tell as tomorrow's programme that as decided by us, all should try to go to the places where crops have become ripe. You told in the morning's meeting that whatever happened you would not make your strike unsuccessful and break it (though) four months had elapsed. We have honoured those words of yours in this manner (lit: lifted them up). XXX (I) have fearlessly told the owners that unless our rates are given, unless the cut in the wages of our workers is given (back), we will not go to work. I have told this before them. It is the sacred duty of all of us to prove it true. You are the descendants of Harishchandra. If India is famous for anything, it is for the truth of speech. We will not fail to make it true that we will not go to work unless we receive our wages, we will not fail to show to you the path following it. (You) should go in groups by train. XXX Form your groups. Another thing is that (you) should go by steamers. Do not throw X into the sea. (You) should sit a little aside. After going there you should train the whole army in order to bring about a revolution in the working class. The work of training that army lies on (lit: on the head of)

the mill workers. When you go home, you help your peasants to overthrow the burden of the landlords, of the *sahukars* that is lying on their (lit: peasants' heads). The organization of the peasant class is to be taken in our hand along with (that of) the worker class just as you have been organized here. For that reason we are to be called as workers' and peasants' party. It is the work of every one of you to make such organization of the peasant brothers as is ours. (We) shall tell them after a short time to see how the fertility of our soil has remained for the livelihood of us poor (people). XXX (we) shall begin to make the arrangement for livelihood. Begin to awaken the peasants and then the eyes of the Government and the upper classes will begin to turn white. They will say that the Vanar Sena (army of monkeys) is marching (forward). Spread the struggle for bread all over the country. They will get frightened. You begin to create that fear. When that fear is created I am sure that (you) will bring about in other places such strikes of the working class, every person among us residing in villages will take along with him the struggle of the working class to the villages. Begin to awaken the peasant class there. Remember that when you make the attempts to drive away the Sahukars and the Government from there (and) when you make the attempt of growing crops in your fields the eyes of the Government and the owners will turn white within three days. Try to do so (and) victory will be yours. They saw that we could maintain the strike resolutely. XX After seeing that your strike does not break though all things may be ready outside they will do like this. (They) will never fail to talk of conciliation in order that on the 25th, on the 1st, at the time of the settlement, (they) should have no occasion to be insolvent. The owners follow a policy of duplicity (lit: have one set of teeth to eat and another to show). (They) adopt many such devices. Therefore if it is broken as soon as Sassoon Saheb begins a little, it does not mean that private talks are possible. They are offering a finger just tipped with honey. We know its meaning well. We are watching with open eyes how things are faring in the market. All these things about documents, even though explained, are not likely to be understood. When in the Share Bazar no money is left to pay for shares it means insolvency. The owners are waiting for another opportunity in order to settle the strike (lit: struggle). That occasion is coming before them during this week. You have not lost your courage from to-day's talk. XX our determined struggle (must) last XXX show such a determination to the owners (lit: ownerism) that if they do not come to their senses, in order to let both the Government and the owners have that same bitter experience which ownerism in other countries had, several of our warriors taking the flag of revolution in hand, will begin to move vigorously in the country in order to fly over the whole of India that Red flag

of which *jai jai* has been made uptill today, (and) that we shall never fail to bring about a revolution in the whole of India. Sassoon Sahet has held forth the finger tipped with honey. XXX after this I shall place before you the things as they go on happening. Do not be deceived in any way the words of anybody. Ask me whatever every one of you wants. Saying this I am going to you to ask to vote once. It is to be heard from your own mouths that what was done according to your desire is proper. ("It is proper".
..... *From the audience*). Are you ready to break the
In English in the ori- strike? (No. *From the audience*). We have
ginal. declared the resolve that the strike for our livelihood will not break till it is successful. I shall go tomorrow to Sholapur talking your cause (lit: articles presented, on occasions, by persons under some religious observance to Brahmans or to married women.) From tomorrow I will begin the work of awakening the worker class outside. After this resolve has been made take care that not a single dog goes into the mills that will be opened tomorrow. Even though the doors of the mills are thrown wide open, if any one is got (to go in) it is an ass that has gone in. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd/ B. M. Deobhankar

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P. 1716 M. T.

Dated 17th August 1928.

Place: near Dadar Station, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, it is a good thing that our meeting today has become somewhat small, for my throat has become hoarse by delivering speeches before our monster meetings, yesterday and the day before. It is a very good thing that today's meeting is small. The workers leaders and the workers have been blamed, in the morning papers, for the break down of yesterday's conference and the charge has been brought against us that the conference was not broken by the owners but by the leaders of the workmen, by the workmen. And I give a reply to that charge from this place and while

giving that reply I shall try to bring home to you properly what sort of craftiness was done by the owners and the Government (and) how both of them had made a common cause. Attend to it properly. The other day on Wednesday our people had gone to the Secretariat. At that time skirmishes took place among them for three (to) four hours. After a great deal of discussion among them it was decided that an inquiry committee should be appointed. The owners expressed their consent, our people expressed their consent. x x The owners began to say to our people in the evening: As an inquiry committee is to be appointed you should call off the strike xx should break (the strike). Now our people had enjoined upon us, we had not given them in writing on a copper-plate that they should tell on our behalf that we would break the strike. This authority was not given to our representatives (lit men). They were given the authority to carry on some negotiations if possible, to appoint an inquiry committee if one was to be appointed, to appoint a compromise committee if one was to be appointed, to appoint twenty-five committees more if some more committees were to be appointed, but the people had not given the authority to them to break the strike. Our representatives (lit. men) said to the Government and similarly to the owners: Sirs, we will ask our people, will try to understand what the people say and will give a reply to you the next day. The owners began to say: no, you must tell us now whether you are going to break the strike or not. There was a crafty (dodge) in it. It was the craftiness of the owners and of the Government to call the leaders of the strikers together at the Government's house (and) they thought that when invited there (they) would at once be ready to break the strike as they people had been tired out. The owners had informed the Government accordingly that when the leaders of the workers would come for this conference they should first be asked to break the strike. Our workmen went on strike, we conducted the strike for four months and a half and then (lit. now) we decided not to break the strike till at last it reached some final result. And then we warned our men and told them: Appoint those committees that you want to appoint but we are not ready to break the strike so long as the demands of the year 1925 are not granted. Therefore the game of the owners and the Government was as follows:—When the leaders of the strikers came to them the strike was to be broken first, by bringing influence to bear upon them (and) by intimidating them (and) after getting the strike broken it did not matter even if an inquiry committee was appointed, a compromise committee was appointed and fifty committees were appointed. When once the strike was broken we workers would not again go on strike and when we would not go on strike we would have to accept whatever decision the inquiry committee would give. Such was the game of the owners and of Government. We people have defeated that game.

The cause of it is that hereafter we people will never fall a prey to such a game. It has become known to the Government and the owners that however much they play such games, the workers will never fall a prey to them. The efforts of both the owners and Government, the efforts of both to place us in a ditch and to pour in earth over (us) have been foiled. It has happened on the other hand that the owners have to-day been buried in a ditch, (they) have been buried (and) the workers have declared their resolve to pour earth over them, to maintain the strike. The owners have become extremely haughty. The owners think that these people now remaining without food, people starving for four and a half (to) five months will submit within eight (to) fifteen days. But the owners should remember that the Bombay workers who have come forward to fight with them will not break this strike now even if they starve to death, even if their wives starve to death, their children starve to death without offering them a fight, without bringing them to submission. Without getting from them demands of the year 1925. They should remember this. And therefore I say to you that the other day when this conference broke down yesterday morning (you) were told that this conference had broken (and) our people were coming out having done with it, that lame Sasoon from among the owners, he by name Sasoon, Sasoon of one and a half leg said to the people, said to our people: Why need Government come in unnecessarily ? Let us sit and settle (the strike). As soon as he said so, the other owners browbeat him a little. The other owners think that, Petit Saheb the chief king of asses thinks that, he is not convinced. He will be convinced when the workers themselves will enter his bungalow and giving slaps on both the cheeks will say: O Petit Saheb, we have not yet broken our resolve, (we) will not break it, we will not break the strike, if we will break the strike at all we will break it on the day on which you will take cocoanut shell in your hand and will go to the High Court to declare insolvency. This strike, this fight, now begun is a permanent fight. We do not want a strike after this. We have not to give a second battle after this. This is the final battle. We will either be killed or will vanquish the owners. We have to fight this final fight. Yesterday I had told in the Delisle Road meeting. Having declared our determination, we must maintain our determination, our resolve. Yesterday I have told you the remedy of maintaining our resolve, of maintaining the strike. That remedy I will again tell about from here. As soon as the cocoanut falls into the sea now (i. e. the full moon day of the month of Shravan), as soon as the steamers begin (after the monsoon) (you) should begin to go to (your) villages. If (you) have no ticket (you) should go to your village sitting in the boat without ticket. When (you) go to your village, the grain is ready there. Our

men are to live for some two or three months on this corn without paying revenue to Government, without making payments to the Saykar, without making Payments to the Khot. And when you go out of Bombay in this manner our Strike Committee will properly solve the question of feeding those few men who might have remained here. The Strike Committee has now taken that work in hand. Now there is only one work before us. That work is to send as many men to their villages as possible (and) to solve the question of feeding the remaining persons who may stay in Bombay. The Strike Committee has devoted its attention to the solution of that question of feeding (the men). (It) is devoting (its) attention to the collection of funds. Whatever devices are to be adopted for collecting funds will now be adopted by the Strike Committee. I give a public assurance that we shall not in the least fail to collect that fund and to make provision for feeding those who will remain here. The owners think that when next week the money with us is exhausted the men will of themselves begin to come into the mills. They have begun to think that (the men) will come by back door if not by the front one. But the owners must understand in what condition the men are today, what is the tendency of their mind. The men now know the dacoit owners. Because uptill today by committing a dacoity they have robbed us of all, of the wealth created by us, of the money created by us, of the cloth manufactured (by us) by toiling (lit. dying) for twelve hours in the Bombay mill, of the crores of rupees produced by us. On the contrary the men have realised that these dacoits have begun to effect retrenchment even in the small wages they (men) were getting. Therefore (the men) have remained out (lit. sitting) with determination, with resolve. The wages that have been cut down must be restored. I want to convince you, I give you an assurance that the Strike Committee will not fail to adopt all the necessary devices to get (back) those wages. The mills will be opened on that day on which the Strike Committee will tell us that the strike has now been broken, that the owners have granted our demands. On that day will (open) the doors and will blow the whistles of the eighty-three mills in Bombay and at that time will the men go in. If there is any one chief among the mill-workers to day, if there is any one to speak (on their behalf), it is the Strike Committee. Remember that the Strike Committee is the mouth of our one and a half lakh of men. We workers shall not go to quarrel. We who come forward to work on your behalf, give you an assurance that so long as there is life in us, so long as we can speak, so long as (we) can move the hand from one side to the other, till then we shall maintain this fight and shall on your behalf. (I) tell you publicly that we shall fight till the owners submit. Some people will try to circulate false rumours among us. Some people will try to create

dissensions among us. Some people have now begun to write through some newspapers that as soon as the Narali Purnima (fifteenth day of the month of Shravan) is over, the mills will open, that the strike is now over. Do not be deceived by such newspaper lies. If real news about our strike is to be read, our newspaper must be bought and read. That newspaper is our *Kranti*. We must remember that the things that appear in the *Kranti* are the real things of the strikers. I have to tell you this. Some men buy the *Lokashahi* worth two pice and read (it). And perverted things have begun to appear in that (paper). Narayanrao Kulkarni is (connected with) that (paper). He should be told that *Kulkarniship should *Work of village clerk be done in the village, it is not required in Bombay. He has written that as soon as the Narali Purnima is over, the mills should be opened and the workers will come in. One does not know who told (this) to this donkey. O (man), as soon as the Narali purnima is over, workers will go to the villages in order to kill the slaves. Write to all the Khots, to the Savkars (that) the Bombay workers are now going to the villages to fight with them. You should not trust perverted things. And we will have to adopt the device of which I told you. As soon as the steamers begin to ply we must now turn our attention (lit. batteries) to the villages. Just as there are dacoits in Bombay, just as there is craftiness; just as there is the owners' oppression in Bombay, in the city, similarly another kind of oppression by the owners exists in villages. And the workers in cities who have become clever, who know what is meant by oppression, must instead of sitting quietly after going to the villages, begin to raise there their war flag, their red flag. In villages the Savkars have become dacoits. In villages the Khots have become dacoits. In villages the zamindars have become dacoits. In villages the Patil (village headman) (and) the Kulkarni (village accountant) harass us. As soon as you go to villages, you must learn to fight against the great (lit. how much) oppression of the Kulkarni, of the (village) officers. And there also you must carry on such a kind of strike, such a kind of agitation. The workers in cities are considered extremely clever. The worker in cities know how the movement is on the whole. Workers in cities and peasants in villages must now begin to struggle hand in hand against the oppression that may exist in villages. And when you go to the villages, instead of sitting and doing the one work of filling the belly should begin to struggle against the oppression that exists in villages. I urge you that you should begin to raise our red flag against oppression. Thereafter (I) have to tell you another thing. That thing is that thing was discussed only this morning in our Strike Committee. There are our big national leaders, patriots (who) wear a *Khadi* cap, who put on x x *Khadi*. These big patriot tell the people that they are great workers of the country. (They) make people understand they are the benefactors of the country.

When these (people) talk of benefitting the country, they have in mind only two per cent of the people in the country, these being only the rich, the capitalists, these some what educated people, pleaders (and) doctors. Their attention towards the country does not go beyond these. Because if these (patriots) had understood the interests of the country, they would have done something for the one and one-fourth lakh of workers starving today in Bombay. Today there was some squabble. In yesterday's and day before yesterday's meetings we had criticised Mahatma Gandhi. This white cap is a Gandhi cap. (Persons) had been sent from Bombay to Mahatma Gandhi at Ahmedabad in order that workers should get some help. Our workers who had gone (there) saw Mahatma Gandhi and told him, calling him "Gandhi Maharaj," that they had come to him (and) to his city to ask for help for the starving strikers (and) that he should give some help. Mahatma Gandhi said that he was against the strike (and) that he would not give them even a pice as help. Mahatma Gandhi, Mahatma Gandhi the benefactor of the country, said that he would not give even one pice as help to the starving strikers. (We) made speeches in meetings that are held. Tell me now whether that was wrong. We are starving, we strikers are struggling for our rights. You are struggling for rights in order that the oppression that the owners do should cease. (Workers) were sent to this Mahatma Gandhi to ask for help and (he) told the workers that he would not give even a pice as help to them. (What) a big patriot, (what) a great benefactor of the peasants! You are the brothers of the peasants. Those (peasants) whose lands have been robbed away by the owners have become workers. Why have you people become workers? At one time you were peasants. (You) were working in that village. (You) were robbed of your lands by all the *sarkars* there, by the *Khots* there, by the *Zamindars* there. You had to leave the villages and had to become workers after coming to the cities. Therefore you are the brothers of the peasants. Mahatma Gandhi, who fights on behalf of the peasants, kills the brothers of the peasants in Bombay, is not prepared to help them (even) with a pice. Criticism was made about this and a gentleman got angry because these things were spoken in meetings. If (you) are angry, eat two more loaves of bread. Because every public man is liable to be criticised. A public (lit. universal) activity is considered to be that which is (open) to criticism, which cannot but be criticised. When any one engages (himself) in public activity, he is sure to be criticised. Thousands of people will say that he has amassed wealth, he did this, (and) he did that. Therefore if Mahatma Gandhi is a gentleman engaged in public activity, he ought to have shown some sympathy in the matter of our strike, (and his failure to do so) naturally makes one angry, and therefore what was wrong if (I) spoke two words by way of criticism? The

other day a patriot-who is a big *lath in Bombay, for whom I have
* The meaning of the word is not known. got great respect-came to us for a talk, bringing one owner with him. He said: Sirs, why do you do so now? Bring about a compromise. We are prepared for a compromise at any time. Say what you have to say about the rate of the year 1925, about the seventeen demands and then a compromise will take place without any difficulty. Accept slightly reduced wages, (it) is an industry in (our) country, (it) a national industry. We said: The mills belong to twenty two owners, not to us. These eighty-three mills, this national industry is not ours. It is to be made ours. These few mills which are in the hand of a few owners are to be brought under the ownership of one and a half lakh of workers. (If you say that) it is a family (lit in the house) quarrel and should be settled, (we) will settle it. We have got a few demands. We have not demanded much. (I) told them that we produce the whole profit and that (they) should not enjoy Rolls Royce big motor cars. I told them that our wages should be paid (and) that the workers would go to work if they (owners) paid them (wages). But that gentleman asked whether (I) knew who he was. I (told him that). I knew that he was a big national leader. (He said): If I take it into my head I will go before the workers and tell them that this being a national industry they should go to work accepting reduced wages, (and) the workers will listen to me. I told him that if he wanted to have some experience he should attend some meeting, (any) should tell (the workers) and should then see whether they rise to beat (him) or give him applause. The gentleman kept quiet. I do not wish to mention his name. There is no use in mentioning his name. These (are) nationalists, those who speak on behalf of the big Congress, patriots who are benefactors of the country, devotees of the nation. These patriots have not understood the well being of the nation, the well-being of the country beyond (that of the) two per cent of the people. This class is unmindful of the class of peasants and workers, the class (which is) ninety-eight per cent of (the people) in India which is fallen into ignorance, a class which is passing days in suffering, whose life has become extremely laborious - and the question of two meals for whom is not solved. These brethren are enormously enjoying themselves along with the Government. I have to tell you that this their enjoyment (lit a cake made up with milk, sugar, butter etc.) of theirs is going on at the cost of you and us. Such are these patriots. (I) pity the man who is angry because (I) merely criticise them. (I) do not beat them with two shoes, taking a few workers with me. I say that if any thing is to be done today, it is that those who go against the workers and peasants, (either) by (their) activity. by (their) speech, by keeping quiet, must today be hammered with shoes. Let sheepish papers criticise me as much as they like. I have not to say (anything)

in that matter. (Here) is a sample of what kind of people these leaders who call themselves nationalists are. They began to ask you to go (to work) accepting the wages even if reduced. Then say whether you will be benefited. A reply has been given to the criticism made against Mahatma Gandhi. The owners have said about us that in the conference we broke up the compromise, (but) we did not break up the compromise. We were prepared, are prepared and will be prepared for compromise at any time. (We) were (prepared) day before yesterday, are even today, will be hereafter. (We) were (prepared) yesterday, are (prepared) today, will be (prepared) tomorrow, (we) are prepared with one foot raised. When a compromise is to be made, we will say at the time of making a compromise that we are not prepared to break the strike. They (owners) should remember that the strike will end on that day when the owners will fix notices and will send to the Strike Committee an agreement duly signed and sealed that the wages of 1925, in which the owners had effected a reduction of 30 per cent, of 35 per cent, have been restored. They might be saying that our money has been exhausted. I have told you about how the money matter stands. It is as was done by Maruti. (He) set Lanka on fire. Ravan brought the whole XX his tail could not be wrapped. Similarly the money with the Strike Committee has sufficed for the last four months and do not believe that it will not suffice for one (or) two months more. It will go on increasing like the tail of Maruti. XX this is the money of us workers. On the other hand the money in the treasury of the owners is now said to have been reduced by five crores. And if (the strike) is continued for two months more, it will be reduced by ten crores (and) on the sixty-first day they will have to go to the High Court XX with a coconut shell in hand [and] will have to declare insolvency. And then they will have to sit weeping. The luxury in which they and their wives were indulging, that luxury XX will go XXX. This fight is not merely for pleasure. Some persons, educated persons, say: how silly the workers are! If you have a salary of fifty rupees, (and they) offered rupees thirty instead of rupees fifty, what will you think? If you have got the strength you will go on strike, if the strength to go on strike be there. But these educated persons are sheepish. Today the pay of the clerks in Bombay has been cut down by a great percentage. The clerks and other workers received their salaries the other day. In these the owners had cut down the salaries by 30 (to) 35 per cent. The owners gave them reward. What was the reward given? The salaries were cut down by 35 (to) 40 per cent. Thus the clerks in Bombay, the school masters in Bombay, these persons of the middle classes had also their salaries reduced. The condition of the clerks is so bad that they say that their condition is worse than that of the workers. If that be so, why do you not learn to

fight like the workers ? Go on strike, form a Union, go on strike and then in order to humble the owners, those persons who feather their own nest at your cost, those persons who earn profit of lakhs (and) crores of rupees give a slap to those people. We workers are strong, (we) possess strength, we can make unity, we can make a union, we can fight with the owners by uniting, this we have shown to the whole world today. We have shown it in this manner. The owners also have now become extremely docile. The condition of the owners has today become like the story told the other day. The other day the story was told to you (how) the wife began to beat (her) husband. The husband in order to save his honour, therefore take you etc. xxx similar has become the condition of the owners. The owners have received blows with the broom stick. Though the owners have been extremely humbled the sheepish class says xx to them that xx five crores have gone, two (to) four crores will go in a month or two. The time has come for declaring insolvency. Sasoon will buy all their mills. The other mill-owners in India do not understand this and the other foolish mill owners have no wisdom. Because they too did not know how their mills were going on. (They only know) their motor cars, their bungalows, their wives if there be any otherwise their concubines. They do not know what is going on in the mill. They do not know how profit is got, how loss is incurred. (Things) are thus going on in luxury. One day all these will have to declare insolvency. Two or three persons among them are protracting the strike. I suggest that those two or three owners must be boycotted. Unless they are boycotted they will have to take the way to the High Court. Whatever it be, we shall not weep if the owners die. We shall eat laddus of their Terava (Rites performed for the dead on the thirteenth day after the decease). The work that was done, this money (that was) earned, the business of lakhs of rupees (that) was conducted, profit of crores of rupees (that) was secured, whence has this profit come? They have drunk our blood. A good young stout person of twenty years becomes old after working for not even ten years. The owners took advantage of that. Did he or did he not drink my blood? *Their story that has grown aged is all right.* (We) have to drudge in mills for twelve hours and the crafty owners are to take the whole profit. Therefore after this (we) shall not allow them to take that profit. The fight will go on so long as the wages of 1925 have been cut down by them and the Strike Committee has now begun to think about giving effect to all the ways of obstruction. You remain firm properly. Those who have to go to the villages should catch the first steamer. With these words I take leave." (Applause).

*The sentence is meaningless.

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,
 Inspector of Police,
 C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1717 M. (1) T.

Dated 18th August, 1928.

Place: Open Maidan near Moon Mill, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

‘Brothers, day after tomorrow the mills near by are going to whistle. And today’s meeting has been held here to say what you the Shivri people are going to do on that day and what you should do on that day. There is no need to repeat again before you what we have to say. I do not think that I need again explain to you now what you should do. Because you have fought this fight for these four and a half (to) quarter to five months. And when the hope is apparent that some way will be found out of that mill-workers of Bombay must take care that their fight will not be shattered, that their unity will not be shattered. On Monday (that is) day after tomorrow Dr. Deshmukh the gentleman who is the President of our Municipality has by a great device called a conference there of us and of the owners’ representatives in order to consider about the strike, in order to consider the demands. And attending this conference on Monday evening, we are, if possible, going to make efforts that this conference shall not break down as the Government conference broke down and that some way should be found out of this. It is possible that Dr. Deshmukh will be able to accomplish what the Government’s men could not accomplish. It is possible that the people’s representatives will accomplish what the Government could not accomplish and some good way perhaps may be found out from this Conference. Though today we cannot say anything definitely still I can tell you this much with conviction that the owners x x have become of the opinion that this talk should be continued through third (and) fourth parties I have got strong proof that (they) have become of the opinion that the compromise should not now fail. And you should not have the least doubt that some way or the other out of this will be found out within eight (to) fifteen days. You mill-workers in Bombay, you men have now sat with the determination that a way will be found out in fifteen days, that a way out of this will be found in three weeks. We workers are not today ready to behave in such a manner as to (have to) throw into the sea for the sake of a few days now the great hardships we suffered for four and a half months, not receiving any compensation for them. When the day after tomorrow on Monday the mills in the Shivri locality will open you should give a proper reply to it. I request you with folded hands that you should give a reply as was given by the men in other localities and that you should do your

duty, preserve your unity, keep your strength intact the day after tomorrow just as (your) brethren in other parts did their duty (and) preserved their unity. Thereafter I told you about the Monday conference. If Dr. Deshmukh is going to call us for the conference on Monday we shall go there and place our true case (lit. side) before him. (We) shall once again contend with the owners, shall place before them (our side), for, our side is true. (We) are ready to place that side before the owners whether it be in hell, in heaven, or in the nether regions, or wherever the owners be. Let him be Dr. Deshmukh, let him be the Governor Sahab (or) the Governor Sahab's uncle, (we) are not in the least afraid to place forward the side that is true. We shall place (our side) before him (Dr. Deshmukh). It is to be seen whether some way issues out of it.

*The sentence is disjointed

Therefore I have to tell you in the first place this much that in order to find out that way all of us—there are outside remedies—we shall firmly keep intact our unity (and) shall make that thing properly rigid. I have to speak about another thing. You might have read the *Nava Kal* in the morning. A letter has been published in that *Nava Kal* which is as follows: There is a certain gentleman by name Roy in Europe. He of the workers' movement in India x x he has written. It has been said in the letter. Establish secret societies, rise in rebellion against the Government. It has been said: Do this, do that. I publicly declare from here that a letter of that sort was not received by us the workers in the labour movement in India. The Government has intentionally manufactured this letter. The Government is making the attempt of misleading the people. Today the labour movement in India is increasing. The Government has been making tremendous efforts, in order that the movement should not grow, in order that it should be endangered. The Government is going to enact a new law in the Council at Delhi in order to clip the wings of that movement. The Government has begun to put forth all crafty attempts in order that the law should get the undiluted support of the people, in order that our representatives there by raising their hands, by raising their right and left hands should say 'Sarkar Government', this law that you are enacting is proper, because the labour movement in India is increasing and that law should be passed. It is for that purpose that the Government manufactured this crafty false letter, purely false letter (and) has published it in no time in the newspapers in India. I challenge the Government (and, say: If you have to rule over India for some years more, do not perform such crafty and rascality things. These things may be put up with there in England. When the workers' movement was increasing in England four years ago, the capitalism in England had manufactured a similar big letter in order to crush the workers. (They) had thrown dust into the eyes of all people by manufacturing a false letter and had given out

(lit: informed) that the workers in England wanted to rebel. The Government is bringing about the same condition today in India in order to mislead the people, when the workers in our India have become ready to fight for their rights. But the Government should be told that the workers in India would not now be deceived by such deceitful artifices. You cannot rule over us, poor men, for many days by such craftiness. It (Government) should remember that if it would have recourse to such craftiness it would soon be thrown into the sea of Shivri. What does it matter if it is the Government? On whose life (does) Government (exist)? (It is) Government because you and we honour it. A stone is a god because we apply the red lead paint to it, otherwise who would care for it? How long can the Government (entertain) high notions? The Government can entertain high notions so long as we the subjects honour it. The Governor Sahab entertains high notions because we salam him three times. How can he entertain high notions if we soundly slap (him)? The people in Bombay used uptill now to tremble before the Police. But the condition today (is) that (they) are giving replies on the face and say that they are fighting for (their) rights. The worker says: If you are policemen sit silent in the Chowki. Ten (to) fifteen years ago utterance of the name of Shivaji, of Tilak meant imprisonment. But to day (we) enthusiastically make *jai jai* of Shivaji, (we) enthusiastically make *jai jai* of that Tilak. The cause of it is that education is spreading more and more among the people, understanding is spreading more and more among the people. As the understanding of our poor workers, of the poor peasants goes on increasing, as education goes on increasing, as men become wiser, the prestige (lit. lustre) of the Government will go on diminishing. What I have to tell Government publicly from here is that. If you are going to enact a law in this country by forging such a false letter, by circulating such false rumours, if you are going to kill our growing movement, if you are not going (to solve) the question of the livelihood of our poor labourers who are carrying on a struggle for it, the workers will bring about a rebellion in this country and then you will have to run away leaving your wives here. Though the workers be poor today, though they be poor in appearance, still this mere ant offers resistance, bites the foot even if the foot merely falls upon it. An ant had killed a serpent by its bite. Though (our) cow is poor (but) if any one harasses that cow (it) draws out (his) entrails by thrashing in its horns. We (are) poor workers. (But) (I) declare that if you begin to oppress us, begin to make various kinds of charges against us, begin to harass us, when we are fighting the fight of our rights then the workers and peasants in India will by making a rebellion compel you to run away leaving your wives

here. This letter has been published. The Communist programme has been given (in it.) I have not to say (any thing) about that programme. To help the peasants, to hack the *savkars* into pieces, to make capitalism lie down, to increase the wages of the workers, to reduce the assessment of the peasants, to make efforts to provide greater amenities to the peasants (and) to see that higher interest is not charged if the peasant requires more debt. Such is the Communist programme. Such is our programme. We do not wish to say (any thing) in that matter. But it is false what Government has stated in that (letter) that now the communists in India, those who are of the same opinion as myself, those who are working among the labourers today are going to form a secret society. Why is a secret society necessary. After our workers have awakened so much, what is the necessity of working secretly and privately? We have to make bombs here. If the workers are trained, if each one of the peasants is trained, they our guns XX if those our bombs are thrown, you people are dead. Therefore we have no necessity for secret societies. The Government has forged this an entirely false letter. I make a suggestion to the Government from here, (I) make a suggestion in its interest that if it wants to pass ten (to) twenty years in India after this, it should not practise such foolishness, such rascality. It should remember that by such acts it was cutting its own neck. Remember that in manufacturing that letter the Government has adopted this device to spread misunderstanding about us in order that people should approve of, should raise their hands (in favour of) the law that is to be made in Delhi, that law by which we would go to jail if we go on strike. Government should remember that such a device will cut its own neck. (It) is of our interest. Do if you want. But I have to give it a public warning that if it wants to live for some years here, if it thinks that there should be no revolution in India so early, that the peasants and the workers should not get awakened so early, then it should not do such a thing. Then about all our movement on Monday. We must preserve as much peace on Monday as was preserved in other localities. Some people have begun to say XX the leaders ask us to keep peace, to keep peace why should peace be kept, what is to be done by keeping peace. To die for nothing. If you do not want to keep peace, do not keep it. First snatch away air guns from the hands of the soldiers in the Fort and then do not keep peace. Take first the rifles of the Police, take the machine-guns in your charge, win over the men in the army, tell them that you are my maternal uncle's son, fire bullets on the Police on my behalf. If that happens then (I) instead of keeping peace today, will be the first to say that we should work against it, that they should be cut down, that bullets should be fired against them, that they should be killed. But there is

time for that, for that thing. We cannot today do that thing, therefore, we must keep peace on our side and the police who are making efforts to break peace must not be allowed to do so. I have got a reliable information that after the break up of the conference the other day, the (Police) Commissioner Saheb went to see the owners. This proves whose friend the Commissioner Saheb is. The Governor Saheb, the Viceroy Saheb and all other Sahebs are the friends of the owners, are the friends of xx, are the friends of *Zamindars*, are the friends of the house owners. (They) are not the friends of you workers, of the mill-workers, of the men in the spinning department, of the men in the weaving department. These Sahebs are the friends of those people. Remember that they will make all possible efforts to help those people and will seek to reap advantage of any disorder that may be caused among us. If therefore on Monday you begin to cause disorder do not allow disorder to be caused on the roads. Then I have to say one thing about the Police. If they enter your chawls and begin to cause disorder, then make such sure arrangements that the police will not come alive from your chawl. Because the father of the police has no right to enter anybody's house in the Chawl. We are not to make disorder on the road, if the police cause disorder on the road that will be allowed but (they) are not to cause disorder within the houses. I have to tell you that if the police create disorder after entering houses, chawls, our private compounds, do not fail to beat the police. You are not to cause disorder on the street, are not to cause any crowd and just as people elsewhere carried out their programme peacefully, in the same way carry out this marriage ceremony that is to take place on Monday at your Sivri. When this marriage ceremony of the mills is over, we shall make full arrangements about the bier of the owners. We are engaged in the arrangement regarding the bier of the owners, how the funeral oblations are to be made, what programme is to be drawn up, which priest (lit. Rama priest) is to be invited for the purpose. You should have no anxiety in the matter. The Strike Committee is bearing that anxiety. The Strike Committee will bear its expenses. Therefore get through the marriage ceremony of the mills, we shall arrange for the bier of the owners. Now just as our strike has been extended for so many days it must surely be extended in the same manner for some days more. Some people have begun to say what people are to do, four and a half months have passed, let us go now. Do not do this. There is an adage in Marathi that god-hood is not got without bearing the strokes of the chisel. A good idol is fashioned from that stone and then people bow before it. To-day is the time for the test of the mill workers. Remember that the God of the workers who is sleeping is testing you if you pass this test XX you will get god-hood. The workers in

the whole world are looking at you as if the mill-workers in India are gods. The workers in the whole world are today praising you. They say: the English tell us that there is no unity among the people in India. The English tell us that there is no unity among the people in India, that the Hindus and the Musalmans in India, fight with each other in such and such a manner that they never become one, that they are never united. But we are seeing that five months have passed, one and a half lakh of workers in Bombay have fought such a strenuous strike, no strike has extended so long in the world. Never in the world has such a big strike taken place for so many days. Then the English must either be telling us lies or the men in India must be great god-like beings. Such has become the conviction of people in other countries. They now realise how false the English are and they are looking upon you as god-like men. Those people have understood the workers in other countries have understood the fight which you are carrying on, which you are fighting, because if the owners in your country, cut your wages, if the owners succeed in that then the owners in other countries also will not fail to cut down the wages of their (workers). They will say: If the mill-workers in India are living on less wages, why should you not accept less wages? The owners in England will not fail to say this to them and therefore those workers side with you in your struggle. It was therefore that those workers by sending you money, by giving much help, have given you support so that your fights should become successful. Therefore the attention of the whole world is directed towards us towards the workers. That of attention must be abundantly directed. And conviction must be brought to the world that we deserved their praise, that people in India are not of a lower status than the workmen in any country, that we are on the other hand men of a very high status, that we have unity XXthat we people are again acquiring Swaraj. The time has now come, during the strike, to carry that conviction. Remember that if you pass in that examination you will get a packet of sweets as reward. You have to pass this examination early, you all will pass it. Bear up a little, put up with a few strokes from the chisel then you will get god-hood. With these words I take your leave". (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D., Poona.

P.1717 M. [2] T.

Dated 18th August 1928.

Place : Open Maidan near Moon Mill, Bombay.

Mr. Alve said:—

“Brothers, I am standing before you to-day after several days. For, you may be suspecting why I did not come to the meetings these several days. I have informed that day, two (or) four days back that I am sick. Though I appear to be fat from day to day, though I do not get fever it is my complaint that my belly has become big. If I talk much my throat gets choked up. I was glad. Why glad? We for so many days XX the movement is receiving the support of all the workmen in Bombay. This is why I am pleased. Some men from among us, the mill workers were afraid. But now it so happens that if there is meeting at any place workmen amongst us are able to carry it through without having to wait for any leader. I am thankful that they have realised much, have begun to understand. The second thing is that a meeting has been held, (it) has been convened by the mill workers. It has been said that the mills will work tomorrow, on Monday. There is a Mukadam by name Joshi who says that he himself along with his wife and children will go and ply the looms. The mills on Delisle Road started work. Long Saheb XX was (there). I challenge that Joshi that so long as life is in me I will give him the death penalty and get myself hanged. The other thing to be said XX there is a master by name Dattaram. He says to the workmen that he is going to put their leaders in prison. The leaders are prepared to go to prison. Whenever they have come forth on any battle-field they are (determined) either to die or to kill. When the fight was started when they took upon (themselves) the movement of one lakh and a half of workmen they knew that firing was going to take place. I tell this ‘master’ about sending to jail that he is welcome to entertain fear if he likes. There is no necessity to show fears X like that of jail to the leaders of the workers. What are such fools to be called. Your leaders, those who call themselves leaders at present are not afraid of jail, the authority of the British Government, of the oppression by the British Government. People are no longer afraid of the Police Dada. Because it is the same thing whether the leaders are arrested or not. Our condition has become serious. You attend meetings, many people gather together. When is the strike going to end? There is no food in every home, there is no *dal* in the house but it is the misfortune of us workers that (we) are poor from birth. XX The strike is meant for abolition of poverty. Our demands are so small.

All the mills in India, the power of the whole of Capitalism, this whole (power) of the bureaucracy must come into the hands of the workers. This strike of the workers is meant to bring that (power) into (their) hands, to capture power. The (strike) is going on for these five months. This strike is not with the desire to get an increase of two rupees in the wages. The workers must become the owners of the factories. For staying XX (out of) the money we earn we must get from the factory the money necessary for the expenses of every person. Have we been on strike (lit. sat) for five or six months in order to get an increment of one rupee? (The strike is) for abolishing poverty in India. The whole working class that had slept had awakened in this strike. This strike has been declared to capture that power. What is at the bottom of the strike, the strength which is there. You will have to suffer much in order to gain such power. It is not a common thing if it had been the question of increment of a rupee or eight annas, the matter would have ended in eight to fifteen days. The strikes that took place in 1925 (and) 1923 were different. You will see that this strike is different because in two or three strikes I too was taking part in the agitation on your behalf for eight years. Even though I took part (then) this movement is very important. In this movement it is being taught night and day how we all must behave at this time. This movement is for removing the misfortune of India. Every worker must be on his guard. (He) must be on his guard for this reason. Vigorous efforts are being made to betray us, to break our unity. You are starving for these five months. Every brother should remember that if foreign capitalism that is the power of capitalistic persons is to be driven out XX if the power is to be driven out, sufferings will have to be borne. Your children will have to bear (sufferings). Remember that so long as any workman is alive in India so long as there is power every worker will keep on struggling for power. To save your children from suffering XX you yourselves should bear suffering. My only request is that by establishing the workers Raj in India make all workers happy through joy. It does not matter if we die now, put foreign Capitalism to death. Occasion for killing (it) has arisen. Dispose of (lit. break) your petty trinkets. Get yourselves sacrificed in a ditch if you like. The power which the king wields. Give up your life by making a revolution. But do not break your strike. Our Government which rules us does not show compassion. Instead of showing compassion towards such a treacherous and mean Government, we must be ready to quarrel with such foolish persons. Keep aside for a while (your) effeminate behaviour. The impression that they (Government) were *Ma Bap* is erroneous, they are butchers. It is for this that their power must be expelled from India. xxx It can not be said what the desperate workers will do in

a fit of anger. See what is the result of peacefulness. Peacefulness has not remained. And those people will not listen to (you) if you sit silent at home. It must be shown what our strength is. Nothing can be done so long as we have not shown (our) strength. But if the strike is not settled in this fifth month (we) will expel the power of the English from India and will establish the workers' own Raj and I tell you this much that you workmen will do it."

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

SERVANTS OF INDIA SOCIETY'S
BRANCH LIBRARY
BOMBAY

P. 1718 M. T.

Dated 19th August, 1928.

Place: Chameli Wadi, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

" Brothers, (we) have made preparation for the marriage of the owners, by holding a meeting at Shivri yesterday evening. After that preparation had been made they went to Ramchandra Joshi and brought him. He is a Maratha (by caste) (and) has accepted to act as *Joshi (Astrologer) in the marriage of the owners. And he has accepted the challenge and determined to work the Shivri Mill tomorrow by taking his wife, his children (and) all (others there). Now our fight will take place there tomorrow. This (is) the preparation for the owners' marriage. In order to oppose it we are making preparations of the *Terava* (Rites performed for the dead on the thirteenth day after the decease) of the owners. *Laddus* are to be served on (their) *Terava*. The owners have become extremely insolvent XX Our women even have begun to come and hold meetings. If they want to live for five (to) ten years more, ask them to be gracious, to make use of a little sense, to buy it if (they) have not got (it), to buy it from our workers. I have to say that the workers have more sense. After that I have to tell you what utter destruction is being wrought by Government. You might have read yesterday's *Nava Kal* In it a letter has been published as follows. (It appears) from that letter that the Government is going to bring a bill (lit. a

resolution) in the Legislative Council to the effect that if you go on strike and if we asked you to go on strike, both you and we are to be sent to jail. The Government is going to enact that law of this nature within a few days. As a matter of course support cannot be got XX from some people and therefore, the Government has begun to make preparations from now and it manufactured such a letter yesterday, in order to secure the support of those who sit there as members. The Government has got many such crafty persons, they manufactured a letter that the persons in India who are today fighting on behalf of the workers, as the representatives of the workers, are now rising in a big rebellion, causing revolution establishing private institutions bringing bombs, and importing (lit. bringing) rifles. A very lengthy, strange (and) queer letter to the effect that (they) are going to spread vigorously Communism (and) the workers' movement, has been published. It is to be publicly told that the Government forged the false letter in order that the upper class members that are there should get terrified and should (think) that (they) must help the Government to pass the law and the law should get passed by the raising of their hands. I had told this thing yesterday and I shall tell it in every meeting. L

The Government has drawn its weapon to attack the workers' movement when it is growing. Capitalism has got the help of the Government. The Government has got the help of Capitalism, which means that these two parties are going hand in hand. Our workers are to vanquish these two parties. There are two parties in the world. Imperialism that is Government and Capitalism (that is) moneyed persons, *zamindars*, rich persons, industrialists, mill-owners. So long as these will remain there you and we have no means of leading a happy life in this world. And we people have started our struggle for that. When the workers have begun to struggle, the Government have begun to apply the

The word 'Kat' in the original meaning 'slough' appears to be wrongly written for the word 'Katar' meaning "scissors."

*scissors of this law to clip the growing wings of the workers, in order to smash down the workers' movement. If you are going to kill the movement of the workers by practising such false (and) mean methods that is not possible for you. For, (the movements of those) who are workers in the world, the movements of the workers in the world have begun to rise. The workers in the world have determined that they should have their supremacy that their red flag should be hoisted over the whole world. And as the brothers of the workers in the world, we the people in India are to drive away Capitalism from India today, are to drive away Imperialism from India, are to drive these thieves, decoits that have come to India, are to drive away these swarms of locusts, the one swarm (being) of Capitalism and another of the imperialists, and are to establish here the Raj of us poor workers, which can make provision for two meals for us, which can make provision for

the education of our children, which can make provision for the clothing of our wives (and) children. We workers have now realised this resolve. Though our present movement appears to be limited to the restoration of the cut in rates still we must not forget that going further we have to reach our goal, the great goal, the Delhi of our movement. We shall have to declare thousand such strikes so long as we shall not reach Delhi, shall not reach the farthest goal. What of four months only, strikes shall have to be continued even for four years. Till that time the poor XX will have to pass their days without clothing. Who protects all in India? The peasant class. But what is its condition today? Just as in the city the owner kills the workers, the owner cuts their wages, so there are in the villages leeches sucking the blood of the peasants. They are the *savkars*, the *zamindars*, the *Khots*. These leeches of the peasants in the villages and police, Capitalists, *savkars* as leeches of the workers in cities XX these persons in the city are all the enemies of the workers and the peasants. We have to cultivate our strength in order to struggle with them. (We) have to increase (our) strength. We must note that to increase that strength means to begin the establishment of the workers' Raj. But I do not feel the least doubt that this our strike will be successful. I have no doubt about that. Some persons from among us might have begun to say: Four to five months have passed. What is to be done now? Some people might have begun to have misgivings that we shall not now get success. You need not be newly told that such misgiving exists. This real occasion for your examination has come. We take a simple stone. A good artisan manufactures a god out of that. This is an examination of us workers whether we are fit for god-hood or not. The time has come in the strike to examine whether the workers are fit or not to establish Raj, to secure the blessings of freedom. If an opportunity is got of passing this examination, if you pass then there is future preparation. You have to prove that you have become fit to sustain your Raj to be established in the future for (ensuring) your happiness. The owners say that the workers are nothing. All this luxury which (they) enjoy at the workers' cost, all these motor cars that they use, all that debauchery (that they indulge in) and debauchery, on whose strength is it going on? On the strength of the workers. Do they say that the workers are insignificant? But now if they begun to call the workmen worthless, the workers themselves have begun to consider themselves superior to the owners. If other person begin to consider us of low value and if we begin to consider ourselves as of high value, it can be safely said that we have succeeded. The workers in Bombay have already understood this. These owners are the biggest enemies. The friends of the owners are enemies. The workers have resolved

that by struggling against that enemy XX they will vanquish this their enemy, will throw him into a ditch and will bury him in earth. And (this) resolve, their resolution is going to make them successful in the end. Let Deshmukh Saheb, call the conference tomorrow that he is going to call, the workers are ever ready to go anywhere. Our people will go tomorrow to that conference. XX If you are going to say that the strike should be first called off then that is not possible. That thing is like cutting one's neck with one's hand. (They) say that the strike should be called off then they would bring about a settlement. We are not prepared to throw down the weapon. While armed with the weapon, we shall not use (it) against you for some time. Say, what compromise you are suggesting. (We) are not prepared to call off the strike. The strike will continue as it is. Bring about a compromise, we shall be pleased if some way can be found out of that. If a compromise takes place tomorrow, (the workers) will go to work the day after. If you are adopting the device of breaking the strike by seeking to foist upon us workers unreasonable conditions for settlement, that device will not succeed. You have got eighty crores of rupees. x x x (you) have got eighty crores of rupees. In the same way we shall understand that (you have) eighty privis filled up. We trust that the uneducated workers have got greater wisdom than you have got. The workers have begun to understand better, how their movement should be conducted, in what their interest lies. Because (you) have begun to understand this better, the owners are more incensed (lit. have been more touched to the quick with chilies). If you had not understood this, the owners would have broken up strike long ago. Hold out for some time more just as you have held out for these four and a half months. You appear for the examination, pass in that examination and (when) you prove in that examination the fitness for god-hood, workers in the whole world will look upon you as gods. The strike of one and a half lakh of men is the first strike in the world. The workers in the whole world have become amazed. It is said by the English who go from here that the people in India are silly, they have no spirit, unity cannot be brought about among them. Seeing your strike that has taken place and the unity that has taken place among you, the workers in the whole world have begun to place their finger in their mouth through amazement and say, We cannot hold on though the workers' movements have been going on our side for hundred years. The workers in India who have no union, no money such workers talk about maintaining the strike for five months. What of this, the English say that these are all false things. And those people are looking at success with feelings of respect. This feeling is to be justified, success is to be gained in this fight, [you] are to hold on for some days as [you]

have held on. When I was coming now from the Dadar station four to five hundred of our men left for villages. I said that a very good thing has been done. Who ever has the opportunity to go to villages should go to villages. Those who want to get work here should get it. Do not care about the bill from the Bania. If (he) begins to make an uproar (he) should be told that (he) will not be paid. Therefore if you continue your strike in this manner success is ours. You cannot but be crowned with success. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I.D. Poona.

P. 1719 M. T.

Dated 23rd August, 1928.

Place: Tank Bunder, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

“Brothers, we had to come to conduct the proceedings of these meetings when our strike that is being conducted, took place. Four or five men from among us used to come everyday to conduct the proceedings of these meetings and all the feats of jugglery of that time were ours (exhibited by us). The proceedings of the meetings were conducted in this manner. But during the last four months our workers have been so much trained that they properly carry out the proceedings of the meeting, the feats of jugglery, even though the jugglers do not turn up now. All the workers have (now) begun to do the work of beating the (juggler's) drum. The workers have during the four months learnt this much that they must carry out their movement systematically, peacefully. If the workers have been so much trained in four months, think of how wise the workers in Bombay will be in four years if we continue our work in this manner. And if you begin to think of this, the Government (and) the owners, both cannot but be insolvent. It is the desire of the Government that the workers should not at all learn to think, that the workers should not get any wisdom. During the last hundred

and fifty (to) hundred and seventy-five years the Government ruled over this country but did not give the least education to the lower (class) people, they are being starved, the Government has not provided for their education, the owners have not provided for their education. Because if provision had been made for your education, you would have begun to think more. You would have demanded higher wages and then the profits of their motor cars would have had to be paid to you. Your condition would have been better. Therefore you have been deliberately in ignorance. But now-a-days the workers have begun to be wiser day by day. It is a matter for great joy that men from among the workers have come forward to take the leadership of the workers. In this manner we the workers in India shall become wiser day by day. This I have to tell you first. Then I talk now about your strike. In yesterday's meeting I had told you that some wire-pulling (lit. telegraph) regarding strike settlement is going on. It is going on in the same way. They come and see us. But we have not gone to see (them). We have decided that we shall go to see them when we are publicly invited. The owners are making effort for settlement taking the help of this man and that man. And it appears that a settlement will be soon brought about. I tell you that compromise is to be made for some time. I shall tell what the workers ought to do before effecting a compromise. Before stepping into the mills the workers must immediately get restored the cuts recently effected in their wages. This is the first condition. The cut wages must be restored to the wages we were receiving in the year 1925 (and) the year 1926. Today a cut has been effected in the wages by thirty per cent (to) thirty-five per cent. The owners must take back this cut. This is the first condition. Then the owners have now prepared new rules which are called the *Standardization *Scheme (which means) equalization of wages everywhere, equalization of rates everywhere, equal rules everywhere, one badge round the necks of all the slaves. All these (rules) should be thrown into the sea. That is the second condition. The third condition is that the system of three looms and two sides which was (in operation) should be abolished. Then (as regards) the hours of work the previous arrangement should continue, the hours are not to be increased. The owners were saying that work was to be done for ten hours. When these four conditions have been accepted and when the owners have given in writing that they have been accepted and when the written (consent) of the owners comes to us, the Strike Committee will issue a handbill. Remember that after reading that handbill all men are to go to their work. The owners should remember this our resolve, this *Kharita* that compromise is to be effected on these conditions (lit. questions) and that we are not to accept anything less (lit. are not to get down these questions). All those owners who had

come to see us have been told of these conditions. Say, if you accept them the strike will end tomorrow. I tell you that seventy-five per cent of the owners that is seventy-five owners (lit. men) out of hundred, (that is) three owners (lit. men) out of four, have become prepared to accept these conditions. Because they have no alternative except to accept these conditions. Several (owners) have begun to take their way to the High Court. Several have gone to the lawyers and have begun to ask them to take out the form about insolvency. I confidently tell (you) that the owners cannot but accept these conditions. But along with that I must tell you about one other side that just as we have maintained the strike for so many days, for four and a half to quarter to five months, similarly our unity must be maintained, till the Strike Committee issues its *Kharita*. Remember that just as (unity) has been maintained up till today so (it) is to be maintained hereafter till the mills begin to work. Such an opportunity has come that we must at this time make unity stronger. If some men from among us are trying to enter inside (the mills), they ought not to be allowed to enter, because a very critical time has come. Efforts are being made to create some confusion but when an answer is sought from the deities they give no response. The owners have got tired after making all efforts, cocoanuts were offered to Ganapati, they went to the women and wept. (They) went to temples, (but) it was of no use. Because the workers have sat with the resolve that, the workers have stuck to the resolve that, no matter what happens, they shall not go inside till they win the strike. Therefore no other remedy is left for the owners. Remember this thing Till now we were under the impression that the owners are our *mabap*, that the owners are our gods, that the owner gives us to eat, that we live, our wives and children live because of the owner. Going before them (we) were dancing with hand and feet. Abolish this idea altogether from your minds. We have learnt that the owners have not come to lay us under obligation. The owners exist in order to make profits for themselves. The owner exists in order to ensure his luxury. The owner exists in order to enjoy his motor cars, the owner exists in order to maintain his debauchery. (He) exists in order that abundant money should be got to do all these things. You workers should thoroughly remember that the owner is not the *mabap* of the workers, that the owner is the enemy of the workers. Till now we were taught that the owners are gods, that the owners are *mabap*, that the owners are the fathers of x x. So long as the owner exists on the surface of the earth the worker will not be able to enjoy happiness. So long as the factories are in the hands of one man, the grievances of the workers will not disappear. Those grievances will disappear on the day on which the workers, the workers and peasants become owners of the mills, of the railways, of the tram-cars, of all the factories, of the land that exists.

On that day your grievances will disappear. Today the owners are few and they have taken power in their hands. They have established a Government of their own. That Government has got rifles, has got an army, has got weapons, has got everything. This Government is using today all these weapons, this army, these Police, against the workers and the peasants. You hear every day in the morning and in the evening that this strike has been made not by you workers but by a few leaders. If a few (lit. four) leaders make a strike, will one and a half lakh of workers listened to those few (lit. four) workers ? (They) will throw (them) somewhere. I ask if workers had no grievances, no sorrows, why did they maintain this strike while starving and suffering for four months and a half ? Can three (to) four men maintain a strike anywhere ? Two (or) three men cannot maintain the strike of one and a half lakh of men. If one and a half lakh of men think of breaking the strike tomorrow, not listening to the leaders, nothing will happen even if the father in heaven of the leaders gets down. The workers, the labourers, the men in Bombay have grievances, have sorrows, (their) wages have been cut down, (they) have been persecuted, they have been oppressed (you) seek to make them slaves, therefore the workers have become today prepared to rebel against you, have become prepared to vanquish you, have become prepared to take to themselves the ownership of your mills. They must understand this thing, many people must understand it. That lame Sasoon began to say the other day that the workers had never before sat down with such tenacity. He said that there were good leaders (lit. men) among the workers, they all wore turbans, their shoes were of the Poona pattern, they used to come in motor cars, gave lectures (and) went away (and) used to show (their) faces once in fifteen days. There were strikes in these ten years, how many meetings a day did you hear of ? (No). Did you during the last ten years see something new being told in every day's meeting, the worker being educated, things of their benefit being explained to the workers, their rights being explained to the workers ? As that was not so and as these things have happened in this strike, the workers have received (lit. has fallen into their heads) good *electric *light, and they have come to understand that the ^{*In English in the original.} owners who had kept them in ignorance up till now, the Government which had kept them in ignorance up till now, were their real enemies. We workers (and) peasants, all poor people, must unitedly proclaim a rebellion against these enemies and must smash them. Such enlightenment has come to the owners. And owing to this enlightenment, plain workers from among you, workers playing looms, have voluntarily - they have been inspired that they must learn to get up before you to deliver good (and) lengthy lectures. (They) have learnt to tell you now the strike is to be conducted. New knowledge has been created among

them. If this knowledge goes on increasing like this, you will see within a few days that you the poor people in India, you who are in want of food, you who are starving without clothes without food, will be fit to rule over this country. Remember this. Remember that our workers elsewhere in the world, our flat-nosed Chinese are engaged in making tremendous efforts to establish workers' Raj in their country (and) have completely driven out these English. These English committed a number of atrocities, fired bullets against their wives and children in their country, belaboured them, sent them to the jail, still the Chinese did not get frightened. The Chinese workers kept on fighting continuously to the last (and they) are fighting even today. Our neighbour the Chinaman has become ready to establish a *Raj* of the workers. We the people in India are extremely superior to China. (We) have made our name in the world, have shown to the world that the people in India are very powerful, are exceeding great warriors. Even at the time of the last war, seeing the capacity to fight of the soldiers from India who had gone to Europe to fight, the Germans, the English, the men in France, all these became astonished and begin to say that the people in India are great fighters. Why have we such people, fallen today in a low condition? We people do not realise in what our interest lies. Today those things have been realised (and) as that realisation has come, I have to ask you to unite for our interest and to carry on the struggle. *Then this morning's newspaper—the other

*The sentence is dis- day there are Sawyer Saheb and one white Saheb of joined. his. It is said that the white Sahebs have a tail.

Our Bradley Saheb has not got a tail. Sawyer Saheb said that the leaders should be arrested. x x if he is given a slap he will begin to chatter (through fear). He said that the leaders should be arrested. Four have gone, forty have become ready, again four hundred have become ready. Where are (they) going to place in prison one and a half lakh of men? Will (they) place (them) in the Governor Saheb's bungalow? If you like, place (us) in the Yervada jail. If we one and a half lakh of workers go (there), we shall drive away the jailor there and shall establish our *Raj* in jail. How many will (you) take to jail. Will (you) take to jail? Whom do (you) frighten. Five (to) ten years back mention of the name of Shivaji Maharaj meant jail. People got frightened. Mention of Tilak's name meant jail, (meant) going to jail. And (people) used to tremble on seeing a Policeman. The boy of the present workers tells the police to get away. We people xx are not frightened like that. After the leaders are lifted up, nothing will happen (even) if the fathers of these Sahebs come. Workers have now become Communists. Communist means this. The owners have got thirty-two teeth (and) he is Communist who x x gives them a slap which properly hits them. Every worker has become ready to a struggle. Everyone has

become Communist. Hereafter the owners cannot do anything. (They) are going one day to lift up the bier of the owners, are one day going to gather together the owners and taking the bier of the owners to Nana Shankarshet Wadi (A Hindu cremation ground in Bombay), will burn it there. To overthrow the owners is an extremely big (and) difficult task. We are people (striving for) our bellies. We workers have become wide awake. Our strike is on the way to be successful. The strike cannot but be successful. Therefore I have no doubt that (you) will continue the strike hereafter just as you have conducted it up till today. I have to say to you this much that (the strike) should be conducted till then, and let us in the end lead to success this fight that we have fought for four months, for four and a half months for five months. When we began the strike, the owners thought that our strike would break within eight days. They were saying, the owners were saying that within eight days your strike will break just as a house of cards, which the children construct, collapses. But such an occasion and time have come that (the workers) have become the unrelenting foes of the owners. Even Petit's father had not seen such a strike. The owners did not know that the workers had become so wise. The owners do not know that so much unity has been established among the workers. They remained engrossed in drink (lit bottle). (They) use to move about in motors and enjoy themselves. There are eighty crores of rupees with Sasoon. (They) are in the hands of one man. There is not even a pie in the strike. Here people, men are starving, dying without food in the country (and) eighty crores of rupees (are) with Sasoon. Why are they to be placed with his father. The meals of one and a half lakhs of people (are) dependent upon (lit. in the wrist of) this Sasoon. (He) must be fried just as a hen is fried. Such a state of things existed in the community that those men who manufacture cloth, those who work factories must get its profit and money. This Sasoon has eighty crores of rupees. Where has this Sasoon gone to a factory to work looms? Whence then has (he) brought this money? This money has been placed by him in (his) treasury by robbing you (and) us. A day will come when (we) shall take out your money twisting the neck like that of the hen and the workers in Bombay have been ready to do that. No kind of fear has remained in their minds. There are other workers in the world, there workers in Russia, they have shown us the way that this is the highway, this is the worker's road. The workers have to go by this road. How far have (they) to go? (They) have to go so long as our *Raj* has not been established. The Czar of Russia had so much oppressed the workers (and) the peasants there. One was imprisoned for thirty years, forty years. Women were imprisoned. They smoked cigarets and applied them to the

bodies of the women. In such a way great sufferings were inflicted. And the people became so enraged that all simultaneously became ready for a rebellion, (they) brought about a revolution (they) beat the king like a cock and in the end established their Raj. We have to bring this condition in India. Let Government launch fifty prosecutions against us, let it imprison (us) fifty one times, (it) hang (us) fifty two times, there is no fear about that. There is no doubt that we shall do this thing in India. We people shall not keep quiet so long as the workers' and the peasants' *Raj* has not been established in this country. (We) shall go to jail for ten years, shall (do) the same thing again after coming out, this will continue till death. Our children, your children will do it. So long as our *Raj* has not been established in our country, so long as power has not come into our hands in this country, so long as these factories are not owned by the workers, till then (we) are not to sit quiet, till then hundreds of small strikes are to be brought about, our unity is to be effected, the workers union is to be formed, the peasant's union is to be formed (and) the peasants and the workers are to fight hand in hand till the end. Remember this resolve, Then we shall have made firm the basis of the temple of the Raj. We have begun the work of making the basis firm. The auspicious pillar has been fixed, cocoanuts have been hung, the umbrella has been tied, the workers have to carry stones to build the walls well and by establishing our Raj in the end the dome has to be erected. Make preparations for doing this thing. Make preparations for doing this thing for the interest of our country. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1720-M. T.

Dated: 23rd August 1928.

Place: Tank Bander, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar observed in dissolving the meeting: —

“Now I am going to dissolve the meeting. Before dissolving the meeting, (I have to tell you that) to-morrow evening's meeting

is at Mor Baug. Attend that meeting. Then I am going to tell you one thing. It is this. You must conduct the fight as systematically, as peacefully as it has been conducted uptill now. You may ask why do you tell us to be peaceful when you talk big things about taking the Raj? That question is to be answered. You may say: what is the meaning of fighting with the police, beating the Saheb and (yet) remaining peaceful? This means that the attack we have to make against the enemy is to be made systematically. Even if a fight is to be carried on with the Government, it is to be fought after getting a well organized army X as is the army of the Government. We have not to proceed in such an unsystematic way as to attack (then) suddenly, to beat them and to run away. Therefore all these things that are to be done, must be done very systematically and so long as we have done them systematically peace must reign well. What is the reason of our strike being well maintained? It is that we carried on the fight peacefully XX. Fear has gone but though fearless, we have not created any disorder, have not caused any confusion. Disorder was made, confusion is to be made. The battle to be fought is to be fought systematically. If *maramari* (mutual fighting or beating) is to be caused then two hundred persons are to be taken out, cudgels are to be given in their hands and then (they) are to be asked to go to fight and then *maramari* is to be made. In such systematic manner a good fight must be fought. So long as those circumstances have not come our peace must be maintained. If peace is not maintained, (they) will break up the strike within three days, they will use cudgels any way they like. Our cudgels have remained in Konkan. We have no money to buy bamboos. On that day (we) will ask (you) to use bamboos, on that day (we) will ask you to take *musals* (wooden pestles) and will then say: Your bamboos and our *musals*. Till then you should behave properly, keep peace. With these words I dissolve our meeting."

Sd/- R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1721 M. (1) T.

Dated 25th August 1928

Place: In the Maidan opposite the Petit Mills, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

" Brothers, we have seen one thing in the days of this strike.

All of us with one voice told the rain to go (and) it is gone, (we) saw this once (or) twice, have sent back (rain) five (or) six times. This (has been done) on the strength of unity. If therefore some-one is entertaining the doubt that the mill owners would defeat us he should give up that doubt. Because it is said that rain comes from God. If we defeat God, remember that we shall not fail to defeat these owners who are monkeys X. Yesterday evening an article has been published in a paper of the owners, of P'etit Saheb, by name the *(Indian) Daily Mail*. Remember that it has begun to be published in the owners' newspapers that we have been defeated, that we have been humbled, that the workers have been humbled, that the workers (and) owners must effect some compromise. Paying attention to this you should guess what will come out of it. I shall not take the trouble to say (it). Regarding the strike you should think to yourselves what will be the outcome of the strike and preserve your unity. If (we) defeat even God on the strength of unity, defeat rain, these monkeys, the owners, are nothing before us. Remember this. You should preserve unity and should be ready to accept the order given by our Governor, Nimbkar, in order to preserve unity. That (order) is as follows:— If the owners do not show wisdom of granting our demands within one, two, four days, before Narali Purnima (cocoanut day), otherwise as soon as cocoanuts are thrown into the sea on the one side, we must make preparation to lift up (our) boxes and go to our villages. Remember that when the owners see that the workers are going out of the city of Bombay, they will immediately come to their senses. Because so long as the nose is not pressed, the mouth will not open. See pressing the nose with your own hands. Life will be choked up. The movement of pressing the nose must be taken in hand, which means that the workers should leave the city. The livelihood of the other people depends upon the workers. Other people enjoy their motor-cars because of the workers. So long as those people are not convinced that all that will stop now, our question will not be solved and therefore it is the message of this meeting that you should go to (your) villages. Even after this such a message will be given. Now Nimbkar has told you about the new law. This new law is being enacted for two persons. Our Bradley Saheb and Spratt Saheb who are struggling amongst us on behalf of the workers, who are for the last two years staying with us, who have been carrying on a systematic fight along with us, are to be lifted up and deported to England because of that. Today the Government has no law, no means (to deport them). Government does not understand what to do because Government now knows that Krishna is coming in its Dwarka and just as at that time Kansa's condition became such that he began to see Krishna on every side, similarly

Government, knowing this, is seeing Communists everywhere. (It sees on all sides none excepting the Communists carrying on agitation among the workers. Therefore the Government is making efforts to send away these our two friends by making a law which it had not got up till now. But Government should remember that even if it enacts this law, it will remain within its statute book. Now (even) if Bradley and Spratt go to England, Mr. Nimbkar goes to Jail, Dange goes to Jail, our Ghatge gets hanged, Mirajkar goes to Jail, the workers' movement cannot stop hereafter. Because the workers have realized that the owners are *badmash*, that the owners are rascals, that the owners are dacoits. The workers have come to understand that the owners have become ready to twist (lit: to break) their necks. The workers will conduct this (fight) with determination. You (may) imprison, the fight will be maintained to the end after training other leaders from among us. The workers have come to understand this. Therefore your law is worth being thrown into the sea, it is not worth three fourth of a pice. Remember this. The ignorance of the workers, the curtain of ignorance, that curtain has been taken off from the heads of the workers. As the workers have become wise, your law has been too late, you were late in enacting the law. They were ignorant. The work that was to be done has been done, no work has been left hereafter. This thing I have to say to

*In English in the original. After English words occur Marathi words meaning public safety.

*In English in the original.

the Government. Government calls that act *Public Safety Bill. Words have been written in it saying that the law is being enacted in order to drive the Saheb from India. But I tell to Government that it is making this law to drive out from

India what is called *Public Safety. This law is not meant to preserve safety. Because (when) the workers become wise, peasants become wise, (they) begin to understand, the peasants begin to understand, (they) will not fail to drive out everyone without exception, your Collector Saheb, your Commissioner Saheb, your Governor Saheb, your Viceroy Saheb, the uncle, the brother of (your) Viceroy Saheb. Remember that if the owners begin to make an alliance with the Governor, with the Viceroy, with Government officials, the workers and the peasants will not fail hereafter to drive the owners also along with the Government officials. And therefore it is to be said that such a law has been made too late. Now all that you had to do has been done. The ignorance of the workers has been removed. So long

*In English in the original.

as the workers had no knowledge, that lamp, that *electric lamp has been shown. The workers have begun to see the road (before them). Owing to the lamp, the lamp of knowledge given to the workers, it has become apparent how the workers' movement must be carried on.

Therefore now begin to make use of that lamp and then there is no reason to be afraid if hundred, of Mirajkars, five thousands of Bradleys from among you are carried away. Bradley, Ghate, Nimbkar will come forward (lit: be prepared) from among you and then your movement will end in the establishment of your *Raj*. You should do this thing. Begin to do the first thing in the matter of the strike. Let (us) give the owners an opportunity till the Narali Purnima. Owners, learn wisdom till then if you want otherwise the workers, the glory of Bombay, will walk out of Bombay. After this the city of Bombay will be widowed just as a woman is widowed after the death of her husband. Thereafter you owners and the mills keep on fighting. With these words I take your leave. (Applause). If the owners want that (lit: such efforts) that the husband of this city of Bombay should not die they should immediately bring about a compromise otherwise the city of Bombay will be quite white. This much (I) say." (Applause).

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P.1721 M. [2] T.

Dated 25th August 1928

Place: In the Maidan near Petit Mills, Bombay.

Mr. Bradley delivered a speech in English which was translated by Mr. Nimbkar as follows:—

"Brothers, I am a very bad man, (I) am a *badmash*, for Government has to frame a new law for me, to drive me from here. Then when the strike began the capitalists of Bombay, the moneyed persons of Bombay began an outcry that the strike that broke out was brought about by Bradley Saheb. That Mr. Bradley was a Bolshevik, that he was an emissary sent to sell British goods here by the British industrialists (lit. industrialist owners). Had Bradley Saheb been a friend of the British owners then he would have been

a friend of Government (and) Government would not have framed

The original Marathi Hoti and Tyanan appears to have been wrongly placed in translating the English indirect construction.

the law which it has done. There *you will understand how villainous is the outcry of the owners here. Then we are told that Bradley is a Bolshevik. That is not so. Bolshevism is not a bad thing.

What it means is Raj of the people, of the workers, Raj of the peasants, Raj of the whole people. That means Bolshevism. Bolshevism is not bad. But if persons causing strikes in Bombay are to be sent to a foreign country then Government will have to send many other persons like myself. Their names are very big. If it be a crime to make efforts in order that your condition should be improved, you should get sufficient to eat, you should get good quarters to live, you should get an increase of rupees five or ten in your wages, then whatever the Government does, whatever law it frames I shall be doing nothing but this so long as I am free, I am unfettered. This is my reply to Government. Now to speak about the strike. The owners have begun negotiations in some way or other during the last four or five days. But the owners do not understand, (they) do not realise what were the wages in the year 1925, what were the wages in the year 1926, (and) in the year 1927. They have not the ability to understand records. They say "give up talking of the previous wages, accept the scheme which we have framed. Suggest (lit. make) changes in that". (If) this that the owners say is taken into consideration it will be seen how much confusion there is in the management of the owners. The second thing to be mentioned is that one owner invited me to a dinner and spent much money believing that I would be won over. You should know one thing. The workmen must get the wages of the year 1925. The owners have framed a scheme. We workmen must approve the scheme after seeing whether it is proper or not. After we approve of (it) we shall accept (it). Today the market rate is such that liquidation is threatening. The workers will not fail to succeed if (they) hold out for a few days."

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1722 M. T.

Dated 2nd September 1928.

Place: Chameli Baugh, Bombay.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, we are gathering after many days at the Bakaryacha

Adda and (we) are gathering in such circumstances that some men have lost courage, the owners also have been extremely humbled and the paid agents of the owners are trying to see if the strike breaks down by doing false things. There is no difference of opinion that the strike should end. But one (lit: this) opinion is that the strike should end by the workers' demands being granted and we are of that opinion, and the owners are of the opinion that the strike is to be ended without the workers getting their demands in order that the workers should have to pass the worst days than the starvation they have suffered during the last five months. I hear that these owners are now within two (to) four days going to post boards in the mills, that the wages of 1925 were given, that they should come in. When one man gets into (the mills), it (will be) their *Raj*, the Raj of Stone Saheb, the Raj of lame Sassoon, the Raj of Petit Saheb, the Raj of Wadia, whatever they say will be approved. For they know that though the wages got on entering (the mills) after being on strike for five months, be less, still the workmen cannot again come out and therefore when we have to go in, when (we have to) end the strike, we must be thoroughly convinced at that time that the rates in the boards posted have been written down properly: such and such a rate, such and such wages so many hours not even one less, not even one more. After getting these things in writing...being properly signed and sealed, Strike Committee will issue a hand bill (and) the strike is to be ended then and not before. Otherwise remember that (if you) go in as soon as notices are posted on mill doors, the same thing will happen just as as soon as the goat enters the slaughter-house at Bandra a knife is placed on its neck. I have to warn you against danger. I have to warn you against a danger that do not be deceived simply on the posting of notices. In the talk about compromise X talk is going on together. Our Strike Committee has now appointed a committee for bringing about a new compromise. I am on that (committee). We are quite (lit: on one foot) ready for bringing about a compromise. But I am not of the opinion X that by causing loss to the workers however, after conducting the strike for five months, for a month (or) half a month (or) one month and a half. (We) conducted the fight for five months and now we are not prepared to recede for one month(or) one and a half-month and to accept any conditions that the owners like. I have to tell you that a compromise can be effected only if the conditions of the workers are foisted upon the owners. No matter then if the strike has to be conducted for some six months, for one and a half month, for two months more. We are starving ourselves. Some people say: The workers in

*There is apparently a mistake here. In Girgaon' ought apparently to have gone with 'some people' and not with the workers.

* Girgaon have been starving, this strike should be called off. Accept the conditions that the owners proposed and tell the workers to go in. I told (them) that we had not become so clever.

* In English in the original You are well educated, you have become #B. A. s, you can say *'Yes', you come into the meeting at Bakaryacha Adda and tell the workers that they were starving, that they should go into the mills. [We] have no objection if they listen to you. We however will tell the workers that [we] are not ready to cause loss to the workers, for, my opinion is not like that. (We)carried on the fight for five months, suffered starvation for five months and now if (some result is to come out of it within a month, a month and a half (or) two months, (we) are not ready to give up the fight, to recede. Let us fight vigorously. I am of the opinion that, let Shendi (tuft of hair on the head) give way or the Parambi the descending shoot (of the banyan tree) give way, some result must be got out. Do you think that after fighting for five months (you) should go in accepting the terms of the owners ?

..... # (No, 'from the audience') * Therefore I take it
 In English in the original for granted that your opinion is that the reply I have given to the men in Girgaon is correct. For you continued the struggle for five months, suffered starvation, gave up hunger, (your) lives have been distressed with hunger, yet (we) know that if you go in breaking this strike, the condition will be still worse, it will be(worse)for ever. Therefore it is the opinion of the workers that no matter if they have to go without food for some days, for two months more, just as they went without food for so many days, but that (they) will maintain the struggle to the end and will make it successful. (We) shall publicly place forward this opinion of the workers there, no matter then if some one abuses (us). This is about the opinion of the workers. For people on that side say that we three (or) four persons have been preventing the settlement of (lit: keeping obstructed) the strike, that the workers are ready to break the strike. From that time the friends of the owners, the newspapers of the owners have raised this outcry. When they made the force of opening the mills you made them aware of their mistake by giving a sound slap to them. The owners have clearly understood that the workers are at the bottom of this If the workers take into their head three leaders will be levelled down(lit: sit down)by throwing five stones. Three or four men cannot prevent a settlement of (lit: keep obstructed) the strike. The workers have realised that the owners have begun to foist their oppressive terms on them, that the owners are trying to foist permanent starvation (on them) by effecting a cut in the wages. The workers have formed the opinion that they will suffer starvation for a month and a half more but that they will carry on the fight to the end. As this opinion has been formed I say that if the owners do not start a talk about compromise in an authoritative manner within four (to) five days, till the fifth or the sixth instant, all of you should take the road to your villages. I have to tell you this. Some persons have begun to go to their

villages. Yesterday I had gone to Bhau's Dhakka (wharf) where I saw crowds after crowds going to villages. Several persons out of them were from the workers. Similarly people going by trains have begun to go to their villages. This is the preparation of finding out another way of fighting, of making this our strike successful. Several workmen have begun to make this preparation. Those who have not begun to make the preparations should begin to make this preparation after waiting up to the fourth (or) the fifth instant. For, if the strike is to be maintained, it is possible to maintain it by going to the villages, the strike cannot be maintained for a long time (lit: more) beyond that. Many persons say—(they) were saying in their own way—now the strike will break as their money has been exhausted. I have been always telling you in regard to money that it (is) like the monkey's tail, x (it) grows more and more. Two weeks back we were anxious how to distribute grain, but the money comes from somewhere or the other (and) the arrangement for distributing grain is made. (It) was made during last week, (we) shall make (it) somehow this week, and I publicly assure (you) that whatever happens we shall not fail to do it next week. You must remember that those of you for whom it is possible to go to the villages now are not to remain in Bombay. Another (thing is) that you should begin to pack your bundles. (*When you) pack (your) bundles it will appear that the talk about compromise has begun till the fourth or fifth. If some result follows from it we shall inform (you). Keep your bundles packed and wait for some days more. If such signs are not visible, take the bundle on your shoulder and begin to walk There is no other course open for us except that. *If the strike is not maintained. If it is intended to maintain the strike it has become impossible to mitigate the starvation of all these workers if (they) remain in Bombay. Today the rich persons in Bombay do not give us help. The Mayor Sahab satrted the fund, but the children of Vaghri (and) the Mahars are eating. (None) has remained out of the friends of capitalism to give us help, no one will give help. If (you) think that (anyone) will give help it is a mistake. I therefore tell you to keep your attention (directed) on one path. And in the matter of the strike I assure you from this place that a thing which will cause loss to the workers will not be allowed to be done so long as life exists in us, so long as (we) are alive. In every matter that has taken place in regard to the strike (I) have taken your opinion before hand. I took vote coming before you, (I) tried to estimate your opinion and it is our principle to behave according to it, to behave accordingly. We are not the leaders of the workers, we are speakers for the workers. If one and a half lakh of workers begin to speak simultaneously, the owners will run away from Bombay. Therefore two (or)

*The word meaning strike occurs in the sentence which is not connected with any other words.

*The clause has been kept suspended.

three mouths are required for speaking. Therefore we have taken upon ourselves the work of giving expression on your behalf to your opinion, your sorrows, your grievances, that is, the work practically of a lawyer. It is the duty of a lawyer to speak what the client will tell (him). Therefore I say to you with conviction that no compromise will be ever made by our committee which will cause loss to the workers. I say this giving you an assurance. Even if a thing likely to cause loss to the workers is done still I say that you should not accept it. I am sure that you will not accept it. I have first to tell you one thing. You must always learn to think independently. Do not keep trust because a certain leader says xx. We shall never tell so. *You slavish mentality,* then trust is not to be placed because Mirajkar says, Dange

*... * This clause is left suspended. Saheb says. After this the labourers, the workers, the peasants must learn to think independently, must

learn to speak independently and the workers must hereafter learn to behave according to the opinion that will be formed after independent thought. Think over all these things told (by me). Say what your opinion is in the matter of compromise. The owners had prepared their scheme. We do not accept the scheme of the owners, the conditions of the owners, the new rules of the owners. We rejectd (them). Thereafter some discussion was going on during which it was said (lit: such a question arose) that we should prepare a scheme according to what we had to say. It had taken two years to prepare the owners' scheme. The thick, fat Stone Saheb, *Dagad* Saheb was

*'Dagad' means 'stone' in Marathi preparing the scheme for two years. We have been asked to prepare a scheme. All right (we) shall

prepare and give you within three days the workers' demands. That scheme will be ready this evening. The Committee will consider it. Every night the compromise Committee holds (its) meeting and gives due consideration to it. (When) the scheme is ready, the whole of it will be given to you in printing for your information as to what rates have been asked for, what wages have been demanded, what conditions have been laid down. You will be asked to make what suggestions you have to make. Then, today some statistics have been published in the *Kranti*. Send to Dange Saheb the suggestions you may have to make and we shall make compromise in such a way that it will not involve loss to the workers. And we shall make compromise on the condition that the workers will not incur loss; if anything, (they) will gain. Telling you this much about the compromise, I conclude (my speech) regarding the strike. Then I have to say one or two things. I am going to speak again today how this Government, going to the help of the owners, is making new laws. But now on the fourth instant that law will be enacted there. All law *Pandits* have gone there. Joshibuwa (N. M. Joshi) have gone there on our behalf. Now the Government by putting that law into

effect—the object of enacting this law is how to smash our movement, how to prevent our strikes taking place, how disunity is to be created where our unity is increasing day by day. *How

* This clause is left suspended. this law will have to be disposed of*. If this law is passed the thoughts (lit: the arch of the thoughts) of the labourers x workers will rise to such a stage—you may make fifty laws, if those laws be against our movement, if those laws be intended to attack our movement, (I) tell Government publicly that we shall show the law the way to the privy. Then the second law is (in order that) our Bradley, our Spratt (should be sent) to their country, to the capitalists there, to the Sasoon there, to the Petit there x x x. Though our Bradley Saheb appears like a Saheb from England (lit: there) still he is a labourer in a factory in Britain. He is in England like a labourer working in the G. I. P. workshop. Capitalism in Britain means the tigers in Britain. They eat goats and sheep xx. Just as these tigers are in Britain, similar tigers are in India. As the tigers in Britain are to be killed, all the tigers that are in the world, the whole of capitalism is to be killed, this is going on all over the world. Not only the workers' movement is going on at Bombay, Sholapur, Ahmedabad but such a movement is going on all over the world. So long as this capitalism exists, so long as the tiger exists, till then our poor men will not get peace, our children will not get education, our women will not get good clothes, will not get good food to eat. Of this the workers in all countries have been convinced. Therefore a movement has begun everywhere. If from that (country) men like Bradley come here to help the labourers in India, Government thinks that Bradley comes and causes strikes. Will one and a half lakh of men go on strike even if Bradley's father comes? If they have no sorrows, will there be a strike even if three hundred uncles of Bradley come? We people have got so many grievances, so many sorrows, that our (lit: their) sorrows will not be mitigated even if the whole of capitalism is cut down. Our hearts (those) of all the labourers are today burning. This mad, faithless capitalism has today begun to persecute the labourers, the peasants in the whole of India. We have commenced our movements to make a bonfire X to these all. Such movements have arisen as will not be stopped by your sheepish law. (We) make a movement because we have grievances. Government has made a law in order that, if men like Bradley come and begin to give help, they should be lifted and taken to their country. (I) ask Government that if the friends of the labourers are to be deported because they are Sahebs from England, why do you not deport the friends of the owners (like) Stone Saheb? Throw him first into the sea. If any one first began to cut down the wages, it was the crafty, rascally Stone Saheb. He is stout in the first place. (He) began to cut

down wages. If anyone has created cause for the strike in Bombay it is Stone Saheb not Bradley Saheb. He (Bradley) came yesterday. Four months have not passed since his coming into India. X If anyone has set ablaze the movement, it has been set ablaze by the crafty Stone. I challenge the Government and say that if anyone is to be deported by making a law, throw away Stone Saheb first (and) other crafty Sahebs that might be there and then think whether Bradley (or) Spratt are to be sent or not. I do not tell now. Even if Bradley, Spratt are sent (away) our (lit: your) movement of the workers and peasants will not certainly stop. Our movement cannot be stopped (even) by your uncle so long as your Raj over India has not been removed, so long as we have not driven away those persons, our persons who have come to help you English, that Capitalism, the Zamindars, Khots, people who help, the *Savkars*, the big *Zamindars*, capitalism, industrialists, (and) so long as (we) have not got our grievances, our complaints redressed. Our movement will go on increasing in this manner. Why will it go on increasing? The movement, this movement will stop on the day on which we shall establish the Government of the workers in this country. It cannot stop before that. Some one said the other day that the Police went on strike here. I said that the strike of the Police could not take place, there was some time for the strike of the Police to take place. The police, the army will come to our side (and) will begin to fight on our side when it will appear that the workers will now stop the Government by way of attack, will bring about a revolution. Till then the Police will not go on strike. They are afraid that they will lose service. A time will come, when the workers will come out taking such a stick in hand that the Police and the army that fire bullets at us, those men in the army will certainly come to our side. There is a country called Russia. The workers established their *Raj* in that country, the workers created a movement that time, determined to establish their *Raj*. They had no army that time. The army (was) with the king. Especially such persons are soldiers in the army whose relatives (lit: paternal and maternal uncles) are ours. The paternal, maternal uncles who may be in this Police, will be afraid of conducting your *Raj*, will be afraid (saying) whether they are to kill their uncles. They will take guns and will begin to say: (we) fight on your side. By entirely annihilating all, the ruler there, the industrialist there, the workers have established in that country their *Raj*, their red flag. Similarly, though our movement today be merely in order to get an increase in wages, in order to prevent wages being cut down, so long as the owners and the Government have not been driven out from here, till then everything will go on like this: wages have been cut down today, so long as the owners are alive, wages will be cut down tomorrow, after four months, after

two years, (and) we will (be compelled) to go on strike, (and there will be) again rice distribution, Strike Committee, again Nimbkar's speech, Mirajkar's speech, again confusion, again resolution. The ultimate Delhi of the workers is the establishment of the Raj. So long as power has not come into the hands of poor men, strikes will always go on like this. Government is to be asked that if it has wisdom, why does it make such a law for nothing. Why do you act in an effeminate manner lit: like Salubai, Dalubai)? Who among the peasants are going to care for your law? If there is anyone who can read the law, the sheepish persons on that side will understand it. If the worker is before the Commissioner (and) the Commissioner Saheb begins to talk in any manner he likes, (he) will immediately give a sound slap. The worker is not afraid of your law, of the Police, of fines. The workers are the most fearless persons in the world. The worker does not recognize a sheepish law. Do not take the trouble of enacting such a law. There are persons in the Assembly (who talk that) India wants Swaraj. The time has come for their being tested. All those devotees of Gandhi, devotees of Tilak who indulged in tall - talk up till now, should be told that (we) shall see what you do at the time of (enacting) the law. If these people give help to the Government to enact the law, we shall understand what kind of people they are. If these people keep quiet—it will be found that some other people will sit at home on the day the law will be passed this amounts to giving help to the Government. You have not the courage of talking openly there. They have not the strength to walk out after setting the Council on fire with a match box worth two pice. If the workers go there, they will do like that. I am sure about this. These people indulge in tall - talk about advancing the interests of the people in India (and) the time has come for their being tested whether now in passing the law they help the Government, or the workers or the friends of the workers. If perchance the law is enacted, Bradley Saheb will go away within fifteen to twenty days. No matter if he goes. We shall give an assurance that even if he goes, that work of his, the goal of the labourers' movement, the work of ultimately driving out Capitalism, Government, (and) the friends of Capitalism from this country will be unceasingly continued by us. We shall continue that work so long as life is in us, (we) shall ultimately vigorously establish in this country the *Raj* of the labourers, the red flag of the labourers, all the movements of the labourers. We shall fight the battle so vigorously that the enemy will have in the end to yield (and) in the end our enemies will be properly made cold. Such an assurance (I) give. In this matter I have to say to the Government that it has announced the policy of helping the owners. (See) how they are making a law, are giving police help x x. Arrest some

leaders in order that the strike should be broken. But Government did not think that it was of no use arresting a few (lit three) leaders. At another time, (Government) will learn the wisdom that the law will be of no use before the workers. I hope that those speaking on our behalf will make efforts by offering strenuous opposition to Government that this law should not pass. It has been decided what to do if (it) is passed. As soon as our strike (lit. movement) is settled, such a union of one and a half lakh of workers is to be formed in Bombay that not a single mill worker will be outside the union. The other day there was a meeting of women in our hall. All women of the working class were present (there). It has been written in the Kranti that crowds after crowds of the women came to the meeting. They said: The owners have become extremely insolent. (They) are making efforts to sow thorns in our life. The men workers are carrying on the strike we shall fight shoulder to shoulder along with them. We shall not go to work so long as all our demands have not been granted. Where even women have begun to say that they would beat the owners with blow pipes and then XX will eat, are men to run away? Therefore (you) have to keep on trying how our strike can be carried on in a duly successful way (and) have to go to the villages. X X Even if fight is necessary you are not to be afraid of that, not to get frightened at that. Remember all these things. Even if notices are posted, do not be deceived by them. (They) will write one thing in the notices (and) will give another. The owners are extremely crafty persons. The fight must be carried on by systematically keeping firm. (We) have laid a siege. Are we to sit quietly now (or) to blow up the walls by laying mines? To go to the villages is the first mine. The owners will then be convinced that the mills will not work for four months. Then (they) will have to go to the High Court with cocoanut shell in hand. We are not sorry. Why should we be sorry if the wives and children of those who have tried to spoil our worldly life, die tomorrow of Cholera? We shall not feel the least sorrow. We shall enter their mills, we shall appoint managers, officials, from among us workers, we shall manufacture cloth, shall sell it, shall bring its money, shall give it to all the workers. We shall do (all this) in a duly successful manner. There is no necessity for the owners. Therefore going to the villages try to make this movement successful. Begin to pack (your) bundle. The owners will get frightened out of their wits. With these words I take your leave" (Applause)

Sd. R. M. Deobhankar,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1724 M. T.

Full translation of a speech delivered by Mr. Mirajkar at a meeting of the mill-hands held at Chikhal wadi, Tardeo, Bombay on the 4th September 1928.

Mirajkar said:—

“I am going to tell you who a patriot is. A patriot means one wearing a *Khaddar* cap. This patriot indulges in talk-tall-talk about Swaraj about independence. They say that they are all fighting on behalf the of country. But you have got the experience during the last five months how they fight on behalf of the country. You have seen that these patriots whether he be (Mr.) Gandhi or any one else, not even one of them has so far interested himself in the struggle of the workmen. You should remember that not even one patriot the son of a mother (the word *Mayechaput* in the original appears to have been used only to bring stress to the sentence) has come forward to discharge his duty of helping the workmen because they starve, because they are fighting with the owners, because the workmen should be helped, because they are men from their country, because they die of hunger. The other day I met one of these patriots. He told me that this quarrel between the workmen and the owners was a private quarrel (lit: quarrel in our house), that is a quarrel between one family and another. There should be no quarrel in the family. We say we admit (it). We never quarrel in the family, we do not wish (to quarrel). But at the same time (lit: along with that) we say ‘Oh, Mr. (lit: Saheb) patriot’—if a leader begins to say—“We shall eat three of the four breads prepared by mother and that the persons in the family should remain starving eating half a piece of bread of (the remaining) one bread”—if he begins to say so the persons in that family will not remain without quarreling. This is also a family in the same way. The owners are persons in our country. You are persons in our country. The country is a big family, so there should be no quarrel in the family. In this family we one (group) of persons will place three and a half breads out of four in our throat (and) will be (lit remain) fat. They do not require three breads and a half. Is it necessary for one (Mr.) Sasoon to keep crores of rupees in his pocket for himself alone? Similarly it is not necessary to keep three breads and a half for one man belonging to a family out of the four breads that might be prepared. All persons have partaken (lit. eaten) of them. But in this case there are only a handful of owners and lakhs of workmen. These workmen are to create thousands and crores of rupees, a handful of men are to keep them in their pockets, to keep all the

means of production (lit wealth) etc. in their pockets on their (of the rupees) strength and to compel you all to starve. Such is the nature of this family. The patriot then remained silent. I told him that these persons in the family were only a handful. A cart load of earth will be saved (lit: will be required less) if the owners, the persons who are trying to turn us into slaves are thrown into the sea at the place where the work of reclamation (lit. filling up) of the sea is going on and where earth is poured. The workmen will do that work. The patriots who are of this sort are going to attain Swaraj for the country. The meaning of (their) Swaraj is that authority will remain in the hands of white men; (only) in place of the present white Governor a person of the merchant community having a big belly will be a Governor. The authority which rests to day in the hands of a white (immature) boy will come in the hands of a black (immature) boy. This movement for Swaraj is intended to get the authority of quickly squeezing the people (i. e.) the poor masses in one's own hands. We do not want such Swaraj. If we want we want such a Government as will provide for our livelihood, as will provide for the education of our children, as will enable us to buy good garments for our women, as will enable us to give them ornaments, on the whole that our living—the living of these poor people should be as comfortable as possible. And we say—the workmen say that that Government can be established only at the time when all the people who are workmen and peasants will gather together, unite and wrest all power from the hands of two per cent of the people, till that time the owners will become more villainous than at present. All (men) have become ready to twist our heads and to drink our blood and as regards them we have no other course open but to throw them in the pit at Mahalakshmi, to pour earth on them and to tell them to sleep. When they go to sleep the question of our livelihood will be solved in all respects. In order to do this we have to prepare ourselves. Our present strike, this strike, is the preliminary preparation of the big struggle (lit fight) for bread. *You may be saying that* you are no doubt on strike because your wages have been cut down but going further I say that our workmen's movement (is not meant) only to sleep when the cut effected in wages is restored. You will get back your wages that have been cut off, but if you begin to go back to (your) work it will be all right for the time being but what will happen again? When you get more wages (on the one hand) the price of grains the price of corn will rise on the other. It is the business of Capitalism to give on one side and to take it away from the other. It will remain permanent. We shall not be happy on account of it. What should we do for it? The struggle of other workmen in the world, the great struggle going on there to checkmate capitalism (lit ownerism), to entomb imperialism, to establish the rule of the workmen, to bring the power in the hands

of the workmen, to impart education to the workmen, to impart education to the peasants and in this manner to establish *all the power of the workmen and the peasants all over the world.

*Appear to be redundant. The preliminary preparation of that struggle is being carried on in our country the indication (lit.

sign) of which is the present strike of mill-hands and that of railway men. You should remember that these strikes (indicate) the preliminary preparation of a big fight.

In the case of our strike I do not so far think that there is any thing hopeful that is that an agreement will be reached at once. I shall tell only the facts to the workmen as they are. There are men who tell them "Wait, the agreement will be reached within eight days within two (or) three days". Then you will for the time begin to hope that never mind though you have been disappointed we do not feel disappointment because all must be informed about the true state of things. If it is before our eyes we can consider it. When a person in a family has to repay his debts the (whole) account is written down. When it is placed before his eyes what his debts are) what his income is, he understands what he can return every month. Similarly when it is placed before your eyes what the general situation of your strike or struggle is, you will know how to make your way out of it. I, therefore, tell you that I do not think that an agreement can be reached at once and for this reason I am telling, wherever meetings are held, since the last eight days, that you should take the path (leading to) your villages. There is no doubt that you will have to hold out for some days. Only if you have to go (to your work) on half bread there is no objection-I have no objection for it personally. Some persons told me that (Mr.) Mayekar says that he has caught two to three hundred persons. Those persons are ready to go to work on half bread. If men are ready to go to work whether I come there or whether (Mr.) 'Alve' comes there, who can hinder them? You are your own masters. We have no objection (lit. We do not say no.) if you want to get your already poverty stricken condition made still worse by resuming your work on half bread. But if you do not wish to go back (to your work) on those wages if you do not want to accept the conditions laid down by the owners you must continue your strike. In order that the strike may be continued there is the only way of taking the path of one's own village. I, therefore, tell you to prepare yourself to go to your village at once as soon as the steamers begin to ply if you intend to fight with the owners by continuing the strike to the last, if you intend to compel the owners to accept your terms and if you are firmly determined to do so. If you have to break the strike go to work on the terms that the owners will dictate (lit. tell) to you, for as many working hours as they will dictate (and) accepting the terms with which they would load you, there is no other course

except that. Either the strike should be continued or it should be broken, and taking into consideration the zeal of the workmen and eliciting their opinions by placing all the real circumstances before them wherever meetings are held, it appears that the workmen will not go to work accepting the terms laid down by the owners and consenting to the wages dictated (lit, told) by the owners. Now the question remains regarding the other course of continuing the strike. In order to solve it I tell you that you should continue the strike. In order that you should be of help, you prepare yourself to go to your villages. I have nothing particular to tell you after that. The Strike Committee has appointed a Committee to bring about an agreement. The Settlement Committee of the Strike-Committee has drafted a new scheme similar to the scheme regarding wages prepared by the owners, comprising what wages are demanded by the work men, what rates are required by them. It will now be printed and placed before the owners. Then, I hear, that our Mayor (lit. President of the town) Dr Deshmukh and the owners are going to hold a meeting. Whether that meeting takes place or not I (put) only one question to you-before the workmen that we waited for the last five months thinking that an agreement will be reached, an agreement will be arrived at. We cannot hereafter wait in this manner in the city of Bombay. Either an agreement should be arrived at and the strike broken within eight or ten days or the whole of Bombay should be vacated and the owners or the people should think, should be convinced that the strike was no more wanted. *If we convince them that the strike will not fail to prolong (lit: hang on) for four months and the lakh and a half of the workmen in Bombay must be ready to-day to convince them about it*.

.....
The sentence appears to be incomplete.

We should assess the opinion of the different workmen in every meeting. Their opinion is that the scheme drafted by the owners is not acceptable to them. Such is the opinion of the workmen and as it is the opinion of the workmen its another meaning is to continue the strike. For that purpose put into practice the suggestion of going to your villages made by us and which was made known to the workmen this morning. Last week a meeting of the women that are on strike was held at the Damodar Thakersey Hall. A new intelligent faculty has awakened (lit: has been created) amongst women. We merely told them that the women that are on strike should gather together for a meeting. As soon as it was told (to them) four or five hundred women had gathered together in the morning at the Thakersey Hall. We explained the situation of the strike to them. If we are defeated in the strike the owners will fill up the ditch of our worldly life, when we explained it to the women they correctly understood the matter. If anyone is to bear more responsibility of our worldly life—of the

worldly life of the workmen it is upon the life of our women. The responsibility of the household management of the money which the husbands earn, the money which the father earns, the money which the brother earns falls upon the women. When the whole situation of the strike was explained to women they said, "Never mind, continue the strike for some days more. Let us fight out this strike successfully." Even the women have told us, "Let us defeat the conditions that the wages of the workmen will be cut down that the workmen should go on (work) on lower wages, laid down by the owners, with the help of this strike." To-day a lakh and a half of the male workmen in Bombay have not joined the strike, the women have joined it. The women have begun to tell us. "Let us also fight in this manner if the owners are trying in this manner to compel us to submit holding grass in our teeth". Let all of us fight forming the wall of our chests so that the owners will be compelled to accept our terms. The strike is to be fought out properly for some days. This is the way to it. Follow this path. I have to tell you, "Do not be deceived in this struggle, do not be defeated in this struggle and in order that you may not be defeated in this (in order that) your rights may be protected, (in order that) the dodge of the owners to strike the spade at your wages may not succeed, the strike must be fought out for some days more. This is the way. If you have to follow this path, it is my advice to you that you should start for your villages. You will not fail to succeed if you will bring this into practice." I take your leave with these words. In conclusion while taking your leave I tell you one thing. This evening there is a meeting in the Congress House. You go to that meeting that is all of you should go. You should take part in that meeting also. In that meeting it is to be shown how much we, workmen, are against the law which the Government has decided upon passing (lit: to make) in order to defeat our movement. All workmen would attend that meeting in order to show that, in order to express our opposition to that law. I take your leave with these words".

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1725 M. T.

Place:—Dinshaw Petit Mills, Lal Baug, Bombay.

Dated the 10th September, 1928.

Mr. Bradley's speech:

Mr. Bradley delivered his speech in English. Mr. Mirajkar translated it into Marathi. It is as follows:—

“ This Mayekar Saheb took hundred persons with him and went to the bungalow of Deshmukh Saheb. (And) began to tell Deshmukh Saheb these men will follow me (Lit: are with me) I will (certainly) break the strike to-morrow. Go to work, go undauntedly. In order to do so, Mayekar should have been in some position of authority or other. What authority Mayekar has got that he should ask us to break the strike. Is Mr. Mayekar prepared to guarantee that our demands will be granted? The owners are trying to foist upon us the new scheme that, they have prepared and our friend Dange Saheb of our Strike Committee had told the owners that (we) would consider about settling the strike if this scheme is accompanied with some increase in wages. Then the owners thought that Mr. Mayekar will now be able to cause some confusion and able to break the strike. But where is the support of men at the back of Mr. Mayekar? This has been proved just this morning. Mr. Mayekar cannot break the strike. We people are not willing to settle the strike, because the scheme prepared by the owners can never be acceptable to us. If we break the strike according to what Mr. Mayekar says, that scheme will be foisted upon us (Lit: upon our heads) and our wages will be cut down. In the light of this knowledge (lit: when you know this) are you ready to settle the strike? This is the question before you. (No. No). Mr. Mayekar says that we people further prolong the strike and that he himself is ready to break it within three days. That Mr. Mayekar is ready to break the strike within three days after it gets broken means that the terms of the owners will be foisted upon you. To get the terms of the owners foisted upon us means to get our wages reduced. Therefore the meaning of what Mr. Mayekar says about breaking the strike in three days is that Mr. Mayekar is making an attempt to foist the terms of the owners on the workmen. Then the question before you is whether you are ready to go to work getting the terms of the owners foisted upon you. (No.) If it is not so it is quite false to say that we conduct the strike, we carry the strike forward and forward. Mr. Mayekar had no connection in any way with the strikes during the last five months. From the beginning he tried his best

to break the strike and now when the opportunity has again presented itself he has been trying more and more (to do so). Therefore we workmen should inform the owners, and inform Mr. Mayekar that we are not ready to settle the strike and to get the terms of the owners foisted upon us. We are ready to call off (lit: to stop) the strike at this minute if you are ready to grant us our demands, if you are ready to grant us our demands which you may consider proper. Mr. Mayekar (says that he will break the strike) in three days. He magnanimously says that the terms of the owners should be accepted by us (and) that you should not speak about your terms. Therefore you should remember that to break the strike in three days means to get the terms of the owners foisted upon (us). Now another dodge of our enemies is to make the attempt (to see) how these meetings of ours will be broken. This morning this thing took place. It is at the bottom of it that the unity which we all preserve on account of the meetings is to be broken by dispersing our meetings. I tell you that this morning Mr. Mayekar was certainly helped by the Police. He had come on their behalf. If we had not allowed Mayekar Saheb to speak there in the morning the Police would have at once given the order that the meeting should not be carried on by us and for that reason I allowed him to speak at the very beginning. If Mr. Mayekar had been an honest person he would have placed before you what he had to speak, what charges were made on him and would have answered them, and the meeting would have gone in a systematic manner. A person who has no hand (in a matter) should have acted in such a way but as Mr. Mayekar is not an honest person, as he had come to the meeting with the object of breaking it he began to create trouble from the beginning and the object in doing this was that our meetings should be broken, that the Police should get an opportunity of interfering with our meetings and the Police may try to stop our meetings to-morrow morning on the pretext that perhaps in this part there may be some disturbance. We can keep up our unity on account of these meetings. The owners, the Police and our enemies have learnt it for certain that the strike continued up till now on account of the meetings and therefore our enemies have been making the attempt of breaking our meetings. We should therefore keep our unity intact. And we must try (to see) that our meetings will not be broken. Now therefore we should arrange one thing in the matter of our meetings. (And) that is when our meetings are held in an open place our volunteers should be made to stand on (all) the sides of the meetings and if such a person tries to enter he should not be allowed to do so. In conclusion I have to suggest you one thing that we should keep our unity intact and what Mr. Mayekar asks you to do that we will break the strike in

three days, I have to tell you the meaning of it, it means this that the terms of the owners are to be accepted by us and that we are to go to work giving up the struggle that we fought for five months (and) accepting the terms of the owners. Therefore in that matter we should arrive at a firm decision in our minds, we should be determined and we should continue our struggle making our minds that the terms of the owners will not be accepted by us. I have to tell you that you should do this. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1726 M. (1) T.

Place Naigaun Spring Mills, Bombay.

Dated 11th September 1928.

Mr. Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, I have always been telling you that our grain distribution work is like the tail of Maruti. You have got experience of that. We had no money to distribute grain this Wednesday and we were exceedingly anxious as to what to do. We were thinking what grain dealer to pounce upon. There are our workers in Russia who properly understand our fight. There was a time for them when they also had to fight in this manner against their owners, against their ruler, against those who brought difficulties on them. They fought at that time. They had to suffer much. Having an adequate idea of those sufferings, knowing what is meant by sufferings, they have sent this ammunition in order to give us immediate help in our fight that is going on. Remember that on the strength of this ammunition, with the help of this ammunition we shall fight till we inflict defeat upon the owners. (Applause). The owners were under the impression that—and their friends are hovering, the big bellied owner once saw Mr. Alwe—they were thinking that money has now been exhausted, there was no grain for distribution on Wednesday (and) that, when grain was not distributed on

Wednesday and men came (into the mills) on Thursday, they (owners) would cut their necks and would establish a state of things like that in the Pandra slaughter house. But with the arrival of fifteen thousand rupees today, it has been proved that the workers' movement cannot but completely vanquish the owners now. This money had come to Bombay fifteen to twenty days back to Jhabwala Saheb. I think that correspondence must have taken place between the Government and the bank, with respect to this money. Government wishing that this money should not come to our help, is a Government depending upon (lit living upon) the life of capitalism. As Government knows that it too will receive a good slap if we succeed in this fight, it is possibly the dodge of the Government not to allow us to get the munitions that may come to our help. The *Times (of India)* is a myrmidon of the Government. When twenty-two thousand rupees came to us from Russia, it has raised an out-cry that money is being brought from Russia, the money of rebels, the money of red men—they call the people there in Russia as red men—that the money of these actual rebels is going to be used in India for purposes of rebellion. Now there is this Shivrao of Madras. I tell him that fifteen thousand rupees have come. *Make *Shimga**

*To make noise by bawling and at the same time striking the back of the hand against the mouth. This is expressive of distress. with both hands. There is a European lady by name Besant. She talks (idly) of giving Swaraj to India, etc. Strikes of poor men take place all over India. This *old *woman indulges in luxury, goes about in motor cars. Can she secure Swaraj for India? Shivrao is an underling of that woman.

The Marathi word used here for 'old woman' indicates contempt. (He) raised an out cry, when we got twenty-two thousand rupees. He is a workers' leader. The workers are starving. He came in a motor car and indulges in luxury. The other day when a meeting was held, this gentleman, this leader from Madras, sat near the big mill-owner, this Morarji Gokuldas. You have correctly recognised how the leaders are. And this help that we have received from Russia (has been sent) by those our workmen in our Russia who have established the workers' Raj in Russia and are carrying on a movement to establish such a Raj over the world, who are carrying on the movement for the establishment of the workers' Raj after throwing all capitalists into the sea and capturing their mills. (Applause). Those workers sent us in time rupees fifteen thousand for which we all must thank them with a round of applause. We have received this help. On the strength of this help, we shall continue our fight to the end. No sooner this help is about to come to an end than, up till about the 15th, help to the extent of rupees thirty thousand will not fail to come. The workers in Russia have their (own) Raj. Russia is such a country that their country comprises the whole of one-fifth portion of the world. The country, biggest of all, is in the hands of the workers. The workers that are there are

our friends, are our bretheren. They have properly understood our difficulties. Therefore help will be received even if our strike is not settled till these fifteen thousand rupees are exhausted. When help comes again, we shall continue the fight. We shall continue to the end. (we) shall not allow this game begun by our owners to reduce our wages. By winning the strike, (we) shall prove that we workers shall not allow your ownerism to prevail. (We) shall not fail to ruin (lit. to sink) it, just as the workers in the weaving department, in the 'bhuler' department are ruined (lit. sunk). (Applause). You take a firm stand. There are men like Mayekar telling (the men) to break the strike in three days. What is the meaning of that? How will you end the strike in three days? I say that I shall end the strike in one day. (If) you accept the terms of the owners tomorrow and go to work it means that the strike has ended. I shall end the strike in two days. When you accept those terms that the owners want to foist upon you, the wages that they want to reduce, the rules that they have prepared, it means that the strike has ended. But if you want adequate wages and do not want the new rules of the owners, the strike will not be settled within three days. There are then two things before you. One is to end the strike in two days by accepting the owner's conditions, otherwise you are to duly continue your strike, your fight, no matter how many days it takes, in order to throw away the conditions of the owners, in order to make a bonfire of them, in order to make *Shimga of them. Only these two things are before us. In the meetings of the workers that are held, the resolve has been declared by the workers that they are not prepared to end the strike by accepting the owners' conditions. This means that (though) Mayekar says that (he) will settle the strike in three days, the strike will not be settled. Remember this. There is now one way before us, that is to continue the fight. The little ammunition we needed in order to continue that fight that ammunition, this machine-gun has come before us. This ammunition is to be hurled against the owners and the owner is to be wearied out by the attack so that in the end he will run away from the fight. This one must adopt. Many of those people who can go to villages, are going to villages. And the arrangement for feeding those who cannot go to villages (but) will stay in Bombay, will be made some way or the other. But those however for whom it is possible to go to the villages should not stay in Bombay after this. The way that (they) should return to the villages has opened. Then yesterday a fun like this happened. I met a gentleman in Girgaon, who was saying that the other day there was a railway strike, the people in which created disorder which caused great loss. (He) was saying things like this (lit etc etc) I told him that those (men) merely created a commotion. What, did (they) overturn a train? It was a mistake that (they) did not break all

This also means bonfire on occasion of the holi.

trains (and) did not simultaneously kill all managers, 'Sahebs owners. Because on this railway, men are in such a bad condition that (they get) five to six rupees as monthly wages (while) the pay of their manager is rupees two, three, four thousand. If now all the workers had united, had cut down and ate up that manager, what mistake would they have committed. Not the least mistake would have been committed. When (I) told so, that (gentleman) got frightened and ran away. These workers are under an extremely serious, tremendous sorrow. This has become so unbearable that after this these men shall not fail to avenge it. The reason why we workers in Bombay, conduct the strike peacefully, is that the time has not come for the second onslaught, the attack which we have to make. When that (time) comes, we shall occupy all the places of vantage in Bombay. The Police that are in this Bombay, all those policemen, will become our policemen. The soldiers in Bombay will become our soldiers. They are related to us as paternal (or) maternal uncles. They also do not get adequate wages. Those men are such. The white people who come from England (get) two (to) three hundred rupees as pay, while the yellow turbaned (Bombay police) men get rupees fifteen to twenty as pay. Knowing this, those men will come immediately to our side (and) will not fail to fight along with us, with the government (and) with the capitalists. That time is a little distant. We have therefore kept peace in Bombay and are fighting. But Government should remember that when time comes we shall not fail to fight out. The reason why we keep peace is that our work which we went to do is to be merely got through systematically (and) peacefully. We keep peace for that. Therefore the only question before us is to fight with determination and the ammunition that was required for that determined fight has come. On its strength let us raise a terrible tumult of battle and fighting with the arrogant owners here, giving blows on their stomachs, tearing up their stomachs, drawing out their entrails, shall (lit: let us) give them (entrails) in their (of the owners) hands. (Applause). Therefore you people keep on struggling systematically. Remember that the strike will not be broken even by the father of meddling fellows like Mayekar and however much help the police give to Mayker, they should be asked (to remember) that the efforts they have been making during the last five and a half months, have not succeeded. Therefore the police also should remember that the workers are today fighting resolutely, unitedly, on the strength of unity and that they are not ready to tolerate the sorrows, the sufferings that will overtake the workers by breaking the strike in such

a manner. Let us fight determinately and throw the owners into the ditch of Mahalakshmi. With these words I take your leave.

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D. Poona.

P.1726 M. [2] T.

Place: Naigum, Spring Mills.

Dated: 11th September, 1928.

Nimbkar's speech:—

“ Brothers, I knew before one month that the money which reached (Mr.) Jhabwala's hands yesterday was coming. Then we had said in our meeting that we had understood that fifteen (to) twenty thousand of rupees would reach us from Russia. Thereafter our men there sent this money here and now for nearly quarter to two months to somebody had intercepted this money at Bombay. Then we have some friends of the workers' movement. *The Times of India* published last week (that) money had come to Bombay and had been given by the bank to Jhabwala Saheb. This was printed by the British paper of Bombay which cuts our necks. I had not seen Jhabwala Saheb. In our meeting held at Lal Baug, I gladly told (you) that rupees fifteen thousand had come to us. (I) saw Jhabwala Saheb at Poi Bavdi. I asked him where the money was which had come. He said that he had no information. Then there are some friends of our labour movement who began to tell the men, who began to whisper gently to the workers, that if the money had come to Joshi Saheb, it would have been got immediately, (but) as it had come to Jhabwala Saheb he had swallowed (it). We caught hold of those friends and brought them before the Strike Committee and warned them not to tell such false things. I was not going to say this thing now but (I wanted) to show how *badmash* - here is no other word for that - those are, who talk of advancing the workers' interests in our workers' movement. This money came yesterday into the hands of Jhabwala. After (it) has come into the hands of Jhabwala, we all are going to decide what

arrangements should be made about it. The second thing is that our workers say that our Strike Committee should engage the steamers for three or four days continually, in order to send our workers to Konkan. Now (when) the time will come to spend this money let us see how it is to be spent. At that time, our men will be informed of what the workers say that it is their opinion that arrangements should be made to send the people to the villages by engaging steamers for three or four days, that (same) is the opinion of Bradley Saheb, of Kasse Saheb etc. etc. (Applause). Therefore we shall think of this matter. Then, the owners' statement has been published. They say that they are not prepared to give (anything) beyond what they have stated. Since yesterday morning's meeting, I have been thinking hard (lit: cratching my head) as to how the strike is to be ended in three days. Mayekar said that (it) should be ended in three days. (I) have been thinking hard. Meanwhile it was published in evening's newspapers that the owners say that they would not say anything beyond what they had said. What the owners say is that ten thousand men will be dismissed, (and) that in the spinning and in the weaving departments, wages will be cut down by twenty per cent, thirty per cent, forty per cent, (and) that they are not prepared to give anything beyond this. The owners said so yesterday and Mayekar Saheb has given notice that (he) will end the strike within three days. I am prepared to end (it) now. The owners are cutting down the wages by twenty (to) forty per cent, (they) are dismissing ten thousand men. Now go to work and the strike will end before ten o'clock. (No, No). Then this question remains altogether aside. Mayekar is not required for that. But if the demands are to be secured, (the strike) will not be settled in three days, for that struggle will have to be carried on for many days. This is the question. My friends have spoken, I have not to speak more. Then, Deshmukh Saheb has made another suggestion in today's paper. Deshmukh Saheb and Mayekar Saheb consult (lit: whisper to) one another. I shall tell what his suggestion is. Deshmukh Saheb has to say that your demands, the owners' scheme, all these, should be entrusted to a Committee and that in the meanwhile the pre-strike wages of March 1928 should be given to the workers and that after making a list of those mills in which wages have been cut down, a ten per cent increase should be given over them (cut wages). We do not give our opinion in this matter. We shall say what we have to say in the matter when Deshmukh Saheb, the owners and we, all sit together. Therefore I do not speak more today at this time. It is late now. Two or three things were to be spoken after holding the meeting of our Strike Committee. All this was to be shown to you, how what the workers say is perverted (lit: made different), how true things are made to

appear false and how our own friends do (like this). And seeing our friends sitting here was impelled (lit: got sudden desire to) speak and therefore I have spoken before you. Now I do not speak more."

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1726-M. (3) T.

Place: Naigaun, Spring Mills, Bombay.

Dated: 11th September 1928.

Alwe's speech.

Alwe said:—

"I have heard (a rumour) that Bradley is an agent of Lancashire. He is not an agent of Lancashire. He is a Communist, therefore Government has enacted a Bill to arrest him. All these rumours are false. The workers ought to give him a reward for doing their work. Do not give it like this. Do not blame him. He a man from England is bearing sufferings here among the workers. Do not give him a bad reward at the time of going. The wicked persons from among us, the spies of the police do (lit. are to do) such things. (They) might be the clerks in the mills, might be the jobbers, head jobbers that go to work. Therefore make them understand. He is not a spy not an agent. He wishes that you should get adequate wages by conducting your movement. For that wish he has fought up till now, has explained his objects, do not blame him without cause. If all the workers thank him through the Strike Committee, it will be a matter of joy to him. But every worker should take out a pice each from his pocket and should as a matter of duty congratulate him with a banquet as far as we can (lit. by placing round his neck a flower-petal if not a flower). He is not afraid because the Government is going to arrest him. But I request that in exchange for the service (he) has rendered to us, he should not be blamed (but) should be honoured. (Applause). The secret spies of the owners have begun to

come to me, therefore I have begun to make secret plots. They have begun to come to me (lit. to my ear), because they might have formed the impression that (while) Nimbkar is free of tongue, Dange is obstinate (lit. does not hear), Mirajkar talks anything just like the Punjab Mail, if there is any good man that is Alwe who will be won over if offered temptation. I talk with them therefore do not form a misconception like this. Do I gain anything for myself? My gain is your gain. Do not mention the name of Mayekar. This thing is improper. It is giving (undue) importance to a person. If you keep on saying "Mayekar, Mayekar," he will be like a tiger to you. If we begin to say that Mayekar does this, does that, Mayekar will tomorrow become like a Brahma Rakshas (the ghost of a Brahman) and the mind of everyone will receive a shock. Mayekar is a human being. (He) is a clerk. He is a store-keeper in the Colaba Mill. He has nothing to do with the strike. He is wrong if anyone thinks that he rendered service in 1925. He was with me in 1925. The strike was going on for a quarter to three months. During that strike, he attended work for the full number of months. How can a man who goes out at seven and returns at nine conduct a strike? Did he conduct the *Kamgar* paper? He nominally conducted it, others wrote (in it). I am the man who clearly carried on the agitation, say in the year 1925, say in the year 1921, say in the year 1928, I (who) am standing before you. He is not our man. Therefore, O people, you will only labour further under this misapprehension. Mayekar's name has to be mentioned because he came in our meeting. (I) shall tell you this (lit. thing) that an enemy cannot be ignored (lit. left) because he is small. A serpent (or) fire even if small, kills. Instead of ignoring it as small, it must be punished. When strike took place in 1925, he did not do (any) work in it, but did the work of breaking (it). The thing that he did yesterday, was not done by him. But there is some plot at its bottom. I say this because (lit. this saying is so that) if anyone comes in a meeting with a penknife and begins to attack, the Police will arrest him. But I have heard that Mayekar came in yesterday's meeting with some persons, with the intention of causing confusion. If *Maramari* was caused your leaders were to be imprisoned for beating him and the second thing to be done is that meetings are to be prohibited. That is because - it will be alleged—you make *Maramari*. Such noise was to be created that Mayekar was beaten. This was a dodge to remove the leaders. The reason why this dodge has been frustrated is that you were peaceful. One Mayekar could not outmatch two (to) three thousand persons. This was some dodge in the middle either of the Police or of the owners. The object was to break the strike by creating disorder, by bringing him intentionally, that was frustrated.

Where the deity in the form of the populace is behind your back, God will be your champion. It has been said in religious books (lit. religion) that success is not got without difficulties. You will have to bear much suffering in this strike but workers will succeed in the end. The owners have begun to get frightened. When you begin going by steamers, the owners themselves will see that the strike does not break. When the mills (lit. factories) remain closed for four months, (they) will understand what fun takes place. We shall come into these mills when our demands are granted. We are starving. But why we made this strike was because we are poor. It is not our desire to become beggars like that. But the owners began to exhibit egotism. They called us Bambus. Now these bambus have become powerful. (They) have begun to hit the head of every owner, which is becoming unbearable. The wish has arisen in their mind 'to give' (your demands). But if (you) are told that this desire has arisen you will stay here with hope. We must empty this city of Bombay for a few days in order to see these funs, in order to enfeeble the owners. Only yesterday in the jobbers' meeting, I asked them to help the weavers. Up till now there was much money with the jobbers, head jobbers. Those people have not become perturbed because of the four months' strike. I requested (them) that (they) should help those men, their brethren, should send them to the villages. They agreed to that. If all of you remain on the hope of the Strike Committee, money will not suffice. If everyone begins to go to (his) village, it means an expenditure of five to ten rupees. There is not sufficient money for that. Therefore four or five steamers will be arranged for four days to leave (Bombay) for you, for the men from the Konkan. We shall fight for that in the committee. But you did not remain placing reliance on the committee. Arrangements will have to be made for feeding the people staying here. Therefore making all possible effort at home return to (your) villages. With these words I take your leave."

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona,

P. 1726 W. (4) T.

Place: Naigaun Spring Mills, Bombay.

Dated 11th September 1928

Kasle's speech:—

Kasle said:—

“Brothers, (it) is a matter for great regret. Which is that? Leaders have spoken. When will the leaders of the workers come forward. When will men from among (lit. of) the workers, labourers will learn to speak here? You must devote greater attention to what they say. We must be intent upon when we shall learn to speak. When one or two leaders go out addressing (the meeting) five hundred men go out. If at some time no leader from among us comes here, if we go to jail, if some (of us) get hanged, if (we) are transported, will you do just like this? Will you do just like this to-morrow in Bombay? The rascality shown by a mean man like Mayekar yesterday, the mean attempt to break the meeting made yesterday by a mean man like Power Saheb, (who) told us to stop the meeting though it was going on lawfully (lit. constitutionally)—are you going to show in future the same effeminacy to that Superintendent who exhibited this meanness, this baseness? On *men*, remember that the workers' *Raj* must be established, power must belong to the workers, the Government must be of the workers, the police must be of the workers, why then do you remain effeminates like this? Be *men*. Do you hesitate to speak, being afraid of these policemen, this Superintendent, this Commissioner? Place your foot on their chests. While it is the duty of every labourer to secure their (of the labourers) *Raj*, to establish their power why do you remain behind like effeminate person? You do not give encouragement to the workers when speaking. When the leaders leave after speaking, you go away. How then will it be possible for you to secure such a *Raj*? Remember that power will come into your hands only when every worker will begin to speak, when he will get strength, when he will get virility. Brothers, now (about) yesterday's event. When Mayekar was saying that he would settle the strike within three days, I said humorously: Remember how much his rascality must be in saying that he would settle the strike in three days when the strike is not settled though this man made so many efforts for five months? Therefore these police have, in the middle, made some confusion by falsely accusing the leaders. They may be intending to do some harm (lit. something) to us, leaders. This was the dodge of the police. I clearly say (to you) that you should (begin to) go to your villages (lit. country) from tomorrow (and)

should not fall a prey to the rascally conduct of these police, the wicked acts of this capitalism. Do not lag behind. From tomorrow you go to the steamers, to the villages (lit. country) thinking that the mills had caught fire, that the mills had crumbled to the ground, that capitalism was dead, that the Government disappeared. Do not come back. Consider that the mills have been burnt, have been destroyed. I fully hope that all our countrymen will from tomorrow go from here to (their) villages with the resolve not to return. With these words, I finish my speech."

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1727 M. T.

Place: Nagusayaji's Wadi.

Dated: 13th September 1928.

Kasle's speech.

Kasle said:—

"Brothers, the uplift of the country will be achieved very early if some worker brethren from among us workers, learn to speak. The workers constitute one caste. If (you) go to work in mills, Marathas, Brahmins, Musalman brothers, Christians, Parsees, Mahars etc. all work sitting at one place. Therefore there is no question of caste. I do not encourage the breaking of caste. Everyone's caste (should be left) at home. The caste of the workers is one while working (and) in meetings. Capitalism belongs to one caste. Be he a Bania, a Marwadi, a petit, a Sawyer, a Finlay, whoever he be, the caste of (all) is one. Even though he be a Bania, that ass will not say that ten rupees more should be paid to the workers. If he be a Brahman, he takes rupees fifteen. Therefore just as the caste of Capitalism is one, similarly the caste of the workers is one. There is no question of caste among these. Everyone should leave at home the question of caste. The God of all of us is one. The God of the workers is one. Let him be Allah, let him be Rama, let him be

(the God) of the Christians, let him be (the God) of the Parsees, let that God be anyone. That God, the God of the workers is union. I do not say that God should be thrown over (lit: broken). The God of the workers is the power of union. As your power is extraordinary, Capitalism, bureaucracy, howsoever many may come, they cannot do anything. One rascal, fool, issued a handbill, to the effect that reconciliation will be successful within ten days. What was meant by that was that people to be sent by steamers now, should not go. Our money should be exhausted. The men should raise again here outcries, which means the same tale of woe again. Not falling a victim to this dodge (you) must go to the villages as far as possible. Everyone remembers the days passed by us in suffering, in our villages, in days of adversity. *Therefore instead of falling victims to any false promises.*

..... The sentence is left incomplete.

Many people will say (we) shall do this (or) that (and) shall make the mills work. It will

be well if the Marwadis carrying on business will go out of Bombay. Everyone has given us trouble. Our unity must be preserved in order to do away with the trouble from them. Our Bradley Saheb has

*The meaning of the sentence is not clear but judging from the next sentence the reference appears to be to Bradley's speeches having to be translated for the benefit of the audience.

come here. *His is upside down and ours is the right side up. He will speak in English (lit: will make 'yes' ‡'es',). I shall not undersand his speech, therefore I am standing before you. The owners have issued anonymous handbills. They bear no name. I therefore please do not now fall victims to any of their dodges. Chowma Shet came, he asked (lit: said) what would take place in Nagusayaji's Wadi. Do not forget that though Chowna's man

‡Persons not knowing English often refer in this way to persons who talk English.

has not come here, (he) had to come in the office of our union. Those very people who did not wish to speak to us, have begun to come in our Damodar Hall (and) to say that compromise should be effected. The reason of it is that you (people) ave begun to go to villages. Mayekar's name (naturally) comes to the lip. He says that these men are starving. In the strike in 1925 he was before us. You cannot have forgotten that. I have got all papers from the year 1918. Take note of what the same man who used to say in his paper that the mill-workers would never recede, that those who have got property (lit: houses and doors) in villages would not step back, is saying to-day. He says that the people are starving that they have got nothing in the villages. Now everyone should take note of how much difference there is between this talk and his previous talk. In the issues of the *Kamgar* published during the strike in 1925, he used to say that our workers would not step back and that they have got much estate at home. The same fool, the same donkey, the rescal is saying today that our people have got nothing in their villages. He does not say that he has got nothing at his home. He has got no home, therefore he thinks that others also have no homes. Take note of how much benefactor of us poor is that man who is prepared today to break

the strike in three days. Full attention must be paid as to in which way that man will help us who is still working in the mill (and who) circulates false rumours. It is alleged that the leaders misappropriate (lit: eat) money. Up till now was there any money with our union? When Parashuram Jadhav was murdered, we had twelve annas with us. We carried out that funeral by borrowing money from others. Only that much money had come. People like (those in) the Congress, have not yet given a pice as help. The Congress has not helped. Our Nimbkar was a leader of that very Congress. (He) is a member of the union. In the end five thousand rupees have been offered because money must be given with the object of lowering others in estimation. Another thing is that the money that has come from Moscow has come because of our leaders. These men had written to Moscow (lit. there). Bradley Sahab wrote to them (lit: there) that people were suffering, therefore the money has come. How much money is there now ? The eighty thousand rupees that have come, have come from the outside. All that (amount) has come from the outside. If the accounts of that (amount) are to be seen, there are two parties among our men. One treasurer is our Bradley, the second treasurer is Joshi. If Bradley Sahab misappropriates (lit: eats money), there is Parulkar, Nimbkar and Syed Munavar, one Hindu and one Musalman. A committee has been appointed for every work so that they should not be able to move to this side or to that (i. e. should act properly). Those who want to examine our accounts should examine them and should tell (us) our mistakes. These doubts are false. If you have to ask (any) questions (lit: doubts) you have the right, every worker has the right. But do not unnecessarily destroy the strike by bringing false doubts in mind. It depends upon you whether to make the strike successful or not. If tomorrow morning, our condition becomes very difficult are you prepared to go to work? (No). Even if the mills begin to work? (Does not matter). I say that you are quite mistaken. I am ready to go to work tomorrow. (We shall not go). This is your mistake. We are dying, then what objection is there to go to the mills ? (What does it matter if we die?) The workers will never die. If anyone dies it will be Capitalism. The reason is that wherever we go, we shall dig the land (and get food. But I ask Capitalism that I would give them a pickaxe, we would take (one) and let us see whether we earn two annas for food or they (earn) for food. I say to Petit that I will take five men's

*Reference is apparently to frames in mills. *sides let him take two men's, let us see who is ready. There is a Savkar (by name) Lakshmidhar in (the drama) Rakshasi Mahatwakanksha. He wellows on this side and on that and eats doing nothing (lit: sitting). Similar is the condition of these (owners). If the mills do not work for only four months, Petit, Sawyer, Sasoon will in a short time go in liquidation. All of you should with one determination raise a very loud

cry in the midst of applause that you would not break the strike. (No) O our worker brethren, our Bradley Saheb is to be garlanded. What does Bradley Saheb want? Your strike must become successful. Within two (or) four days, this merciful Government, this *mabap* Government is going to deport Bradley Saheb (and) Spratt Saheb to England. They teach us, impart knowledge, therefore Government is feeling greater pain in the stomach (and) therefore it has got a Bill passed. Spratt and Bradley will disappear from Bombay, early then these men will break the strike and go to work. If Bradley Saheb goes to England, if Spratt Saheb goes to England, will you break the strike? (No, No). I hear that we are going to be imprisoned on the eighth (proximo), will (you) break the strike then? (No, No). But where have you got yourselves trained? You do not speak, do not act (lit: walk), do not make speeches in meetings. I tell plainly to the Government, nay to the father of Government that even if your father gets down, even if we are hanged, even if we are transported for life, still the strike of the workers will never end till the workers *Raj* is established. (Applause). The merciful Government, which has as yet no realization about us, the Government which in the war where lakhs of people were murdered called us warriors, experts with the sword, Maratha Bhais, is now drawing its weapon against us who died there vomiting so much blood, remained dying. How many owners did die (there)? How many (India) Princes wearing jewels did die (there)? But only our worker brothers have died there. Therefore it is the same to us whether that Government which has got no mercy, exists in the world or not". (Applause).

Sd/ S.S. Deshpande

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1728 M. T.

Place: Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Dated: 14th September 1928.

Bradley's speech:—

Mirajkar translated it into Marathi as follows:—

"I have to thank you for honouring me yesterday. Other persons

could not come here as they are engaged in the Municipal Corporation. But I have to thank you for the sentiments you expressed regarding me yesterday. Awakening has taken place among you regarding one thing. It is that you have also systematically begun to take your part in the struggle against capitalism which has started all over the world. This awakening has arisen among you. What gave rise to that awakening? By maintaining this strike upto-now in a very successful manner you have proved that this awakening has taken place among you. On account of it the capitalists whether they be Banias, Europeans, Indian capitalists or British (ones), all of them have begun to think that all these movements must now stop and for that purpose they are trying to get new laws passed. If these laws are passed I may perhaps return to my country. But though I return to my country (lit. native place), you should properly continue the struggle against capitalism which you have started and when you continue it, it will mean that the sentiments which you have yesterday expressed regarding me have been justified. Our struggle against the capitalists must be continued. Some people have begun to say that and among them is Joshi Saheb. The other day while speaking in the Assembly he said: The capitalists who are here, these capitalists do not make compromise with us, but when Sahebs like Bradley Saheb come, (they) will make compromise with them (Sahebs). He said this. This means that Joshi Saheb has not yet realized the secret of the movement which you are carrying on. When Joshi Saheb said (this), he had one thing in mind. It was that the big Saheb of the railway called Bradley Saheb (and) Jhabwala Saheb and discussed with them the sorrows, the grievances of the railway workers. This was the thing. For what, on the strength of what did the Sahebs in the railway, invite (these two)? Not because he was Jhabwala or Bradley Saheb but because a very big organization had taken place among the railway-men and the strength of that union was so much that the union told the Saheb that next morning they would go on strike. As soon as this was said, the Saheb got frightened (and) began negotiations with us. Therefore when we are to conduct our movement we must remember that efforts must be made to increase our strength, our Union must be made vigorous and then the owners, the capitalists can spontaneously effect a compromise. If we have not the strength, if our Union is not vigorous, they will not talk in the least the language of compromise whoever goes to them and therefore unless we increase our strength for that purpose, our ownerism will not talk to us. Remember this thing. The fight which we have carried on during the last five months, is a fight of capitalists *versus* labourers. What kind of people are we? We have got nothing and capitalists have got all strength, all money. Such a kind of struggle is this. We went on strike, when the owners attacked us, cut our wages, cut our rates. If we want to conduct our

movement hereafter it must be conducted in such a manner that we must not stop till the owners attack us. We must always be fully equipped. Our Union must be made fully vigorous. Our strength must be abundantly increased. So that whenever, no sooner than it appears that the owners are going to attack us, we shall attack the owners and shall make efforts to safeguard our interests. Therefore if anything is before us to be done after this strike is ended, it is that our Union, that is our strength, must be made fully vigorous. We have amply seen during the last five months, how much our strength is. The owners made strenuous efforts, tried to break our unity, but all those efforts have been frustrated. Therefore our labour organisation must be increased. After the strike is settled, we must have this work done. Then I have to tell you one thing. (It is that you must pay attention to those people in the strike who are conducting the strike. Take the case of myself. If now the law which Government wants to get passed, is got passed then perhaps I will be sent to my country from this country, perhaps will be sent even to jail. What a big offence I have committed for which (I) am to be sent to jail! The offence is this. Referring to what (I) taught, told you during these four or five months, the effort which I made to tell you that the workers should organize themselves, should make unity, should not swim in such a defective manner, should fight with the owners, should secure their (own) rights from the owners, the capitalists have begun to say that I have committed this offence. The capitalists are today in the Assembly as legislators. Therefore by making such laws (they) may be intending to send me either to jail or to my country. I have to say to them (the capitalists) to Sasoon Saheb, to his friends, that if (they) think that the labour movement should not increase in this country, that there should be no disturbance among the labourers, that there should be no disturbance among the peasants, then this movement cannot stop by sending one (or) two (or) a few persons to England or by sending a few persons to jail. In order to stop that agitation, the condition of the labourers that has to-day become extremely bad—such housing condition, their starvation, their low wages, their lack of education, their want of clothes, such a condition of poverty and penury must be removed and for bringing about that state of things, those owners or the rich who are foisting it upon them (labourers) must be first thrown into the sea. (Applause). Remember that if that happens then alone will the labourers' movement stop, then alone will the movement of Communism, of Bolshevism, stop, then alone will the Union movement stop for a time. When do Communism (and) Bolshevism come? This movement begins to increase only when a condition of extreme penury prevails among the workers, when workers pass days in suffering. If this movement is to be stopped, drive

out first these capitalists, owners, mill owners, factory owners. Then will this movement stop, not by imprisoning a few men. Remember this thing. (Applause). In the end I have to thank you much. When I go to England, myself, and my other friend Spratt Saheb will make efforts there, for securing help to our Indian labour movement. We shall entirely demolish the efforts of the moderate British labour leaders and shall make every effort to see that the real labour movement increases further and help is secured to-day for our Indian labourers. And I have great hope that after the strike is settled, all of you by making a very big Union, will start a big mill workers' Union in Bombay and will fight with capitalism, with ownership, with Government. Such is my hope. After asking you to begin to do this work, I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police.

C.I.D. Poona.

P. 1729 M. (1) T.

Place: Maidan behind Gokhale's Hotel.

Dated:— 16th September 1928.

MIRAJKAR'S SPEECH.

Mirajkar said:—

"Communism does not stop by deporting (lit: lifting) this Saheb or by (his) returning home. I will tell them what should be done in order to stop the worker's movement, to stop Bolshevism. A Saheb, a lame Saheb by name Victor Sassoon has compelled us to go on strike for five months (to) five and a half months. (He) was talking letting loose his tongue, (lit: lengthening his tongue very much). I tell him that communism will go on increasing (and) one day the workers will not fail to bring him to this maidan at Parel and to cut him. Remember this thing. (Applause). Because you have accumulated eighty crores of rupees by drinking the blood of our people, by wearing out the bones (and) the flesh of our people—our men have become old, these appeared one day well

(and) alive, crushing these men you have to-day drunk their blood. Whence did this Saheb Victor Sassoon bring these eighty crores of rupees? He got work from (you), made you to labour, (you) those strong young men who have come in this city of Bombay. You manufactured cloth for him. He got profit on that, which profit he kept in his pockets and thus these eighty crores came to him. Because he drank blood by cutting these our eighty crores, these eighty crores of the workers, (we) shall by way of punishment for that, hang him one day by carrying on in this country the movement of communism, of Bolshevism. Remember this thing. (Applause). The movement of communism is not going to stop by the going away of Bradley Saheb or Spratt Saheb because so long as the workers have grievances, their wages have been cut, (so long as you) continue the efforts to suck their blood by making them work for more rupees on reduced wages, this movement of communism will spread more and more among the workers. The railway workers at Madras get a monthly salary of rupees 5/. I ask this Saheb, should they not agitate? Why should they not agitate? You indulge in wanton pleasure, the mills (are) yours, (you) misappropriate (lit: eat) money. Should they not provide

*The word means holes of rats etc. in Marhatti

for the livelihood of their wives and children? Government should be told that its law, Bills, *bills, should be closed. Even if (they) are passed, we do not want (them). One day, the day on which the law will be passed, we are going to do this, (we) shall on that day bring the books of law here and taking a match-box worth a pice shall burn that law. Remember this thing: (Applause). Bradley Saheb is going. Now in the meetings that will be held during the next four to five days we shall bid (him) good-bye, and shall tell him that if he goes to England, he should give the message that we workers in India have to-day awakened, to the other workers that are there, (and) the workers that are in Russia, the workers who sent us nearly rupees eighty to ninety thousand as help, the workers who helped us by sending fund in order that we should not starve in this strike. And send the message that we are going to beat soundly (lit: to stop after beating) with the lashes of a whip the buttocks of that Imperialistic Government and the owners who are to-day engaged in boisterous frolics. (Applause). They should be told that they should in their country conduct the movement in the same way and should cut down their owners, their rulers, their big lords, and that we shall properly cause the capitalists, the people in our country, to decamp, (and) in such a manner (we) shall unfurl over the world the Red Flag of the *Raj* of all the workers. Let (us) give this message. (Applause). I tell you that during the last five months you have understood what is Communism. If there has been any gain during the strike of five months it is that

the workers (have come to know) what their rights are, how the Capitalists suck our blood like leeches. Once a leech takes hold it does not give up till it fully swells up. Similarly the Capitalists, once they take hold of our necks, do not stop till they drink our blood. They are leeches. Capitalists are serpents. During this strike this resolution has been made that (we) shall not allow this serpent, this leech to swell upon our blood. In this manner let us continue our fight. I feel that some new way will be found out. Because do not believe in that compromise or in any other thing. We must keep our resolve, (follow) our way of maintaining the strike by going to villages, to weaken the owners (and), whatever happens, not to stop till our opponents are vanquished (lit: till their back is made to touch the red *earth), now that we are (lit: have got down) into the battle-field for five months and a half, (and now that) we have wrestled to the best of our power. (Applause). Do all the things required in order to carry out that (resolve). From Wednesday, Thursday, arrangement will be made for our steamers to start from the harbour of Bombay. Arrangement has been made to give tickets of rupees two and a half for those who may be in need of money. Those who cannot afford to pay Rs 2½ will be provided with passes through our office on behalf of the Strike Committee after making enquiries. On showing those passes you will get tickets, taking which you should go to your villages. In the villages also conduct the movement in this manner. The three lakhs of handbills that have been given should be shown to the *Ryotkars*, to the *Kisans*. X and in this manner make our struggle successful. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd/. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1729-M [1a] T.

Place: Maidan behind Gokhle's Hotel.

Dated: 16th September 1928.

MIRAJKAR'S SPEECH.

Mirajkar said:—

"I have got a hand-bill in my hand. It has been issued by

Ramsingh, Dongarsingh, the manager of the Morarji Gokaldas Mill. He says to you in the hand-bill that those working in his mill are saying that the mill should be opened. He is falling at their feet, none has gone (to him), none has come (from him). These are efforts for causing a breach (among the workers). He has said that if anyone has to go to work in the mill he should give his name by going to X. He should remember that the men are not simpletons. He is asking (us) to come to him on those very conditions about which to-day strifes are going on, *maramaris* are going on, (and) which conditions we are asking growlingly the owners to throw away as soon as we see them in front, about which *maramaris* are going on. (Laughter). There is not much difference, if one rupee is got, we will give you twelve annas. On this condition, on the condition of the owners, this Dongar Singh asks us to register (our) names I have to tell you that not only one but hundreds of such hand-bills will be issued. Ample dissention exists (now) among the owners. A condition of confusion (lit: they have not got their shoes on) has arisen among them. Every owner will try to deceive the workers by telling some inconsistent lies of one kind or the other. Such hand-bills mean prosperity to the press owners. They will get so much work that it cannot be described. Do not believe in the hand-bills that will come out. Keep firm your previous resolve. With these words I conclude the proceedings of to-day's meeting. There is no meeting to-morrow."

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1729-M. (2)-T.

Dated 16th September.

Bradley spoke in English and Mirajkar translated it (P. 1729 (1)) into Marathi as under:—

" Brother workers, I think from the few meetings of the owners and our men that are taking place here (and) there, at this place (and) at that place, that this strike will end in (lit. in the

direction of) a compromise. It is my wish to-day that this strike should come to an end before I go away. For, the owners have been so much abusing me that it cannot be described. In the first place they said that I am an agent of the owners in the Manchester mills. Secondly (they said) that (I) was an agent of our Russian workers of Moscow. Thirdly (they said) that I carry on business in the Share Bazar taking advantage of the strike. Thus, in this manner the owners have circulated false rumours (lit. things) about me and if the strike ends after I go away tomorrow, after four (or) five days the owners will again say: See, so long as Bradley Saheb was (there) the strike did not end, it came to end as soon as Bradley Saheb went away, therefore Bradley Saheb was carrying on the strike. But remember that all this is a crafty device of the owners that is going on, against us. The owners in every country—not merely the black owners in India, the big bellied Bania owners, but the owners in Britain, the owners in other countries (also)—make efforts in this manner against labour leaders, and carry on agitation against labour leaders. Therefore we should not keep trust on this agitation of theirs. At least this much is true that I wish that the strike should come to an early end.

*..... *The mill owners are spending a great deal of money on spreading leaflets but you have not to take notice of it etc.*
In English in the original.

money on spreading leaflets but you have not to take notice of it etc.* Now handbills are of late being distributed among you and attempts are being made to create some confusion, to cause dissensions among you. I have to tell you. Suppose there is a ship at sea. When that ship is caught in a storm and the wharf comes near (then) while going near it, it has to be taken carefully to touch the wharf. Similarly while quite near the wharf, you should carefully (lit. systematically) hold on. And this is such an occasion that if you maintain (the strike) a settlement of it will be brought about in a few days by the Strike Committee. Therefore do not take into consideration these handbills that are distributed. For that is an attempt being done at the hands of the owners, to cause a breach in the strike. One other thing I have to tell you is this that you should not sit quiet when our strike is settled. After the strike is settled, form a big Union of mill-workers comprising one lakh and a half of men. I came to India from England with the object of making the workers realize the importance of unity, of union and in order that the people in India, the railway workers, the mill-workers, the dock-workers should organize themselves just as Unions of lakhs of men have been formed in our country (England). I came to tell this. You have come to know from the strike of five months, how much strength lies in organization and as this strength has begun to strike against the chest of the owners, the owners and their friend the Government are today saying that Bradley Saheb is not wanted and therefore they are going to send

me to England. I have to request you that instead of keeping quiet after the strike is settled, learn the

^{*Incantation.}

^{*Mantra of unity—}which it was my task to teach after awakening the Indian workers—organise Unions, increase strength and then the owners (and) the Government will understand how much your strength is and my coming to India from five thousand miles will have been of use. Therefore as soon as the strike is settled make your union vigorous (Applause). Then Government is ready with a new law in order to remove the thorn of this our movement. This our union is not a club for drinking tea. (It) is not a hotel where one can go, pay money (lit. subscription) drink a cup of tea (and) leave. Our Union is an institution struggling for our interests. I have to say to you in that matter that you yourselves must take the leadership of your Union. Workers from among you must become leaders to do union

^{*The word occurs here both in Marathi and English.}

work. Outside men ought not to become leaders. Outside #lawyers go on your behalf to the owners.

They do not understand what is your real condition (and) make some sort of compromise in any way they like. Therefore this must not happen. For the union to be organised hereafter all the leaders must be supplied by you and you must go before the owners and yourselves tell (them) what your complaints are, what your grievances are. In our union in England all its leaders are workers themselves. I myself am a worker. I have worked in mills. I am a labourer. Our unions in England, are all being managed by us workers. They do not contain outside lawyers. Therefore we workers—because the mills are ours—must get union leaders from ourselves (and) must without fearing the owners place our grievances before them. You do that work. If you place trust any more on outside people, they will never fail to imperil you. Therefore I have to tell you that you should come forward to become the leaders of the union which you will organize. In the end while concluding my speech, I have to tell you that when I go to England, I shall explain to our British workers your condition as a whole. I shall try that hereafter our worker brothers in England should always come to your help, should give every kind of help, should give monetary help (or) other help that may be necessary and that we (British workers) shall give you the help that shall be required in fighting, hand in hand, against capitalism by you workers and by us workers. (Applause). This fight, you have been carrying of for five months, is just a sample battle going on. The battle has just begun. You will hereafter have to fight many such fights. Therefore in all those fights these British workers are at your back and we will give to you whatever help you require to fight against capitalism and you should give the help as we shall require to fight against the capitalists in our country. Let us in such a manner

fight properly with capitalism and let us vanquish capitalism. I have to tell you to begin to do that. And in the end (I) have to congratulate you on this struggle which you have carried on in a good manner. After going to England I shall explain to the British workers the who'e situation regarding the fight conducted by you and I take your leave after giving an assurance that I) shall make (them) give whatever help you may require." (Applause).

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P.1729 M. [3] T.

.....
In English in the
original.

Place: *Behind Gokhale's Hotel.*
Dated: 16th September 1928.

ALWE'S SPEECH.

Alwe said:—

"Brothers, it is very late, we have to go to another place. Therefore I am going to tell you that God has granted the object of our vow. Tomorrow comes our Ganapati (festival). As soon as (I said) that God has granted the object of our vow, people began to stare (and began to say)—It has not been got yet. But your Ganapati is angry. The attitude of each one of the owners has now become different. We have got a voltair (*motor). There is a
*In English in the second one. In all three motors. The motors are original. three but the men to go are two. These-we-are not leaders to be tempted by motors. We leaders are not to be tempted by motors. If the strike is settled now it will be the prowess of your going to your villages. You are going to villages. Bombay is vacant. Are the people stirred because of that? You continue (your) work. Your demands will be conceded in full. But the strike will prolong. That is, the position is this that now five months have elapsed, (they) had to suffer starvation. If the demands are granted, if a rupee (or) eight annas more are secured then after that the men will come. The wages will be got after two months. If we want full wages, tenacity is necessary in the matter of the strike. Though two (or) three annas less are paid in the

first month the wages must be got in full. You continue your work. God has granted the object of the vow, this means that the owners have got frightened. Differences have arisen amongst them. It is true that conversations (lit. things) are going on to the effect that it will be better (lit. there is no objection) if (it) is settled once for all. Movement has begun from today. Ganapati has spread (his) hands and feet. So let us see. It will be well if success comes, otherwise our Ganapati is going to eat *Chutney* tomorrow. Let the Ganapati be of the country, let (him) be ours, let him be of the owners, if our belief is right, if that Ganapati is the remover of difficulties, he will remove (them). The strike will be settled now. Bradley Saheb has said that you should organise your Union, should organize a Union of mill-workers after the strike is settled. I have been a worker for eight years. I cannot read or write. When to-morrow the strike is settled and the mills begin to work let those people among you who can read and write well come and sit in my place. Everyone must take part in this work. There are men among us workers, there are jobbers who ask why (we) pay four annas. The jobbers, the head jobbers, the clerks, the managers do not want a Union. The reason is that bribery is stopped. (They) cannot manage within their pay. I shall prove that Carrimbhoy Fazalbhoy swallowed forty-nine thousand rupees in one year. Such things are going on. (Men) are dismissed. If these things are to be done away with, our Union, your union must become strong. After the strike is settled meeting must be held

.....
These short sentences appear to be quite disconnected. every month, (every) week. *Thereafter private affairs. (They) came here, gathered together, what did they do?*

We shall consider such matters as where to take rooms for us, where to establish the Union. The workers must be fully equipped as regards all such things as dispensaries, gymnasiums. The workers are not now uneducated, ignorant. In these five months we have laid down for you lessons of the whole history. The Bombay workers have removed the censure being attached to the Indian workers that they were ignorant, uneducated, foolish, lazy. (They) have preserved the fame of India. Therefore every worker should remember that *they should make its meaning

.....
The clause is unintelligible- union* and should get understood what that union says and all should try to join that union. To talk about the strike, discussions are going on. One meeting has been called now. I have to go (there). I say that God has granted the object of our vow. The strike will not last for many days. To lose now the success that is approaching, means that some wicked persons are thinking of getting dashed in the end against the wharf this ship which had been launched in an exceedingly terrific sea and which is now about to approach the harbour. The greatest possible strenuous efforts are being made in order that some one

should get knocked, in order to wreck the ship of the mill workers. Therefore you should gird up your loins. The dignity of our children (and) wives is passing away before our eyes. If a calculation is made, ten to fifteen per cent of wokrer' men are dying every month without food. Keeping up the courage of so many, the children, women and children (and) we ourselves shall not go to work in mills till our demands are granted in full. (You) will acquire the merit of this resolve, this achievement, this bravery. It is false to say that several head jobbers help our strike. But the wicked people, those going to work, the managers, agents, are adopting tactics to get our ship sunk. Their bribery will not continue, they will not be able to confiscate wages, to dismiss (men). Let anything happen. They are making vigorous efforts because they would get success if the strike of the workers breaks. Men on (lit. of) strike, do not be frightened, keep courage! God is the champion of truth, but the moral goodness (of the believer) has to be tested. (God) is testing one and a half lakh of people in three or four ways. If (they) pass (the test) that will be extremely fine (lit. purest gold) and you will have laid down a lesson to the world. Bombay has been vacated. Big big Shets (merchants) have no money to purchase petrol for (their) motors. They are Shets because of you. They are Shets if you work. They are really feeling the pinch. They have become insolvent. They are on the verge of taking poison in order to die. Such things have made them beggars. Therefore this strike, this unity has dealt a blow to all, the owners, capitalism (and) the Government. I hope that keeping up this success to the end; removing capitalism (and) bureaucracy (and) establishing within a few days within four to ten years, in Bombay, in the nation, in India the *Raj* of labour, of the workers; (you) will be rulers." (Applause):-

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1730 M. (1) T.

Place: Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Dated: 18th September 1928.

Jhabwala's speech.

Jhabwala said:—

"The man of the brother (or, of the rate) is gone. I am
..... telling a second thing. Dange has exploded the
Here is a note in Eng-
lish in the original
"Refers to the previous
speaker's sentence."
*Donger means moun-
tain in Marathi
mountain of this *Dongersingh. I have to explode
that of the owners. That day we had held a meet-
ing near the Spring Mill. At that time, (I) had
placed before you some explanation. Today I am going to give
some new explanation now. The strike is going on as regards two
questions. The first is how to get through the confusion that is
going on at present. And the second is how you people are to be
kept alive till (we) get through (that confusion.) These are the two
questions. I shall give an answer to the first question. No one should
say that the Strike Committee which has been elected on your
behalf is lazy and does not work. Our great friend Mr. Mayekar
had said once that he would settle the strike in three days,
that the Strike Committee did not work and that he would
settle (the strike) in three days. I was not present at that
time. Thereafter I gave him a reply. That reply I shall tell you.
It is this. Now for five months the Strike Committee sits for two
hours (every day). Are all persons, siding with you, fools? All of
them are doing the same work by putting together (lit keeping in)
their heads. And I alone am not this Strike Committee. Some
man may say that these Communists took the leadership, therefore
have stuck (to the strike.) But in this Strike Committee is our
friend Mr. Joshi, who is a moderate, Asavale, who is a moderate
and similarly these men. Other men who are extremists are also
(there). And there are twenty workers from among you. And
we ten are outsiders, twenty workers like you. In such a
way there are thirty men in the Strike Committee. These
men sit (together) two hours (every day). We discuss much
as to how your question should be solved early in a good
way. Therefore none should say that we are lazy. The question
before us is how the strike will be settled tomorrow. We are think-
ing of finding out some new principle, following some new way.
And the second thing is how these poor men are to live so long as
the strike continues. By God's grace we have received from outside
more money than we got in our country. If the leaders in our country—
there are patriots in our country, there are friends in our country,
there are rich persons in our country—these people did not themselves

think (lit. see) of helping these people because our industry was being ruined. If thinking (lit. seeing) so they had given us help, we would not have accepted the help coming to us from the outside. But today the rich in the country, the patriots, some other leaders of the country do not give help to us poor people, therefore we are constrained to accept the help that comes from outside. In such a way, brothers, Rs. 14101/- have come to us. Out of this, Rs 10000 have been utilized up-till-now. Grain worth rupees four thousand was distributed that day, on last Wednesday. (Grain) worth Rs 4,000/- is to be distributed tomorrow. engaging steamers for (rupees) two thousand, nearly eight hundred men from among us will go away tomorrow. In this way Rs 10000/- have been spent. We are carefully looking to the management of the remaining amount. In this way the Strike Committee is working for you, this Committee is working in such a way as to settle the strike by finding out some way. Then we say that we have been trying for full five months and the owners who are rascals, who are wicked who have tied our hands and feet, do nothing, then what are we of the Strike Committee to do? A man like Mayekar said that he would settle the strike in three days. This is false. Do not believe in him. Brothers, people are asking when the strike going on in such a way will be settled. I say that the strike will be settled when the owners will be pleased to say that they will give our demands. Now nearly six months are about to be completed and our strike has prolonged. Therefore it is a big question how to go to work so long as all our demands have not been granted. Do we think that (you) should go to work when after suffering for these six months you have not got anything? In this condition (lit. then) our workers will not be ready, none should be ready in this manner. Not that it has not been settled that after fighting for six months (none) is to go to work till the demands put forth by the Strike Committee have been secured. The owners are at present making efforts to break the strike by letting loose their underlings, by circulating some rumours. If we remain firm like this you should remain outside till the Diwali, honouring what you have been saying from the first that you would not go to work till Diwali. I am sure that at that time the owners will be knocked down (Applause). If through Gods will and your luck some more money comes, we have to engage more steamers to send more men outside the city. If through God's grace (and) your luck some more money comes, we have to distribute as much rice as we can. Do not be anxious about that. I am so sorry that the people of the whole city, the merchants, the business men in the city are today lying with closed eyes and are seeing nothing. They do not think (lit. see) that help should be given to the poor who are sure to die. Our wish is that, just as you are conducting the fight while starving, similarly if those people begin

to make some efforts on your behalf, some salvation will be early found from this struggle going on in the strike. Our friend Mr. Bradley is going from Pombay on our behalf. There is a movement to garland him. I have to tell (you) two words. We are going to hold another big meeting for him. I do not think that he will go (Applause). If the Government's law is not passed, we shall keep him here. He is to be de-Europeanized and to be Indianized. (Applause) It cannot be said whether Government's law will be passed or not. If it is passed, he must be sent the next day. Therefore, for this reason we have to honour him. Even his people do not understand who this man is. Some say that he is a spy of the British mill-owners, that he has come here to give work, to give money to the people in England, to the poor, to the beggars in England, by closing (our) mills by misleading the people. Others say some other things. Others say that he misappropriates (lit. eats) money. They say to me that (he) spends money in transactions in the Share Bazar, that in this manner he practises fraud in everything. Even our two or four men had told that they would give us a real account about him. This man had come here before a year. (He said that) he was our friend, that he felt for the workers, for the poor. He said that he would go about with me and see the situation here. I asked him to come. He used to come to meetings everywhere and was instructing the people, was telling them how to organize (themselves). To-day after Bradley Saheb has there come out a single Saheb whom we Indians have accepted as our own (lit. taken). We occasionally talk too much. We speak something of knocking down the Police, of bringing about a revolution in the *Raj*. But Bradley Saheb has never up till today uttered with his mouth (the words) revolution, *Kranti*. He has never up till today said that this *Raj* should be knocked down, that the British Government should be subverted. He only says this much: Worker brothers, you should awaken, if your class is pained so much the heart of India is pained. Thinking thus, bring about unity among you. You have suffered much. Secure your rights by unity, by organization. Has Bradley said even a single thing excepting these words, in the city of Bombay up till today? And though this is so, though the police, the G. I. D. are behind him, Bradley Saheb has not up till today been even once exposed. I think that Government ought to be ashamed to bring a Bill to deport such a man from here. This man only tries to make brave our people, the poor people. (This) is a dodge to suppress him. This Bradley, (this) Jhabwala instigate the people. Though he is a European we do not take care of him. We people in India, we Indians, we are powerful by nature, we have strength, we shall make everything all right. There need be no anxiety about that. Though he is a European he teaches us. Do not believe so, do not hear so. (In this way) some friends come and say to us, especially

Horniman Saheb. We shall give an opportunity (lit. way) for speaking to the man who would come in our midst. But none should suppose that Bradley conducts all this. Who is Bradley? Today x x he teaches the truth to the people in India. He is our friend. His thoughts (and) our thoughts are one. It is not a crime that he is in our company. People say that he fills his own pockets. But I tell you publicly that this brother has not got even an anna in his pocket. I tell you with conviction that this poor Bradley has not got even two annas to come and go through the tram. His mother sends him money. Even that money, the Government here, does not allow him to get. The Government ought to be ashamed of this. The Police ought to be ashamed. This poor man strives for us, (they) make efforts to starve him. The Government of India ought to feel sorry. Of such a kind is Bradley Saheb. Though he has no money, he will not say even a single word with his mouth. Such a man is in our midst and today the time has come for him to go. We are very sorry, all our people are sorry. But I give an assurance to Bradley Saheb that we shall conduct the battle in the way we have conducted it, in the way we have behaved up till now. We shall hold out the question of the poor. You may call it (lit. tell) Communism, Bolshevism, Kranti, give any names, but it is true that so long as the woes of the poor are not redressed we shall fight. It is unquestionable that in that (fight) we shall knock down the owners, we shall fight with the Government. We are sure that on (his) going to England, success will be got after such a war, every one will get full wages, their women will get adequate clothing, their children will get good education. This he will come to know in England. Then he will be very glad. Now brothers thanking Bradley Saheb on your behalf, I take your leave." (Applause)

Sd. S S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1730 M. (2) T.

Place: Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Dated: 18th September 1928.

BRADLEY'S SPEECH.

Bradley spoke in English. His speech was translated by Dange into Marathi as follows:—

"Many men had gathered together yesterday because I was to come, but I did not come as rain made it impossible to move in any way. I apologise to them for that. Then I cannot say now whether the British Government will take me away from India or not. I am accepting even garlands and banquets taking it for granted that it would take me away. But it cannot be said whether I would go to my native place or not. Because even if they pass a law like that still the Government walks in an extremely contrary way. It shows (as if it was going) to the north and goes to the south. Therefore it will show as if it intended to take (me) out of India and will some time put me in the Arthur Road Jail. Therefore I cannot now say that (it) will take me out of India. But even if (it) takes, it cannot drive out of India along with me that *maramari* with capitalism and our struggle with it which is going on. The struggle will remain yours, at the most. I shall go. After I came and stayed here during the last twelve months, I could not do much regarding the mill-workers. Still while others were doing the work regarding the mill-workers, I got more work to do among the railway workers the reason being that Jhabwala Saheb gave me an opportunity to enter into the railway Union. After going there I have, with the help of Jhabwala, made one Union out of the two (or) three unions (and) greatly strengthening it and accumulating together all their grievances, have done the work of making an organized strike on the Indian railways. Therefore if their grievances are not redressed, the railway workers will give Government ten times the trouble that was not given by the mill-workers and then these railway workers will be vilified hundred times more than the mill-workers are being vilified. Before going, I have to make a suggestion to the Government. That request is that your general mill-strike began four months after I came here, which means that the strike began while I was (here) therefore send me after the strike is over. When the strike ends, when your demands are granted then send me. So long as (it) is not ended, let (me) remain here. The reason is that the strike took place after I came here and ended after I went, therefore Government will have room to raise the rumour that I was the agent of Manchester. If I am to be blamed thus, they already know now that it is meaningless. Because, if I had come on behalf of its (of the Government) country, on behalf of the English owners, then why would a separate Act have been enacted for me? This is a rumour circulated. You people must make efforts to put it down and even if that does not happen, your strike is sure to be successful once. Therefore after you get that success, and I have seen for two days the beauty of it, then if you like make an arrangement for my steamer. This club of small children who have given me garlands and banquets, such

a club, such a party for play of small children, that is, of your children must be organized from now. Because, when we workers get old and fall back, these children are in the end to come there. Therefore these children must from now be taught in the club how to carry on a quarrel. Even though we conducted the strike, still the children must be taught from now that we had committed a mistake here, that we had fallen into a ditch here. Therefore prepare them in this way and in future after four years of apprenticeship they must be kept ready. And therefore from now this club must be kept for that purpose. There are big clubs (lit: places of wrestling) of our *Dadas* but not of small children, therefore clubs of small children will be required. These small quarrelsome persons must be trained from now because when we become old, we shall sit like respectable persons and children will ask (us) to see how the strike was made. Instead of doing so, good books of this party (lit. sect) must be prepared and taught from now. Therefore I have to request you that you should promote such clubs. The last message is—my idea is that this is not the last one—but even supposing that this is the last one, still what he

*The whole bracket in the original with the words are in English, (*Mr. Bradley's) has to say is that after he goes there, he (will find that) his workers there are ready for revolution. Two years back, that is in the year 1926 an effort for revolution was made there, but owing to the treachery of some leaders it was frustrated. But it is certain that the next effort will not now be frustrated. Therefore it is certain that we shall soon bring about a revolution in our country and that will be successful. While we are making that revolution there, the workers here also—whatever be the result of the strike—must organize a tremendous Union and must make preparations for gaining control over the whole of ownerism. Otherwise wages will be got today. A reply will come the day after tomorrow (or) tomorrow. When the reply comes again, when wages are cut down again then you will begin to think of going on strike and will listen to the rumours that will arise. If you work with the resolve that, whatever happens, you are not to keep quiet till in the end the eighty-four mills belong to our Strike Committee, we will give as much help from there as we can. With this promise I take leave." (Applause).

(Sd.) S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1731 M. T.

Place : Cement Chawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Dated : 21st September 1928.

KASLE'S SPEECH.

Kasle said—

“ My worker brothers, and it is my duty to congratulate my respected guru Nimbkar Saheb. If anyone has today imparted as much wisdom to our worker brothers as was necessary, it has been imparted by my respected guru Nimbkar Saheb and others. How to conduct the workers' movement, what are the ideals of the workers, what is the strength of the workers, all this has been told by Nimbkar Saheb. It is not necessary to tell (it) now. Another thing (is) the invaluable courage, strength, unselfishness (shown by) our worker brothers and our sisters yesterday. Government and capitalism have been compelled to lower their heads (lit. noses) owing to the courage shown, the efforts made by our worker brothers to prevent the mills from working, by gathering together at the mills (lit. at that place) as soon as they knew that the mills had begun to work, without caring for rice, even though they had no food, though they were starving for three days continuously. Government and capitalism were saying that once the mills begin to work, the remaining people would go into the mills. But this their wisdom, *.....* this their pride, has been all destroyed. *They have come to know that if the worker brothers *.....* starved.* Even though they have no wisdom, they have come to understand that the workers will not go to work unless their demands are fulfilled. Worker brothers, everyone of us must therefore think that this agitation is not merely for wages but this agitation of us workers must go on without break. The reason of this is that, this capitalism, this Imperial Government—Imperial Government means that which crushes the people, gives them trouble (and knows) how to fill its own stomach, how to oppress others, how to destroy others in its own interests—the power of such an Imperial Government must come into our hands. Till then this movement must be continued. Because the Imperial Government is so acting that its own stomach only should be filled (and) the poor worker brothers should starve. And they come from five thousand miles and rule over this our mother land. (They) exercise authority over us because they want three motors, want a salary of two thousand rupees, of three thousand rupees, want five servants, ten servants. They know this for certain that so much awakening has not taken place among the people of India. It is at our cost

that this Imperial Government [is keeping] a number of (lit. five, five] servants [and] swallows up ten thousand rupees as salary. They ought not to be allowed to swallow it. They must be driven out of India and our Government must be established. So long as the workers' Raj has not been established, till then this capitalism and this Imperial Government will put us into extreme difficulty just like this. Therefore we workers and peasants must make the movement vigorous like this. There is no alternative except driving out this Government from India, these who squeeze us, these who give us trouble, cause injury to the poor, the Government which has reduced our people to such a condition that our children get no food, no clothes, no milk. There is no alternative except the destructions of this capitalism. All factories must come under our control, Government must come under our control, Government must become of the workers, capitalism must become of the workers, such a movement we must carry on every time. It will not do merely to carry on only this movement. We must learn who we are. Every worker must learn to speak. (They) must think what will be the results of that, what will be the uses of speaking, of becoming clever. Some people entertain the idea that if we learn to speak, the police reporter will tell the police Commissioner. Whence has this Police Commissioner come? He has come to swallow our salary. I tell the Police Commissioner, the Governor, all people, big people that we serve the nation for ten hours (everyday). They should put on sashes and this Governor Saheb (and) Commissioner Saheb should show me if they can serve for eight hours. Wisdom has not come to our sepoy brethren. Because they die for eighteen rupees, for thirty rupees. They are dying even if they get four or five. They draw out their weapon against Indians only, against the people of India alone. Therefore I say to the police brothers, instead of drawing out weapons against our people, please draw them out against your people, against capitalism, drive them out, and establish the Raj of us, workers. This I have to tell them. Second thing about Dongersing. He is a Maratha. Ramsingh Dongersing Patil is a Maratha. The Rajputs are identical with the Marathas.

.....
 * I tell him that if any one is out today to ruin our happiness*. There are our Indian tigers who frighten us. He is a big man like that. Therefore Dongersingh Patil is a mouse that has come out of a Donger [mountain]. [I] tell him : Be wise now and do not try to recruit men. If you try, do not believe that you will escape merely alive. [We] shall not fail to make pieces of your bones and flesh. Never mind if (we) die but we shall exterminate you, shall remove you from the world. I tell with certainty that if he comes within my reach then even

though guns and canon be there still I shall surely not fail to
attach him never mind if I get hanged. (Applause).

.....
*The sentence is dis-
jointed.

*Therefore such our people that are, some from
among us bring out bad results, ask men to go to
work, they should be told that.* Give them kicks

on their buttocks, drive them out of the house. It does not matter
if (you) die. (But) destroy them. Look to all those men who go to
work. See where (they) live. Do not fail to beat (them). It does
not matter if the police punish us, hang us. Still I say clearly
that if they do not hear, do not fail to beat them. If the police
beat (you) do not fail to attack the police. (Applause). Because
now there is no remedy. Our condition has become wretched.
We have lost our households, our clothes have disappeared. The
times are bad. It does not matter even if (we) die. But it is the
duty of us workers to-day to return blow for blow. Do not
fail to perform that duty. This I have to tell you. Such
occasions, any occasions what-soever must be borne. There is no
fear about jail, no fear of the gallows, no fear of life sentence, no
fear of transportation. (Even if we) go to jail, jail is a birth right.
A God like Krishna had been in prison. The Pandav heroes had
been in prison. Remember that the work of the world will not be
achieved unless (people) go to jail, unless people are sacrificed.
So long as blow is not returned for blow this capitalism, this
bureaucracy, this shameless Government will not be destroyed.
Remember that this will stop when (you) return blow. All of you
should unitedly make the strike successful and should especially
drive out with kicks those who might enter the mills. Go in
chawls, kick (them) on the chest, bring (them) out, knock them
but do not allow them to go to work. Make your strike successful.
With these words I take your leave." (Applause)

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1732 M. T.

Place: Lal Bang, Parel.

Dated: 23rd September 1928.

MIRAJKAR'S SPEECH.

Mirjekar said:—

"Brothers, I shall now dissolve the meeting in a short

time and shall go to the harbour. Nimbkar Saheb has alone gone there and as someone from here should go there to help him, I shall now dissolve this meeting in a short time. I am going to tell you one (or) two things before dissolving the meeting, which you should listen to. The rain is coming shortly to dissolve our meeting. There is an adage in Marathi that a Bramha Rakshas (the ghost of a brahman) pursues him who fears. When a person begins to take fright, when he begins to bend down more and more, men begin to give him more and more knocks with the knuckles from above, his enemies try to bring him down. We behaved very cautious'y, peacefully for five (to) five and a half months, did not do unlawful things, behaved lawfully, behaved most submissively (lit. saluting seven times), but the result of it has been that the Bramha Rakshas that has been pursuing us is snarling (at us) more and more. The demon of the owners is pursuing us. And to-day the result of our systematically preserving peace while conducting the strike for five (to) five and a half months has been this that the owners have been making the attempt of breaking the strike, taking advantage of our some what inferior condition and the owners have been carrying on the attempt by introducing some of their persons among us, (and thereby) creating disunion, creating tumult and confusion, of breaking our strike by hook or crook without granting (our) demands. Therefore I have to tell you that (we) should turn (our) faces (lit. stomachs) to the Bramha Rakshas that is pursuing us (and) must not show (our) backs. You know that if a tiger begins to pursue us (and) if we turn our back to it, it pursues (lit. finds its way) us from the back but if we stand erect with something like a stick in hand even the tiger is afraid, therefore we must boldly (lit. with chest forward) in front of the enemy that is pursuing us and we have no other course open but to put to death this Bramha Rakshas, this owners' demon. Remember this thing. Now you should not go breaking the unity among us. The owners have realized today that whatever number of handbills they may burn here, though they make a Holi (bonfire) in Shimga (another name for the month of Falgun), it has no effect at all on the people. It appears impossible that the workers will go (to work) even if three lakhs of handbills are distributed in this part of Bombay, for, they do not get even thirty workers. This is a matter for great regret. Maintain such a situation. Remember that success will be ours if this situation is maintained. You may say that this is being said by us for the last five (to) five and a half months. I am an optimist. My hope never dies. The hope of the workers never dies. For, the workers know that this whole world, this world is to be cocquered by them. All the resources that exist in this world are to be secured by us. We have not got anything that can be snatched away from us, for all of us are poor (and) helpless people. However the whole world is before us to win. As

the world is before us, the workers are always optimists. Their hope never dies. As their hope does not die, the workers never become disappointed. When they begin to become disappointed, the hope stands before them that this world is to be conquered, this world is to be won. When that (hope) stands before them the workers again become refreshed and begin to fight. A situation of that kind has arisen among us today. Some persons among us have today become helpless. I know that situation. But you should not show this helplessness to the leaders for some time. Let us continue the fight determinately, courageously, like brave men, like heroes. I tell this to you with assurance that, we shall not then fail to achieve success in it. (Applause). Then we received seventy thousand rupees from our Russian workers. I tell you how the whole situation in that country is going on. It is an example of how the Government should be. There is a territory in Russia named Ukraine. All the grain in that land has been washed away by a great flood and there is famine in that land. There is workers' *Raj* in Russia. Because there is workers' *Raj* there, the workers' Government in Russia has begun to feed the eight lakhs of workers by giving them food, clothing and all other help-the eight lakhs of workers in that part of Russia who are starving on account of the flood, the starvation that has been caused there. To-day there is in this country the *Raj* of the English, of the *mabap* Government. We, one lakh and a half (of workers) (and) our wives and children are fighting and dying of starvation for the last five (to) five and a half months. Is it not the duty of the Government to make arrangement for the livelihood of its subjects that are starving ? But the Government has not done it so far. The cause of this is that the Government here is the Government of capitalism, of rich men, of educated men. (It) is not of the workers. If (it) had been the workers' Government that Government would certainly have made provision for our livelihood. Therefore I say that our movement x x will not go on, but we must carry (it) on till the workers Government is established. We have to do this work. In order to do this work you should increase your strength more, day by day, increase (your) might, prepare for a fight. While fighting, some workmen among us will die, some leaders will be sent to the gollows, some will go to prison, but it does not matter if one (to) two persons, five (to) fifty (or) hundred persons of ours go (to Jail etc.) for one lakh and a half persons for five lakhs of persons. But I have to ask you to be ready for fighting. Let us make the Government in India (a Government) of the workers just as the Government in Russia is (a Government) of the workers. When that is done the question of our livelihood will be solved. It will not be solved till then. Bring to your mind. I do not wish to take more of your time. You should consider all these things. Do not trust the handbills that come from the owners.

continue the fight peacefully, bearing in mind that those handbills are issued to create disunion. Telling this much to you (I) dissolve the present meeting."

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona

P. 1733-M T.

..... Place: *Open Ground near King Edward Memorial
In English in the original. Hospital.*

Dated: 24th. September 1928.

KASLE'S SPEECH.

Kasle said:—

"Brothers, to-day in this meeting very few men are to be seen. From this it may be said that Bombay has been vacated. Since two hundred persons attend where five to ten thousand persons used to attend meetings, it must be said with great joy that Bombay has been vacated. Kolhatkar had published in a book that (there had been) there thieves in Maharashtra. On seeing it, on reading it very attentively you will understand who the three thieves are. Who was the first thief. Our Gopal-Krishna. Second Lakshmibai of Jhansi and (third) Rao Saheb Shivaji Maharaj. These are the three thieves in Maharashtra. I am going to give a lecture on that subject. Because (to call) Gopal-Krishna, Shri Gopal-Krishna a thief, means that he had properly recognised the theft of the thieves. To-day people from Europe have come here to commit theft. Today they have come here putting poison in the breasts like Rakshasas. The demoness Putana who had come to kill Shri Krishna by poisoning him, had come with exceedingly ardent love in the guise of a Naikin (a dancing girl). It was then felt in that city how much love the woman had for Shri Krishna, how much respect she had for Shri Krishna. The demoness Putana, the woman whose breasts were so long call her some Putana from England—she lengthened her breasts from which simple people thought how much love she must have got. But as

Shri Krishna was a great thief, he knew that this (woman) had not come to love him, had not come to give him her breasts to suck (but) had come to persecute him. Therefore he knew how that thievish, vile demoness was to be killed (lit. destroyed). Therefore when he bit her breasts, she had to take from here the way to London. She went to heaven. Therefore Shri Krishna, Gopal-Krishna, Bal Krishna was from (his) childhood knowing the craft of the thieves. He was a greater rogue than thieves. (He) used to kill (lit. destroy) thieves, used to punish the wicked. Similarly just as the British Government has come here and is exercising authority over us like Kansa, is seeking to keep us in slavery in this manner like Kansa, he (Krishna) knew that that Kansa, like the Kansa (himself) was seeking to destroy the people here very wickedly, in a bad manner. Gopal-Krishna knew that this big rogue is seeking to show disrespect towards him, was seeking to create rampage in the nation (and) that it was his real aim to kill him and send (him) to heaven. Therefore he (was) the first thief in India. Gopal-Krishna was a thief in Maharashtra. The second (thief) was our Maharani Lakshmibai of Jhansi. When her *Raj* the *Raj* of Jhansi was independent, these British whites had at the time made at first an agreement in writing that they would not intervene in her *Raj*. These same Europeans, this British Government, these white-skinned thieves, these great rogues, these great *badmashas*, these exceedingly crafty (persons) broke that agreement and announced within a few days that they had control over her *Raj* and that she should make that *Raj* over to them. At that time Lakshmibai had told them that so long as life was in her, so long as there was strength in her body, she would never give her *Raj* and that she was prepared to fight at any time. Such was that Maharani Lakshmibai of ours. I have to say with great joy that if men come forward among us to utter the words similar to what she uttered, then no time will be required for the white-skinned people to disappear from India. Because at that time these people drew their weapons against Lakshmibai, not caring (for the fact that she was) a woman. Our (Indian) princes, at that time, did not take part in that, did not take part because the Maharaja of Gwalior was sleeping there, they did not allow the Maharaja of Baroda to see, they did not allow the Nizam to see. Such great rogues, thieves are this British Government but our Maharani Lakshmibai was a greater rogue than them. She had resolved (lit. thought) that she would not give her *Raj* to them without fighting. Offering a fight (and) leaving aside her child and throwing away her veil, the woman, the woman whose veil even was not visible to the world stood drawing out (her) sword. She fought saying: The *Raj* of Maharashtra is independent (and) I shall never allow it to be lost without fighting with them. The

Maharani was the second thief because she fought with them. Who did this? The Government (did it). English (news) papers have not given the name of this Maharani. Even now there is only punishment for the man who would utter her name. The cause of this is that she tried to make Maharashtra independent. These rascally whites, nick-name those as thieves who endeavour to liberate Maharashtra from slavery because they know the craft of the thieves. Our Rao Saheb Shivaji Maharaj is the third thief. Because the title of rebel, dacoit, thief, villain has been given to him. (Shivaji) was striving to exterminate these. These came here taking the scales with them, carried on their trade and established Empire over us in this manner, took the *Raj* deceitfully. (They) lulled our men to sleep by singing *jo jo*. All those persons in Maharashtra who were endeavouring to wake them were thieves according to their opinion. Therefore the title given to them was that of thieves in Maharashtra. They were (termed) the thieves in Maharashtra, because they were endeavouring to make Maharashtra independent, because they were seeking to drive them away with a kick. Now these who committed thefts have become honest. At this place, the real thieves, robbers, *bamashas*, great rogues, fraudulent persons, liars, (those) who try to persecute others, (those) who suck the blood of other (are) the Europeans. They are the thieves, robbers, rascals, vile persons (and still) they say that we are thieves. What great *badmash-giri* is this on their part? The meaning of (the word) thief is that if one takes the name of Shivaji Maharaj, the name of Lakshmbai, the name of Gopal-Krishna then alone he is a thief and a *badmash*, all those that have come here are honest. Now the second thing is who are thieves from among the workers? Nimbkar, Dange, Alwe; all these are thieves among the workers. These are endeavouring to give education to you. When tomorrow the time for being hanged comes, if the name of Nimbkar is taken, imprisonment for six months will be given. This *badmash* Government, *badmash* capitalism calls them thieves who liberate the workers from slavery, who make the country of the workers independent. Now really speaking who are the thieves? If attention is paid to this, who are robbers? This Government. The land of birth (is) ours, this *Raj* (is) ours, Maharashtra (is) ours and these who come from five thousand miles say that they are honest. They come here from five thousand miles and exercise (their) control over us. Thirty-three crores of people on one side (and) three lakhs of Europeans on the other. Any way, there are three lakhs of Europeans in India and the army of thirty-two crores is ours. Thirty-two crores of men are ours. These men feather their own nest by ruling over (lit. over the lives of) thirty-two crores of men. (They) drink our blood. What is the reason of this, the parallel for (lit. example of)

this? When these are in England their wives put on *Ghagras* (gowns) and work two looms. These *Bhosadichyas* (a term of abuse) used to get nothing else but potatoes to eat. In their *Raj* they knew nothing else except the bread of potatoes. If (we) look to their history of eight hundred years ago they have eaten even the leaves of trees. Such *badmash* men come here (and) call us *badmash*. Having taken away our *Raj*, our land, our independence, we (are called) *badmash*. Therefore we must bear in mind that he who understands the *badmashism* of *badmashes*, is a thief. It is said that there was a *Sawai Vikram* superior to (lit. over) *Vikram*, therefore he has been given that name. Therefore the cause why these persons call us *badmash* is that they call those *badmash* who try to extirpate them knowing their *badmash-giri*. In truth we must get our independence, the Government must be of us workers, the workers must get sufficient food to eat. The Government will never call their leaders good even though they be honest workers. So long as those who are called *badmashes* in such work, such *badmashes* who subvert Government have not come, this *Raj* will remain in their hands. When persons knowing the thievishness of these, (persons) knowing the *badmashism* of these, persons utterly rooting them out will take part, then these will feel whether they are really thieves or these (are) honest. If theft is committed, I shall shrewdly say that this is a thief, for, he will bring my theft to light. Everyone must consider that now they have ruled (over us) for 150 years, now honourably hand over independence to us and go away, otherwise, a time will come when (we) shall not fail to strip your wives of their *Ghagras* (gowns), to extirpate you (and) to drive you away with kicks. (Applause). Brothers, bear (this) in mind. Let these Europeans get Rs 150/- as their pay then they will not come here. How much pay do they get? Their pay is Rs 1000/- There (their) condition is similar to that of ours. But what happens that when the *bhosadichas* (a term of abuse) come here they begin to make *yes, fes. There are

*In English in the original our inspectors even in the police, (there) are Europeans also. If (we) say to our inspectors: Bring water do work they (arrogantly) say go, go. But if *Long tells them they behave (lit. become) like dogs before him. They (are, *badmash*, we alone are honest. They (are) great rogues, we must become ten times greater rogues x x therefore everyone must consider, we must make efforts in order that the pots on which they swallow (lit. eat) two thousand, ten thousand rupees as salary, must remain for our men. Our children must come forward, they must be educated and this our movement will not be kept completely quiet until these Europeans, this capitalism, the Governors, the Commissioners. Superintendent Long are first driven away from India by giving kicks on their buttocks. (Applause). Whatever happens, even though we die, get hanged, are transported, everyone should bear in mind that

everyone must take part in order to make this movement successful. The Government thinks that thieves have arisen among the workers, just as there (had been) three or four thieves great rogues in India. Who is the first thief among the workers? (It is) Nimbkar Saheb. That thief is a greater rogue, greater *badmash* than them. He knows how to bring to light the *badmash-giri* of others. He makes an attempt to make (others) know. Therefore Commissioner Sabebs says: Nimbkar is a great *badmash*. Because he knows the *badmashism* of these thieves, therefore he is a real *badmash*. Everyone must think There have been three thieves in India. Unless such thieves arise, our *Raj* will not be established (lit. become) Therefore we cannot but give them kicks after kicks, blows after blows, kicks on (their) buttocks, blows from above. Everyone must try to take part in this and it is not possible to establish our *Raj* unless they are driven away from India. With these words I take your leave." (Applause).

Sd S S. Deshpande,
Inspector of Police,
C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1734 M. T.

Place: Delisle Road, Bombay.

Dated: 25th September 1928.

KASALE'S SPEECH.

Kasale said:—

" Brothers, in the first place I am very glad on seeing your firm determination, your tenacity, the sufferings borne by brother workers up till now (and) the many sufferings of our children. The second thing (is) that, rain has now come, owing to that some of our men are gradually going away from here. As you have begun to go through fear of ordinary rain, it depends upon your bravery in what way our future work, [the work] that is to take place, can be got through. This bravery does not [depend] upon the leaders. This work must be done by the workers. The workers must participate in it every time. So long as you do not take part,—you simply hear speeches and go home, it is not of any use [lit: sense]. The *Kirtankar* [reciter of religious stories] recites

the *Kirtan* [religious story], and criticizes that when [you] go home, you forget. Every one of us must participate in this, must learn to speak, must ourselves get through, whatever our grievances may be. If merely rain comes, if merely some false rumour is raised, if merely somebody hurls stones, [you] begin to walk. The rule of meetings is that—even if guns are fired, bombs are thrown—during the first strike in 1918—Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar—a meeting was held at Lalbaugh when some *gundas* hurled 25 stones, but so long as the meeting was (not) dissolved, Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar, we two did not rise up. At that time we raised a voice, we told those seeking to hurl stones, that we were not going to move from that place. At that time, those very *gundas* went away with lowered noses (lit: heads). When a meeting is held, (none) should get from his place, how many soever bullets from guns are fired at every one, even if the sky falls to the ground. That is the law of meetings. Then alone will our work go on firmly. It is not [only] a matter of the strike. The strike is of two days. (It) will be successful to-morrow if not to day. But if we pay attention to which tasks are before us, which must be done, which tasks we must do,—we were not in the past afraid of mere rain. Let rain come, let canon-balls come, not caring for that, (we) must kick it and make it fall back. What is Government, before [lit where there is] the tremendous strength of the workers, before [lit: where there are] lakhs [and] crores of workers! Government is [then] in your hands, capitalism is in your hands. So long as the workers are not one, so long as Railway workers, Municipal workers, workers in offices, workers among the Police, these our mill-workers have not become one, so long as there is not one Union, till then this capitalism, this bureaucracy will exercise authority in this way. What is the Government? The Government is merely the head. We [are] the feet of the Government, we [are] the hands of the Government, we are everything of the Government. If Government's feet do not remain in their place, [its] head cannot but fly away. [Applause]. Another thing (is that you) run away if some Inspector comes, if two Pathans come. What is this? Will the workers' movement be ever carried on in this manner? What sense is in that? There are *gurus* to impart education. It is our duty to learn in schools. (After) the teacher has given a lesson in the alphabets, (you) go home and throw away the slate. The workers require a *guru* if they have to speak. We do not receive education though there are men to impart it. This is not a fight of the leaders, it is ours. This is not a fight of the Government, not of capitalism. Our fight, our fight is that capitalism and Government are to be brought under our control. Therefore every one taking a weapon in hand—which (weapon)? not rifles. We do not care for the sword. We do not care for

their bullets. (We) do not care for guns. They have many bullets, many rifles. We do not care for that. If (we) care for anything it is for the power of organization, (based) on the strength of our unity. You all know that. We say that we have no swords. In the German war, when there was a hand-to-hand fight, guns and swords remained aside. In the end people gained success in a hand-to-hand fight. At that time what did these Europeans, these Whites, these *white-footed (person), these sinners, these vile (persons) these beasts, these mad men do ? (They) ate the fish in the river, but our (men) were true fighters. The Indians remaining without bread, without food, without water, for six days, eight days, ten days, gave such a battle at that time and therefore the British Government could remain [lit: remain alive] here, (otherwise) the Raj of the British Government would have gone from here. The same British Government is drawing its weapon against us. It is a faithless Government, it is not faithful. This faithless Government. They have no wisdom. This foolish Government, because how merciless a duty it is that they draw a weapon against those who kept the *Raj* safe, those who preserved the name of the nation. Brothers, when we merely begin to speak we feel when they will be wiped out. Because, lakhs of women have been widowed. Lakhs of our mothers and sisters have been widowed. At that time our people have died in battle. This Capitalism, this mean, vile, sinful-how many of them have gone to die ? How many of their men have died in battle ? I ask that British Government, "When you had got down in the battle (field), you said at that time that we Indians that is the Musalmans of India, the Christians, (the people) of any community (were) good fighters (lit: experts with the sword)." "At that time," I ask that Government, "At that time you used to say that our India brothers were fighting in *Vilayat*. With whom ? With the Europeans. Maratha ki Jaya ". That Government is saying today, of what worth are the labourers ? But, remember; a time will come when we are sure to hang you, (and) this capitalism, exactly in the forenoon, in this *maidan* of the Cement Chawl. (Applause) (even if) we die, even if we are hanged, even if we are sentenced to transportation for life, still our movement, our workers' movement can never possibly stop so long as the Raj of the workers has not been established. This, I say, again and again. Another thing. Our men.—the Commissioner Saheb does not come here to take reports. The reporters are two *Indian* Police Inspectors. There are six Policemen who pervert things (lit: tell two if there is one). The Commissioner Saheb does not come here to beat. The Governor does not come here to beat. The Superintendent Saheb does not hang us. But they know quite well how battles should be fought

at the hand: of our people. These white-footed, these English, these whites, know fully well how to foment quarrels among us. Our own people are ready to hang us. They say: "What have we done?" Your own men say that. A black man says (that). The black *admi* gets a salary of Rs 30/- and the European Sergeant gets Rs. two hundred. Sergeant is equal to a constable, (but) because he is a white constable he gets Rupees two hundred as pay. (As if) all these (rupees) belong to (their) father ! (As if) the laws (are) of their father's home. Where are those laws left ? Our (Indian) constable gets Rs. 30/- as pay, our Inspector Rs. 90/-. The European constable, because he is white-footed, is of their community, has been brought (into the world) by them by sexual intercourse, therefore, his pay is Rs. 200 (Applause and laughter). He, a constable (but) as (he is) a European constable, (he gets) Rs. 200 If a European constable commits murder, he, however, is not hanged. If a Maratha constable commits murder he, however, can be brought before (lit: there is the authority) the court for being punished. If this European constable commits a theft there is, however, no law for him, if any one of our men commits a crime, there is the law. We do not want these laws, these laws of the British Government, these fraudulent laws, these laws of *badmashgiri*. This our effort is going on in order to trample these laws under foot. Another thing. There are separate colleges for the children of these Europeans. The children of our Sepoys, the children of our Police, our children, do not get *gharry* or horse or anything for going to school. Now (this is) our land, our nation, our land. These *badmashes* having come here, having committed dacoities and thefts are making this rescality in order that their children should live, should not die early. We must make vigorous efforts that our children, who die early, should not die and their children should die early. We want as many powers as they (have got). We want four times the education that they (get). To these *badmashes*. I am going to speak shortly about three thieves in Maharashtra. Brothers, the Musalman brothers that may be (here) should not be angry, the Hindus that may be (here) should not be angry. But the British have made three thieves in Maharashtra. Whom do they call thieves ? Those who see that the thieves steal, those who catch thieves if there be any, they are called thieves by them. These thieves have come here from *Vilayat*, for trade. The same *badmashes* with a pair of scales captured trade and deprived us of our Raj. How was our Raj taken ? They stirred up battles between the Maharaja of Kolhapur and the Nizam, between them and the Maharaja of Gwalior, between the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Holkar of Indore and created quarrels among them. They told them: "You have no wisdom. We shall manage your *Raj* for a few days." Making so much *badmashgiri*

they again brought the army and kept it here. Who was the person who got this Raj? (He) was a *badmash*. He was a badmash, a docoit, a *badmash*, a cheat. His name is Lord Clive. I shall take out their history for eight hundred years and show (you). In his childhood,—he was the son of a lawyer—what he did was that he committed dacoities. The father got tired and sent (him) to India. When he was sent to India it took one year to come from England to Madras. After a year he reached Madras and what he did (was) he tried to commit suicide, therefore, he joined a regiment and he won a battle. The Raj that was established by that Lord Clive will certainly come into the hands of our people, instead of its going into the hands of the agitators. We shall have a lecture on three thieves. Who (were) the three thieves? The first thief was Gopal-Krishan. How (was) he a thief. He knew quite well the thieving by the thieves. How (was) Gopal-Krishna a thief? He knew who the thieves in the world were. One has no alternative except to outwit the thief. (lit. without: becoming one and one-fourth of a thief than the thief). Shri Krishna came to birth in order to kill those British tyrannical demon those who had, at *which *time some from England, taking the form

Apparently wrong. of *Kamsa* those British tyrannical demons, who (are) vile and sinful [and] who do not recognize mother or sister. At that time Pootana might be, say, some one from England, I forgot the name, some one like Miss Mayo was sent to kill Krishna, putting poison in her breast. [They] considered that as Krishna was a greater rouge than themselves, that as they would not be able to hold the ground before the awe of Krishna, the *Raj* would remain only if he was levelled to the ground. Making such a vile dead, such a deep plot, that demoness was sent here. But [that] Miss Mayo (was) so delicate, so handsome, people were surprised as soon as they saw hers. People began to say how beautiful is this lady, this European lady. This our Gopal Krishna is black. X He is the child of a cowherd. She has come to give him milk. How much does she love Krishna? The woman, like Miss Mayo, came to give milk. Then, what should our people give? We are simple people, we have no wisdom. Shri Krishna was very crafty. He had knowledge. He knew the craft [lit. the theft of the thieves]. He who knows the craft of the thief, becomes a thief. Shri Krishan began to say, "Ah! *Shabash!* She is coming to me to suck at her breast, but to kill me." As soon as Shri Krishna saw her—a woman wearing a **Ghagara* one of

A sort of petticoat. . vile deeds, a bad vile, sinful, wicked [woman] who had come to deprive Krishna of his Raj and to fell him to the ground—he bit her breast and immediately the woman fell to the ground. Therefore, Shri Krishna was the first thief. That Shri Krishna, Gopal Krishna, who knew the object of thieving (lit. theft), of that low, vile, sinful, outcast, Miss Mayo who had come to rob India, to take away the Raj of India, was the first thief. The first

Khitab [title] given to him by our white-footed people is 'th'cf.' The second thief who fought for Swarajya, who did not allow [them] to take the rights of Swarajya, who drew [her] sword for Swarajya, who built their tombs for Swarajya, was our Maharani Lakshmibai, Lakshmibai of Jhanshi. When the British Government snatched away the kingdom of others, at that very time this Government said to her that they would never intervene in her *Raj* after her [death] Though such an agreement was given in writing, in a few days they used it in a wicked way. How merciful this Government which made an agreement, who signed the agreement, that they would not interfere in her kingdom that her kingdom was independent. This agreement [was given] by the government with the royal signature. How dishonest, they are, XXX how sinful, they are, how vile [lit out-cast.] If you pay attention to this—consider both sides. I do not speak on one side. Then, within a few days the bureaucracy gave her notice with the king's signature." Hand over your kingdom to us. We have got control over your kingdom. If you do not make over that control to us, we shall cut you in pieces." Lakshmibai, a woman by sex, one who did not go out of the house, her body had a veil, (even) her nail could not be seen,—her husband had died,—while she was ruling on the strength of truth, she said, as soon as she read the paper, flinging aside her veil with one hand, "I shall preserve independence, I shall fight against them. I shall cut them to pieces. But, I shall not submit to them, never mind if my *Raj* is lost. But it is not proper that my neck should be given in their hands". She plainly said this. We have seen the skill shown by her though she was a woman by nature. If that history is read, this Government must find out the way to heaven. (Is) this a Government acting with justice and morality, a Government which attacks women, which commits dacoity for the sake of money, which commits theft for the sake of money? In what is this Government good? It is the duty of you brothers to pay attention to how vile, how sinful this Government is. Think how much mercy they who did not hesitate to attack women, will show to the worker-brothers. Then, her *Raj* was taken over. When the Maharaja of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Indore, the Nizam, began to go to her side, this Government at that time prohibited them, prohibited them from going there. "Do not go there, otherwise, we shall level you to the ground. This is about our Indian Princes. At that time they snatched away the *Raj*. We cannot read that history. If that history is read, it is punishable with six months. This British Government has labelled as thieves such Mahatmas (Great-souled persons) who had been (in this country). Their history has not been given. There is no history for the B. A. examination. Only so much history of this has come out that only mention like dacoits,

badmashes, thieves, will be found, but (lit: remaining) not a mention of their valour. The reason of that is that these *badmashes*, thieves have come here. The individuals, the Mahatmas, among us who were aware of the craft (lit: thefts) of the thieves, recognized their thefts. Therefore they have been labelled as 'thieves'. If anyone knew them, it was Maharani Lakshmibai. She knew that these were *badmashes*, thieves, dacoits, that this Government was given to dacoity and that it was not for her to get deceived by its fraud, (but) that it was her duty to cross swords with it. Secondly, there may be some our Musalman brothers (here, but I am telling history. The third thief is our Shivaji Maharaj. He (was) a big thief, if any one was (the greatest) dacoit of all it was Shivaji Maharaj. They used to send to Shivaji Maharaj through ships, good clothes, ornaments, good liquors. They, the same *badmashes*, have given Shivaji Maharaj the *Khitab* of 'dacoit', 'badmash'. The reason is that (he) was aware of their theft, of their frauds (and) sought to destroy them. Therefore, these people have given a *Khitab* that Shivaji Maharaj was a dacoit, a thief, a badmash. Because (the adage is): He should be applauded whose bread you eat. If anyone went to England Shivaji Maharaj used to give him ornaments worth rupees five (to) ten thousand for that king. If you do not know, history says that (Shivaji) used to give ornaments of five (to) ten thousand as *nazrana*. He—here the Musalmans were our Rajas, they were thieves—(he) who tried to preserve our Indian Raj, be it the Raj of the Hindus or of the Musalmans, he too was called a thief. Such (are) these knaves, *badmashes*, thieves. (They) have come here from England, have called that land of birth, our nation, 'thief,' 'thief.' Similarly they have called our worker brothers also "*black admi*, is a thief". I say (lit. ask to these *badmashes*, the day on which I was working in the David Mill, I attended the funeral of Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak. There is an engineer in that mill. He began to say: "You had gone to the funeral, to the funeral of Tilak. We ate milk and boiled rice." I got angry. I gave a taunt: (lit. beat with a shoe). "*Bhosadichya, why do you bother with that?" Such knaves, An incedent term of abuse. thieves, *badmashes*, mean, sinful (persons) are these. Why do you trust them? I have to say to all (my) countrymen, to the bureaucracy, that they should take ten rupees more but should tell this rascal that he would get five rupees less than you. Let that be. Our land of birth, this nation (is) ours, this money is ours. We do this work. We earn money. (Are) we knaves, thieves *badmashes*? Robbing us for their protection XX this is a shameful thing. Therefore, I have to request every worker brother that he should be good enough to maintain this struggle. Do not forget that it is our duty, even if the strike, becomes successful, to hold meetings in future, every Sunday, every Saturday, to place (in the meetings) whatever our grievances are and to make various efforts for their

(redress). Today, people have begun to die, but have not the wish to go to work. I say clearly that if we continue this for a few days; this nation, surely, cannot but come into our hands. Another thing. So long as the Government has not become ours till then this will remain hanging. Otherwise, if in a few days we become united, you will find that we shall not fail to push into a ditch and then hang these Petits, Sawyers, Sassoons, -all those who are causing us suffering. I tell this to them plainly. (Applause). The time has come near. Rifles are not required, guns are not required, swords are not required. Our power of organization, our wisdom, our intellect, these are our swords. If this takes place through unity, the nation will come into our hands, the workers' and peasants' movement will come into our hands. Never mind, if in order to do that, lakhs of persons are killed, lakhs get hanged. But I clearly say that we shall not sit in (our) place till we extirpate this bureaucracy from India". (Applause).

Sd. S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1735 M. T.

Place: Maidan near Spring Mills.

Dated; 27th September 1928.

MR. JOGLEKAR'S SPEECH.

Joglekar said:—

"You have heard many speeches. It is necessary to tell you some important things. During the last four or five days our strike seems to be taking different turns in different ways. The first very important thing is that since half past seven yesterday evening some discussion is going on regarding the settlement of our strike. Even though it cannot be definitely said up till now what will be result of those discussions, still I must clearly announce to you that some owners are now considerably dispirited (lit: lost

their freshness) than before. I need not say what the reason is of their being thus dispirited (lit: losing freshness). This is a clear sign that the owners have now given up hope and have lost firmness (lit: have laid their hands for support on the knees), seeing that the power in our wrists has remained impenetrable. Therefore since half past seven yesterday evening it appears (lit: the wind has begun to blow) that the success which we have almost achieved (lit: has come to our hands and mouth) cannot at all fail to be fully achieved if for some few days we hold on with the same determination, continue to maintain the same condition—the truth, the wisdom the tenacity with which we conducted our strike up till now, the strength shown in conducting the strike. (Applause.) Parshuram said that (it) was about to come (in our) dish. The waiters have got (it) (in their) dishes and are standing to serve it in our dishes. They are a bit hesitating as to how much to serve, what to serve. We must adopt the dodge of giving a sudden push to the (waiter's) dish and take the whole dish in our hands. (Applause). I will tell you one story that formerly during the regime of our Marathas there was an exceedingly gluttonous man by name Khasgiwala. He was an equally brave fighting soldier. If once he rode a horse and galloped according to his usual practice and if after his return the *Khidmatgar* did not take proper precautions about the horse, the horse died immediately after the straps were loosened. He was such a daring soldier. It happened once that his master thought (he) should make some fun of the soldier (lit: him) (as) he was an extremely gluttonous soldier. He invited him on a holiday. The rich persons dine delicately. What he (did) was that (he) was made to sit outside the whole line of diners. (He) was made to sit at the end along with those who in this manner took little food. He got enraged. At last he somehow ate up the rice served first. (Then big dishes full of *jalaibis* came. When (they) were brought before him the master said: Serve half a *jalaibi* so half a *Jalaibi* (was served). Twice the dishes passed, (when) his gluttony increased. When the dish came for the third time he suddenly snatched the dish from his (waiter's) hands. (Laughter). We have to act according to that now. We (are) daring soldiers like that. Khasgiwala, we cannot tolerate such hesitation, we want bread sufficient to fill the stomach. For bread sufficient to fill the stomach we shall not listen to the father of anyone. "We will give two per cent, will give three per cent, accept ten percent," what is this prating going on? We do not know about percentages. We want wages for all, that will provide sufficiently for the belly and the wages must be kept intact just as they were kept intact after we won the strike of 1925. Therefore it is not just as Parshuram said just now about (hesitation) to serve or not to serve. Giving sudden push to the dish, (we) must take as much share as we want. Such signs are apparent (lit: such winds have

begun to blow). Settlement is taking place in some manner, in some manner or the other. Meetings are taking place, discussions are going on as to how to settle the strike, what should be the conditions for settlement, how it should be settled, when the mills are to begin to work. When those discussions reach a definite stage it will be possible to tell you about it in greater detail. But it may safely be said today that signs are becoming apparent of our strike being settled very early and seeing the point of view, seeing the way in which the discussions are going on, the way in which the owners are talking (lit: their voices have begun to be heard), (it seems that some respect has been created among them now, humility has been created about you and instead of sitting at home arrogantly (and) lazily and showing rudeness, they are of their own accord making efforts with a liberal (lit: big) mind by sending some big *Gumastas* (agents), and they are becoming ready to grant our demands. I cannot now say anything more as to what lies in future. The way in which all things are made definite on paper, our Strike Committee will finally approve of (lit: will seal and sign) them, after which you all will have to be given detailed information regarding it, for which big meetings will be held and I am sure that, I think that, just as loud-speakers (lit: trumpets) had to be fixed at the meeting held previously at Chaupati on the 3rd of February, more loud-speakers (lit: trumpets) will have to be fixed for our meeting. Of this, I am sure. (Applause). Telling you this much about the matter, I will take you to another thing. That second thing is as regards the new dodge by the Police (which) is going on in five (or) seven ways. While the owners are, on one side, getting rapidly dispirited (lit: their bloom is rapidly flowing away), just a few days before that, the mercury of the highhandedness of the Police, seems to be going up. Up till today, they saw (what would happen) by arresting some leaders through carelessness, but it was of no use. (They) saw (what would happen) by efforts to create disturbance, (they) saw (what would happen) by indirectly making efforts to incite the people towards violence, to create disorder. It has been seen that those (efforts) were of no use. At present such efforts are going on that—forming the idea in their mind that the men might perhaps have become more and more disordered through mental affliction and consequently hopeless, as the strike is becoming prolonged and that their confidence in their leaders has perhaps begun to totter—they have now in hand a plan as follows. In order that (men) from among you should be wise, should be clever, should come forward of their own accord to do the work of the Union, should find out the way of the unity of us all with wisdom and cleverness, we seek to teach the other men with us to make

speeches, to do things; (we) seek to give them an idea about the Union, and some men come forward. [*The Police] by catching hold of some of them by intimidating them, if any wrong (lit: curved and crooked) words have passed out the edge of their mouth. For, they do not, like us, speak after balancing (their words) and do not walk carefully (lit: properly) on the edge of the sword of law. Those who know law, know how to dance on the edge of the sword. But those who do not know how to speak according to law, who do not understand what they are saying (and) whether a certain word should be spoken or not, they pour forth all the things in the heart and when that happens, finding out some excuse (lit: secret foible) [the Police] say to them: "Why did you say so? This speech justly comes within the [clutches] of law. I shall arrest you." If some such wrong (lit: curved and crooked) word passes out of their mouth, it does not mean that they took it to mean that way. But if a word passes through the mouth through want of skill, or through some ignorance, or because of want of practice, then for that, our men [lit: men remaining with us] are arrested, are taken to the [Police] bungalow [and] are there given threats. What is the object? I say clearly that it is not the object to punish [those men] after that. It is we that must tell you plainly. [Speaking] from a statesman like point of view, as the Police are here, we cannot in their presence tell you what we feel about such things. But as we rely on the strength of the people as a whole, what do we care for [lit: what value is to be attached] to their [of the Police] two worms, [two] doleful persons? Therefore I say to you openly that it is not [intended] that these [men] should be prosecuted, should be sent to jail for four months. If [they] launch such prosecutions they will make themselves ridiculous in the court. When we give a pleader, that pleader will say: "Oh! You are clever persons, men who have been educated [lit: who have received education in two or four standards] you put on such a curious interpretation on what these [men] said. What should you be then called? "In this way they will be ridiculed, therefore, they do not intend to launch prosecutions. But what their plan is that such men are not to be arrested and taken there, but are to be called, and after being called are to be detained. Then they are to be told." See, you rely upon the leaders. You say on their strength [lit: life] that you will maintain the strike, will do this, will establish the *Raj* of the labourers, so that if the Police Commissioner begins to put on airs, [and] if your *Raj* is established, [you] will dismiss him. You say that you will make Patwardhan Saheb wipe your shoes. You do such things. Now you have been detained. Where are your leaders? Do not the leaders know?" [Men] cannot by law be thus detained. [We] go (there) after coming

to the decision that as the Commissioner Saheb has invited, [we] should go. What [they] say there, is: "[It is] we who in the end will protest you, will take care of you. [You] have been kept here under arrest. The leaders have not come. Now we shall do you the favour of not prosecuting you. [You] may go now. We are [here], but whoever is, that is we the Police. It is we who take care of you. And out of the leaders none has come [though] you have been kept here under arrest. [They] are at home taking tea." In this way we are called [and] the Government is making efforts through its Police to alienate every man, to frighten him by telling him false things and to foment disunity among us. I make this accusation against the government. This accusation I make openly. Both the reporters should take it down in writing and instead of calling the poor to answer for that we, who are present here, should be called. We are prepared to come one thousand times. In the meeting for which Alve was called, Kasle was called, Buva was called, we all were personally present. Dange was present, Nimbkar was present, Ghate was present, Mirajkar, all were present. If the result that should take place, takes place from that meeting, the responsibility for it is upon us, when we were present for the work there. We never avoid responsibility. Not only we but our necks will be always ready to suffer whatever consequence ensues from that. And I tell the Government and the Police Commissioner from here publicly that instead of making such a fuss, instead of troubling the poor, do to us whatever you have to do. We are ready with girt loins to fight for it according to law, to answer for that, to suffer its future consequences. Unnecessarily calling the poor, taking advantage of their ignorance, by making some pretences, [you] try to deceive them cunningly. Fie on your life. [Applause]. For nothing have you become so big, so wise, such a Commissioner for the city of Bombay. Why do you go to put the poor into extreme difficulty? If you want an explanation for that, ask us, if [an explanation] of any act is to be asked, ask the Strike Committee. And [this] only because the whole responsibility for it lies on the Strike Committee. For that purpose we have allowed two of your servants to come here. If the strike Committee had not allowed your servants to come here, [you] could not have forced it through law. But we have no hiding tactics, no duplicity [lit: a dodge like one thing inside, one thing outside]. We are fighting openly, clearly, publicly, for our stomach and it is not a crime according to any law to struggle for the stomach, to try to get sufficient bread for the stomach. And if your law be like that, then that your law is of no use even for wiping the [buttocks] of children or for removing the [human excreta]. That law is no law. We shall trample that under foot. The laws which come in the way

of the adequate livelihood of every man, are immoral laws. No one can be compelled to observe immoral laws. I say here clearly that I am quite [lit: on one foot] ready to break all the immoral laws [That have been placed] up till today on the [statute] book. Whenever occasion comes, I shall never fail to be the first to fight against every immorality to be found in the world [Applause]. And if the Police Commissioner has to ask any explanation for that he would ask me. [He] should ask me, should ask Nimbkar; [should ask] Buva, should ask all. *You may be knowing that when occasion had come to give up the picketing movement, an occasion to let you all know that picketing was not a crime*. When there was picketing at the David Mill last year, who did the picketing? There were 8 [or] 10 men with us. I myself had gone [there]. The Police also had come at that time and began to threaten the picketers. At that time, in order that nothing wrong should happen at their hands, owing to their ignorance of law, I asked that the *Pati of all should be held* and Sawyer Saheb was told to his face, "I myself will do picketing alone. Do whatever you have to do." He should see his diary. We first take upon ourselves [lit: upon our necks] the responsibility of everything that we do. And therefore henceforth if the Police Commissioner wants to call anybody, I have clearly to ask him, openly to say to him, 'Instead of calling such poor men, ask us whatever explanation is wanted. *And if you have to beat the poor unnecessarily.* O effeminate persons, though possessing wisdom, though having all the army of the Government, you call extremely poor and weak insects and threaten [them], this cannot be bravery. If you want to exhibit bravery, show it against us. Give up henceforward the wish of putting the noose, for nothing, round the [necks] of the ignorant, those who do not know how to observe the law, for whose defence our lawyers will not be available, or for whom there has been no opportunity to provide a lawyer." The [lit: those] men are to be told that if any one from among us, *from those making speeches here, from those educated,* is called, he ought not get frightened because of that. I am proud to say that so much has been the result of the *blood poured forth *by us during these six months that even though this Buva was called—he cannot speak properly by way of reply—still he did not feel anything for that. He said: "If my mother [lit: old woman] is to starve at home, she will be one out of the one and one-fourth lakhs that will starve. I do not mind if I go to jail, go to jail for the sake of one and a half lakh of labourers." He said like this. I tell you frankly that I am extremely glad to see that

*The sentence is left incomplete.

*This is not intelligible.

*This clause has been left hanging.

*From those trained to make speeches' will perhaps be an alternative translation

*Indicating great exertions

the penance done by us by pouring blood during these six months is bearing fruit in this way. You should be wise in this manner as early as possible. The whole working class should as soon as possible be wise, labour *Raj*, the *Raj* of the labourers, -I tell the Commissioner that a day is coming, on which there will be the *Raj* of the labourers; the Commissioner Saheb will have to come in our *Raj* to beg for service for the sake of his livelihood, for the sake of a piece of bread, otherwise he will have to go away packing up his things (Applause). So long as the lion is caught in the net, caught in the trap, till then urchins may pelt it with pebbles. But when the lion, becoming poor, will break open the cage and stand on the open Maidan, at that time* expectation of the urchins, more *This is unintelligible. importance, giving up *your Police, lashkar, army will go away. This I haven seen the other day. When men from the various centres merely came to the Morarji Gokuldas Mill to receive grain, came merely to see what was going on, and not to make *maramari* (beating or fighting), the police ran away through fear (lit: dropping the tail). (Applause). Is that true or not? (It is true). So, when this real lion, the organised strength of the working class, turns about and stands, then the guns of British Imperialism, all this brutal strength of the British Empire, will be levelled to dust in two months. Do not put on airs. Speak out whatever (you) have to say. I know that today speaking is possible for you. (There is) a day of the mother-in-law, a day of the daughter-in-law, is also to come. If you want to live in amity, behave properly (lit: systematically). You are the same flesh and blood with us. Though the Police Commissioner be white, his *Paltans* are ours. But because of the lure of pay, some policemen silently (lit: gently) come into the meetings. You say they are good, then can we not raise Rs 13 to Rs 14? (Laughter). Therefore I say (to the Police Commissioner): You are living in a glass house. You may have a bungalow near the market, near the Crawford Market. But who is there to protect it? It is none but our workers. (They) are half-starved today like all other workers. Once this message of the bread reaches the hearts of all these workers, bring to mind what your condition will be. They why do you put on airs unnecessarily? Behave in amity. There is no desire to touch your *Raj*. We do not deny that you are human beings, you have children. The workers in the labourers' movement hate no man. Then say that all people must have sufficient to eat and drink. But, if anyone subjects us to tyranny and violence, then there is no crime in knocking down that tyranny and oppression, in completely destroying it and levelling it to the dust. I have to tell the Police Commissioner that we shall not fail to do that. (Applause). Therefore if any one is called to the Police Commissioner, he should not get

frightened. And tell me, whether every one from you is prepared or not to show the same bravery with which Buva Saheb replied (Yes) (Shabash) The Reporters should take down this answer if they like. In order to show to all his Bungalow and how cool the climate of the Bungalow is (come on, come on, he will get frightened that men have come to his home to beat him). Therefore, the Police Commissioner should remember that our people are not such as to be thus frightened. He should remember that if it is intended to create in this manner differences between the leaders and the men, that will not be successful. Now the second thing (is this). The Commissioner Saheb says to us tauntingly: "You are going to establish the workers' Raj. People ought to reply: "Yes, we shall not fail to establish as early as possible The Workers' and Peasants' Raj in India." (Applause). And for that purpose, we must make preparations in every way, as told now by Gadkari. Today I am going to tell you two (or) four important things. Among them, the first is that, the tenacity, the strength, the fighting ardour shown by you in the strike, the same ardour you must show in various ways. All the other movements going on in this world, in this country, are (always) against the livelihood of the workers. We have to stop all those movements. Newspapers, the newspapers which are opposed to us, the newspapers which oppose our movement (Applause on Nimbkar's arrival)— we have to stop the newspapers which oppose our movement and thereby prevent it from being successful. Those people oppose the carrying on of our movement by keeping these movements, these institutions in their hands. We have to snatch away those institutions from their hands. The most important of these institutions the power of governance. We have to take that (into our hands). Before that, we have to bring under our control the institution agitating for this power of governance, that is, the Congress. Gadkari has just said how many will be Congress members. I request that in order to capture the Congress elections for the next year. You (and) Mr. Gadkari should register the names of all, where members are being made. Another thing. We will have to capture the municipalities, for that we must make efforts. Gadkari has mentioned that question. But of the Congress, this work is today's (or) tomorrow's, (and) you will (surely) do it. But going even further than that, we will have to make some arrangements to keep the workers' movement uninterrupted and that (arrangement) is that you must be members of the Union. But if the questions being raised in the compromise regarding our strike are solved, you ought never to suppose that as a compromise has taken place, we will now have no occasion to fight. (To tell) you about the Union and the reasons for it, we have various daily difficulties, the Union exists for everyone of those difficulties, to

take account if the wages of any one have been reduced. If any one has been fined, its examination will take place through the Union. And in order to awaken the people, agitation must be carried on, meetings must be held, newspapers must be published, several such things must be done. The Union exists for that and, out of the subscription you will pay to the Union all such things, the maintenance of our office, the maintenance of our clerical staff, will be done. But going even further than that, not stopping with regular subscriptions to the Union, leaving aside (lit: not looking to) the usual activities of the Union, we shall, out of our subscriptions, (have to raise a *Strike Fund*, we

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In English in the original.

shall have to raise a special strike fund in order that it should be of use if such an occasion like the strike comes. Just as we raise subscriptions for the *Satyantarayan*, similarly we must have a subscribed fund (lit: Department) called the 'Strike Fund' with the sole purpose that if a calamity ever befalls us we should at that time be able to cross swords (lit: two hands) well with the owners, with the Government. This is not to be a monthly (fund) but a *kachcha* fund, which is not to be touched. We will have to enlarge our present strike fund with the resolve that it is to be touched only when some occasion like a strike comes. Then there will be no reason to look to others, to expect four thousand rupees from another country, when there may be available two thousand rupees at home. Therefore, (when) a compromise takes place, (when) the mills begin to work, (when) you join the Union, still you have not to turn back. This you will not be able to say in your life hereafter. Learning wisdom from all the calamities that have befallen us from the beginning to the end, we have to make preparations to face future adversities and we are sure that all you people will show wisdom and you labourers will raise a big Strike Fund of rupees two to three lakhs within a year. Will you (raise) or not? (Yes, Yes).

*The sentence is disjointed

*If such things are done, keeping under our control the things that will be secured in this compromise.

—Today's strike has been a defensive one intended in order to secure the existing wages. I have to request you that you should all pay attention to full preparations for battle to be made in this manner, for our aggressive strike, the strike that we will have to make again within a year or two, for getting an increase in our wages, for getting houses for us, for getting good pure air, after making early grand preparations for it (lit: the future strike), making good preparations for battle. Now (the members of our) Strike Committee, Compromise Committee, have come. Who knows whether something might have happened or not. It is not known whether something worth telling has happened or not. They must speak something, therefore I take your leave. Before

that I tell you that paying attention to the three or four things told by me, before going to the Police Commissioner, if anyone is called tomorrow by him, do not go before seeing all the brave men, our Nimbkar, Dange, or some other responsible member of our Strike Committee." (Applause).

Sd/- S. S. Deshpande,

Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

P. 1736 M. T.

Place: Cement Dhawl, Delisle Road, Bombay.

Date: 28. 9. 1928

MIRAJKAR'S SPEECHE.

Mirajkar said:—

"Brothers, I intentionally came running in a taxi because (I knew that) you would be holding a big meeting (here) and that you would be waiting till we come' Kasle has come to the meeting. The rest of our men are struggling there in the compromise committee with the owners and I also shall go there immediately after finishing our meeting early. From this you must have understood that I have not come before you now to tell anything special. Last evening I said that compromise, talk (about compromise) had begun since the day before, and the Strike Committee will again consider what comes out of it now in the end, (it will consider) that conclusion. (When) decision is arrived at that such and such a thing such and such a policy should, be adopted we shall come and place before you that policy, shall take your consent, and giving a reply thereafter to the owners will decide definitely with your consent when the mills are to start work. Such is today's programme. So I do not wish to say to you more. I had told you yesterday, that since yesterday, I had become ill. I had a very high fever. Leaving aside for a time fever (and) head-ache, I went there this morning without loss of time. I had not come for the meeting of the Strike Committee. (I) went there and since the morning up till now (talk about) compromise

is going on. Wordy fighting, pointing out the faults of one another, in such way is the work going on there. I say to you now in the matter of compromise that today also there is nothing I can say beyond that. Then, tomorrow's meeting is to be held at this very place. I shall come, we all shall come together (and tell) the things worth telling, that will be decided till tomorrow evening. When Dange, Nimbar Saheb, Bradley Saheb, when all such people will come together into the meeting, you should understand that (we) have come to tell definitely some thing or the other. But if only a single individual comes before you, you should understand that definite talk had not begun up till then. This much I tell you today.

Then, I have to tell you one or two other things. They are these. Even supposing the strike is settled tomorrow (and) the mills begin to work tomorrow after the settlement of the strike, what will be your programme thereafter ? Up till now after strikes had been declared there used to be some agitation during the continuance of the strike. Once it was ended then, you and we-we (stayed) in Girgaon, (and) you (stayed) in your mills, in your chawls. But hereafter such a state of things must not continue. If you have learned one thing in the strike, it is that as there was no good organisation (lit. system) among the workers as there was no union, as the power of union was not organized as we had no fund as our union was not powerful, you have learned many things in this our strike that at least in future these handicaps should not be allowed to continue. We must make our union strong, after making such unity, only one union of the workers, not our (separate) Union, not one union of Joshi Saheb, (another) Union of Jhabwala Saheb, (another) union of Nimbkar Saheb—in this way there should not be four or five (different) Unions, but one Union is to be made of the one and a half lakh of workers that are (in Bombay). We must take in hand this immediately after the settlement of the strike. (Applause) It is a mistake if you suppose that nothing remains (to be done) after the present strike ends. As soon as the strike ends, (we) must take in hand the work of organizing the one Union. Then, another thing which I have to tell you is that, as soon as the strike ends, a separate strike fund must be raised by our mill workers. Because, if in this strike, we had not received money from outside places, if our Russian workers (and) British workers had not helped us by sending big amounts, we would not have learned to fight, as we have learned during these five and a half months and our strike would have broken long before this and (we) would have been compelled to sit quietly (lit. saying 'Hari, Hari' indicating the repetition of God's name after retiring from worldly life). This thing we have realised. Therefore, if the Bombay mill workers have to do anything as soon as the strike is ended, it is that every worker should lay aside one rupee per month merely for strike

(purposes) and we must accumulate a big strike (lit. of that strike) fund. If every worker lays aside one rupee every month, every worker will at the end of the year be able to pay Rs 12/- to this fund. Remember that twelve rupees and one and a half lakh of workers means that 18 lakhs of rupees can be accumulated at the end of one year (Applause). And if 18 lakhs of rupees be in our pockets, if 18 lakhs of rupees be deposited in a Bombay bank in the name of the mill workers then even the fathers of the 85 owners will not dare to compel the workers to go on strike by cutting the workers'

*The clause has been left suspended

wages. *Then the owners will remember fully well, that though we had not even a pie, not even

a rupee*. Because, when we began the strike we had not a pice with us. When we delivered a speech first in Nagu Sayaji's Chawl we had not (even) one anna for *gharry*-hire. And as the strike went on increasing day by day, we were feeling greatly concerned that if this strike went on increasing whence to bring the ammunition required for it, the help of money which would be required for it. The owners also knew when the strike began that the workers were one and a half lakh, (and that the one and a half lakh of workers had not with them (even) one and a half pie, (and that) if the foolish workers went on strike without possessing (even) one and a half pie, their strike would not but collapse within one month and a half, within two months. But we must be very much thankful to our British workers, to our Russian workers. They must be given

*A term used for respect fully mentioning an elderly person.

applause (Applause) (saying): Brothers (*Babas), we could fight our fight on the strength of that

help which you people sent to us mill workers, for that we are very thankful to you. (Applause) And what lesson must we learn from this? Once a man's foot gets knocked (against a stone), once his foot gets twisted, then he walks thereafter in a more careful (lit. systematic) manner. Therefore, in order to proceed systematically, every worker should lay aside rupee one every month, after the ending of the strike. If every worker does in this way accumulate such a fund purely for strike (purposes) then within one year, we will be able to deposit Rs. 18/-lakhs in a bank in Bombay in the name of the workers. And if we are thus able to raise Rs 18/-lakhs annually, if we have at least five lakhs of rupees with us, the owners dare not cut your wages and ask you to go on strike. On the strength of what were the owners giving themselves airs (lit. capering) today? (They were thinking that) the workers had no organization, there was no Union of the workers, workers had no money, workers lacked unity, the workers were quarelling among themselves (lit. sitting on the chest of one another), so that if at such a time, the workers began to do anything it was possible that the workers would die and would fall into pieces. Therefore I have to advise you that as soon as the strike ends leaving aside the other questions whether the rent

should be paid to the chawl-owner, whether the bills of the grain-dealers should be paid preparations must be made from now for the strike that is to be made hereafter. If you be wise men, if you have learned some lessons in six months, if you have learned anything from whatever sad experiences (lit. knocking against the stone) that you may have got, the thing to be learned is that our Union is to be made strong. A *jatha* (collection) of one and a half lakh of workers is to be formed, that (*jatha*) is to form such a big wall that how many soever canon balls come from the owners, they must be turned back. Such a tremendous unity is to be brought about among us. That unity must have ammunition at its back. Therefore, the success of the workers lies when you have done these two things, the first lesson (being) that of our unity and (the second of the strike fund of 18 lakhs of rupees at its back. The workers will become successful and I say to you that at least as far as the city of Bombay is concerned, by giving help also to other workers in the city (to the) 5 to 10 thousand men in the small docks, (and) the two thousand men in tramway, we shall in one year establish the workers' *Raj* (Applause). There are 14 lakhs of men in this city of Bombay. Out of (these) 14 lakhs of men 10 lakhs are workers. Out of (these) 10 lakhs workers, one and a half lakh are mill workers. If a very big *Jatha* of these mill workers is formed, if a Union is formed, then the remaining groups of small workers also will form their union. Then 10 lakhs on one side, a tremendous *jatha* of the workers, on the other side, four thousand sheepish persons, the owners, the educated persons, persons reviling us.

*Apparently a mistake for 'lakhs'

*This does not seem to suit the context

* These persons like us*, will remain aside through fear, then those cowards. those sheepish persons will not be able to do anything, (and) workers' *Raj* will be established in Bombay. Remember this. [Applause]. Therefore, I tell you that this is the thing now to be done immediately as soon as the strike ends. [These] five and a half months, you have come to know what a meeting is. The state of things formerly was that when a meeting took place, the workers did not attend it. He felt lazy on bearing of a workers' meeting. Then, you people are attending meetings today at least because there is the strike, but when the strike ends tomorrow, you will have no meetings, (will have) nothing. Women say that meetings mean impediments. *Therefore, if anything it to be told to you, it all | can be told] in one meeting, making you people sit together, the thoughts of our men (can be told) clearly, in a proper way. You become wiser by hearing the ideas of our men. This you must have realised in five months and a half. Therefore, hereafter, you must not fail to come to those meetings which will be held as soon as the strike is settled. At

Nagu Sayaji's Wadi, at tank Bunder, at Dádar, at Mádanpura, wherever workers' meetings may be held, workers ought to be present there. They must take part in the meeting. Speakers from among the workers must forward. 15 to 20 men have been trained to make speeches, those men must get further education, must learn to read. We are going to start a class for these men. The movement is to be explained to them, they are to be made good speakers by teaching them how to make speeches. And when good speakers get trained, good men from you are to be selected and taught to start a Union. (They) are to be taught how they should conduct the workers' movement, how the workers should advance, how the organization of the workers should be effective. Therefore, if we gain anything by coming into meetings, it is that our knowledge increases, our unity increases, the feeling of mutual affection increases. I am sure that by attending meetings we get acquainted with five to fifty people. When we have five to fifty ^{*In English in original} friends, the *circle of our friends increases to that extent, the minds of us workers get attached to one another and unity is promoted. Therefore, instead of saying that meetings mean impediments, when the strike is settled, (you) must attend workers' meetings. The workers must give up laziness. The workers have to capture the whole world. The workers have to-day become beggars, have to-day become poor. The workers have nothing with them that they can be deprived of, but there is much for them to take. They have to capture the whole world. (They) have to establish their ownership over the whole world. (They) have to awaken the peasants. Your brethren who are in villages, understand nothing, they understand nothing as to the nature of capitalism, of Government, of officials, of the Police, of the owners, of the *khots*, of the *savkars*. You must go and teach them these things. If (you) go to the village, [you] are not to sit quietly after going there, [but] are to move about in villages to [your] heart's content [and] to make them understand what the whole situation is. It is to be explained to our peasants and workers how the *shets*, the *savkars*, the merchants, the Banias, the Brahmins, are deceiving (them). It is to be explained how *khots* cut (their) necks, it is to be explained how *savkars* cut their necks, wisdom is (thus) to be created among them, unity is to be brought about among the workers, unity is to be brought about among the peasants. Such a big task we have to do in this manner. And if a beginning of this work is being made any where at first, it is being made in the Delisle Road meeting. I am perfectly sure that if the present strike had not taken place and if you had not attended every meeting of this strike, you would have never acquired wisdom, you have to-day acquired in several things. Therefore you must make it a point to attend these meetings. So

long as the Imperialistic Government exists, so long as the police are oppressing us, so long as the oppressors are ready to oppress us, with their weapons (lit. mace) on our necks, the workers cannot sleep quietly. Therefore, I ask you to pursue our work further. And not I have nothing more to say. Tomorrow's meeting will take place again at this place in the evening. So, this meeting is dissolved."

Sd. S. S. Deshpande
Inspector of Police,

C. I. D. Poona.

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